SENATE—*Tuesday, February 20, 1990*

(Legislative day of Tuesday, January 23, 1990)

The Senate met at 11:30 a.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. BYRD].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. As we reverence God, prayer will be led by the Senate Chaplain, Rev. Dr. Richard C. Halverson.

PRAYER

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

Let us pray:

In God is my salvation and my glory: the rock of my strength, and my refuge, is in God. Trust in Him at all times; ye people, pour out your heart before Him: God is a refuge for us. Surely men of low degree are vanity, and men of high degree are a lie: to be laid in the balance, they are altogether lighter than vanity. Trust not in oppression, and become not vain in robbery: if riches increase, set not your heart upon them. God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this; that power belongeth to God.—Psalms 62:7-11.

In the wisdom and spirit of these strong and wonderful words from the Psalmist, may the Senate enter into its work this week, Father God. We pray in the name of Jesus Christ in whom is all power. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of the proceedings be approved to date.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SCHEDULE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, this morning, following the time for the two leaders, there will be a period for morning business until 12:30 p.m. with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 5 minutes each. The Senate will recess from 12:30 to 2:15 p.m. for the party conference luncheons.

Upon reconvening at 2:15, under the provisions of a unanimous-consent agreement, the Senate will proceed to executive session to consider the ILO Convention under a time limitation of 1 hour. A vote on the convention will occur at 3:15 p.m. today.

Once that treaty has been disposed of and the Senate has returned to legislative session, the Senate will consider H.R. 2281, the school dropout bill. This bill will also be considered under a 1-hour time limitation with a vote occurring on H.R. 2281 at approximately 4:30 p.m. today.

THE REVISED WETLANDS PROTECTION AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE CORPS OF ENGINEERS AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, a revised version of the long-awaited wetlands protection agreement between the EPA and the Army Corps of Engineers was signed on February 6.

Plans to carry out this landmark agreement were suspended three times since the original agreement was signed on November 14, 1989.

The agreement between the EPA and the Department of the Army articulates the policy and procedures that are used in determining the type and level of mitigation necessary to comply with the environmental requirements for wetlands filling under section 404 of the Clean Water Act.

Recently, I indicated that the continued reluctance of the administration to put this limited wetlands protection agreement into effect raises serious doubts about the level of commitment to the President's oft-stated goal of no net wetlands loss.

The revised wetlands accord reflects the price paid by EPA and the Army for the administration's acquiescence to its implementation. It may prove to have been too high a price.

The changes made to the original agreement not only threaten to undo the agreement itself, they more importantly threaten to undermine EPA's environmental regulations for section 404 wetland filling permits.

Two key changes were made in the original agreement that thwart its intent to ensure that, to the extent practicable, adverse wetlands impacts are avoided; that unavoidable adverse impacts are minimized; and that remaining adverse impacts are offset.

First, the revised wetlands agreement allows deviation from the stepwise consideration of avoidance, minimization and compensation for what are termed "insignificant environmental losses."

The original accord allowed deviation from this sequence when "the EPA and the corps agree that the proposed discharge can reasonably be expected to result in environmental gain." The administration-imposed revision adds the phrase "or insignificant environmental losses" to the end of this sentence.

If insignificant environmental losses are not clearly limited to de minimus discharges or discharges that have only minimal individual and cumulative adverse environmental impacts, this change could allow much wetlands loss that otherwise could be avoided or offset.

Moreover, because the term "insignificant environmental losses" is not defined or clarified by the agreement and is not a term used in the Clean Water Act or the section 404 regulations, it is likely to generate many disputes about whether proposed discharges into wetlands will lead to significant environmental losses.

The second, more egregious modification on which the administration insisted could seriously weaken the present EPA 404(b)(1) environmental guidelines for filling in areas where there is a high proportion of wetlands.

The revised wetlands agreement adds a footnote which ostensibly seeks to clarify a statement that it may not always be practicable to mitigate to the extent needed to ensure no net loss of wetland values. The footnote states that "avoidance, minimization, and compensatory mitigation may not be practicable where there is a high proportion of land which is wetlands."

The scope of this possible exception to stepwise consideration of measures to avoid, minimize and offset adverse wetland impacts is potentially enormous. Most significant wetland areas of the United States may qualify as "areas where there is a high proportion of land which is wetlands" because the geographic frame of reference for the phrase is not clear.

For instance, does this phrase encompass all of the Nation's coastal areas? Does it refer to any county or city with a high proportion of wetlands?

Additionally, the agreement does not clarify what proportion of land has to be wetlands for it to qualify as high.

Does high mean 99 percent? 79 percent? 20 percent? Or 10 percent? The agreement does not say.

The current EPA environmental guidelines require all requests for wet-

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

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land filling to meet the same requirements with respect to avoidance, minimization and compensation regardless of whether they occur in areas where there is a high proportion of wetlands or where there is a low proportion of wetlands.

These guidelines and the original agreement make clear that avoidance, minimization and compensation are required only to the extent practicable. Practicability has nothing to do with the proportion of land that is wetlands.

By concluding in advance that avoidance, minimization and compensation may not be practicable in areas where there is a high proportion of land that is wetlands, the revised agreement makes it far less likely that adverse wetlands impacts will be avoided and that unavoidable adverse impacts will be minimized in such areas.

With these changes in last November's agreement, there is now real reason to question whether it will encourage additional protection of wetlands in the natural state and help prevent the net loss of these valuable aquatic resources.

The wetlands agreement certainly does not match the President's rhetoric in support of a national goal of no net loss of wetlands.

It can only be hoped that the corps and the EPA will interpret their revised policy guidance in a manner that preserves the integrity of the Clean Water Act's environmental standards for wetlands filling.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my leader time, and I reserve all the leader time of the distinguished Republican leader.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the unused time of the two leaders will be reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There will now be a period for morning business to last until the hour of 12:30 p.m. today, with Senators permitted to speak therein and not to exceed 5 minutes each.

The Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PRESSLER] is recognized for not to exceed 5 minutes.

DAKOTA CIGARETTES

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, this morning an editorial appeared in the Sioux Falls Argus Leader, a newspaper of my State, entitled "Dakota Cigarettes? Yuck! Give Product New Name." This article refers to the issue of a major tobacco company naming a new cigarette "Dakota." The name of the cigarettes could be insulting to Sioux Indians who long have used the word "Dakota" to identify a tribe in the northern plains. Also, the product name is a blemish on the image of South Dakota and its sister State to the north which have shared the name Dakota for more than a century.

Mr. President, I would like to share with the Senate this editorial. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

It was bad enough when Miller Brewing Co. test marketed wheat-brewed "Dakota" beer in 1986.

The beer must not have fared well. It did not become a regular company product.

Now, a cigarette company is trying its luck with the name.

If South Dakota is lucky, Dakota brand cigarettes will not find a niche in the market, either, at least under its present name.

Dakota is the name that has been given cigarettes R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. plans to test in April in Houston. The target market, according to a Washington Post report, is 18- to 24-year-old women, the only group of Americans whose rate of smoking continues to increase. More specifically, the company is reportedly after young, poorly educated, white women—so-called "virile females."

An ad campaign is expected to be aimed at women who enjoy the TV show Roseanne, partying, cruising, attending hot-rod shows and tractor pulls with boyfriends and whose chief aspiration is to get married. Some of that information apparently comes from marketing data that may not figure into company plans.

Reynolds officials have acknowledged plans to market Dakota cigarettes, but have provided few details. They denied, however, that Dakota cigarettes would be intended only for women.

Regardless of the target audience or the insulting nature of the marketing data prepared for the company, plans for the Dakota cigarette are distasteful. The product name is a blemish on the image of South Dakota and its sister state to the north, which has shared the name Dakota for more than a century.

The product name also is potentially insulting to American Indians, who long have used the word Dakota to identify a group of tribes associated with the Northern Plains.

By one definition, the word Dakota means friend. Clearly, cigarettes are not friendly.

Experts estimate that smoking causes about 400,000 premature deaths a year in the United States. Tobacco addiction is blamed for ailments ranging from lung cancer to strokes.

As Dr. Louis W. Sullivan, head of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, has said, it is reprehensible for a company to lure young people into smoking.

Cigarettes do not fit the thoughts of rugged but clean and natural splendor that people often associate with the word Dakota. The image has helped Dakota become a trendy name in business in recent years. Companies have used the name for products ranging from pickup trucks to computer terminals.

The attention had been flattering, for the most part, until Reynolds joined the parade.

Reynolds, by the way, is the same company that recently was forced by public opposition to cancel plans to test market "Uptown," a brand of cigarettes aimed at blacks.

Reynolds ought to find a new name for its new cigarette. And the company ought to leave Dakota out of it.

Mr. President, I would like to compliment the Sioux Falls Argus Leader. I might also add that Dakota is often a name for women. It is a beautiful name. I had a senior citizen in my office recently who was named Dakota Hildebrandt. We from South Dakota hope we do not have a cigarette named Dakota.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that another article on this subject from the Washington Post be printed in the RECORD, along with the target customer profile entitled "The Virile Female."

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

[From the Washington Post]

MARKETERS TARGET "VIRILE FEMALE"; R.J. REYNOLDS PLANS TO INTRODUCE CIGARETTE

(By Michael Specter)

The R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. plans soon to introduce brand of cigarette that, according to the detailed marketing strategy prepared for the company, targets young, poorly educated, white women described as "virile females."

Reynolds plans to test the new brand, called "Dakota," this April in Houston. The marketing plan's chief goal is to capture the lucrative market among 18- to 20-year-old women, the only group of Americans whose rate of smoking continues to increase. The competition for that group has become intense.

The marketing campaign focuses on a certain group of women whose favorite pastimes, according to the marketing plan, include "cruising," "partying" and attending "Hot Rod shows" and "tractor pulls" with their boyfriends.

Reynolds officials said in a statement that Dakota is not aimed solely at women. "Different products are designed to different categories of consumers," the statement said, "Dakota is no different. It is not a male brand or a female brand." Reynolds officials would not elaborate, and it could not be determined whether the marketing report, prepared by Promotional Marketing Inc., had been accepted by the tobacco company.

The extensive proposals for "Project V.F.," for virile female, were provided yesterday to The Washington Post. They describe the preferred "Dakota" smoker as a woman with no education beyond high school, whose favorite television roles are "Roseanne" and "evening soap opera (bitches)" and whose chief aspiration is "to get married in her early twenties" and spend her free time "with her boyfriend doing whatever he is doing."

Disclosure of the marketing recommendations, dated Sept. 21, 1989, comes just three weeks after Reynolds was forced by strong opposition to cancel plans to test market "Uptown," a brand of cigarette aimed at blacks. The marketing study for Dakota shows how the cigarette was designed to "replace Marlboro as the brand of choice among female smokers 18-24."

"It is especially reprehensible to lure young people into smoking and potential

lifelong nicotine addiction," said Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan, when asked about the Dakota marketing plan. Sullivan led the fight against Uptown. "And the risk that smoking specifically poses for women adds another tawdry dimension to any cigarette marketing effort aimed at younger women."

Sullivan said that next week he will launch a new initiative against smoking. He plans to testify before the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee on the practice of targeting tobacco advertising.

Reynolds acknowledged plans to market Dakota yesterday, but reacted angrily to questions about the study.

"Reynolds does not know what these documents contain," the company said yesterday in a statement. "Reynolds does not know if they are authentic or fabricated . . . . If they are authentic, they represent stolen, proprietary information belonging to R.J. Reynolds, and which would be of great value to our competitors."

"We do our work for Reynolds," said Steve Gilries, vice president of Promotional Marketing, when asked about the report. "We did that for Reynolds, and they will be glad to tell you all about it."

As millions of better-educated, prosperous Americans have quit smoking, tobacco companies have turned their marketing efforts increasingly on the poor, minorities and young women who have become their most solid customers. Targeting sales to specific niches is a common, accepted practice in virtually every aspect of American advertising, but it has become extremely controversial when applied to tobacco products aimed at groups at unusually high risk for the fatal diseases caused by smoking.

Cigarette companies argue that they are only trying to lure customers from one brand to another and that since their product is legal, it makes perfect sense for them to seek the most likely potential buyers.

But public health officials and opponents of smoking say it is unfair to compare selling cigarettes to selling cars, clothes or stereos because cigarettes are the only legal product that kills people when used as intended.

"All the cigarette companies are now facing the fact that tobacco is no longer a growth industry," said former surgeon general C. Everett Koop, a well known foe of smoking. "They are killing several hundred thousand of their customers each year and they need to be replaced. How can they do that? By exploiting foreign markets and young girls, the one group of Americans that have not begun to cut back. It's absolutely deplorable."

Tobacco use has become the largest preventable cause of death and disease among American women, killing more than 125,000 each year, according to federal health statistics. Recent studies have shown that women who smoke one to four cigarettes a day have two to three times the risk of heart attack as women who do not smoke.

But beginning in the late 1960s, when Philip Morris pioneered the women's market with its "Virginia Slims," tobacco companies have struggled to tap the emerging independence and buying power of women.

"What the companies have done is target the most vulnerable population," said Anne Marie O'Keefe, a board member of Women vs. Smoking Network, a group that attempts to unite women's organizations to fight tobacco use. "The women they describe in that document are old enough to want to assert their freedom and independence, old enough to take risks but young enough not to be able to appreciate such abstract concepts as addiction, chronic disease and mortality."

The marketing study goes into great detail about "positioning Dakota as the choice among YAFS [young adult female smokers] aged 18-24."

It estimates that the number of young women who smoke Marlboro is 1,695,006. That figure was derived by multiplying the total number of women aged 18 to 24—14,968,532—by smoking incidence—23.3 percent—and then by Marlboro's market share—48.6 percent.

The plan also outlines future advertising options based on interviews with small groups of potential consumers. "Cannot be too tough, i.e. bitchy/cold (motorcycle jacket)," the memo states. "Cannot be too cute, giggly. Women cannot be too submissive (i.e. fawning at man who looks disinterested.)"

The memo goes on to state that after the "brand's image is established, we can explore greater extremes," and says that, "Where smooth comes easy" is by far the best slogan.

In addition to describing a "demographic/psychographic review" of the "virile female" as one whose "work is a job; not a career, a way to make money," the report describes this person's dress ("jeans, knit tops, sweaters, shorts. . .",) (favorite music groups ("all male groups") and interests ("partying with friends," "dancing" and "cruising").

It also includes many possible promotions that could help stimulate consumer interest in the cigarette. They include creating a rock group called "Dakota" to play at special events around the country, the development of "on-pack" contests for consumers to select their favorite movies, songs, rock groups, television shows. Others include gambling premiums, "V.F. Soap Opera Trivia Videos" and subscriptions to Soap Opera Digest.

"These young people are the future of smoking," said Virginia Ernster, chair of the department of epidemiology and biostatistics at the School of Medicine at the University of California at San Francisco. "It's blue-collar people without enough education to understand what is happening to them. It's just pathetic that these companies would work so hard to get these women who may not feel much control over their lives."

THE "VIRILE FEMALE"

Excerpts from the "demographic/psychographic review" of the "virile female," prepared by a marketing research firm for R.J. Reynolds:

Caucasian Females, age 18-20 (secondarily 21-24).

No education beyond high school,

Entry level service or factory job.

Attitude toward work: Work is a job, not a career,

Dress: Jeans, knit tops, sweaters, shorts, warm-up suits, sweatshirts, pants.

Favorite TV program: Roseanne.

Favorite music: Classic rock-and-roll from the '60s and '70s.

Aspirations: To have an ongoing relationship with a man; to get married in her early twenties and have a family.

How she spends her free time: With her boyfriend doing whatever he is doing.

Interests, activities and places the target gathers: Partying with friends; dancing, going to dance clubs and bars (those over 21 or with a borrowed ID), cruising; watching television (entertainment they can afford); shopping at the mall.

Events they attend: Drag races; motorcross, motorcycle races; hot rod shows, cycle shows; tractor pulls, monster trucks; wrestling; "tough man" competitions.

CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, I wish to proceed on one other subject; that is the issue of campaign reform. I hope we have campaign reform. I am prepared to support limitations on PAC's, to eliminate the millionaire's loophole, to deal with the issue of soft money, to control third-party expenditures, and even eliminate them.

Also, we must look at the tax exempt status of organizations that spend money in campaigns. We also must count organizational efforts and limits on those efforts, be they by labor unions or businesses. Sometimes organizations like labor unions say they are merely spending the money to inform their own members and these amounts are not counted towards spending limits. But farmers, independent small businessmen, and independent workers are not members of these organizations and fall under different rules. This is not right.

I hope the Senate moves quickly on campaign reform. I think it is one of the leading topics of this session. In the past, we had partisan battles. I do not wish to try to score points on anybody. I think we all need to work together. Each side traditionally has had a campaign bill favorable to itself. Let's end this partisan bickering and get on with it. I think the American people want and deserve true campaign reform.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Colorado [Mr. WIRTH] is recognized for not to exceed 5 minutes.

Mr. WIRTH. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. WIRTH pertaining to the introduction of S. 2130 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. WIRTH. Mr. President, I yield the floor and note the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The absence of a quorum has been suggested. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Kentucky is recognized.

Mr. McCONNELL. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. MCCONNELL pertaining to the introduction of S. 2148 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

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

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The absence of a quorum has been suggested. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from North Carolina is recognized for not to exceed 5 minutes.

LEWIS R. HOLDING: A MAN WHO TELLS IT LIKE IT IS

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I suppose it is a tendency among all of us to collect reading material for later perusal, but sometimes weeks and even months pass before we get around to it. And with a high degree of frequency, we wish we would have done it earlier.

During the Christmas holidays, I ran across the text of an address that had been delivered last October 23 at a small business symposium in Raleigh. The speaker was Lewis R. Holding, chairman of the board of First Citizens Bank & Trust Co. of Raleigh. Mr. Holding, who is known as "Snow" by his many friends, a nickname he received as a child, rarely makes speeches, but when he makes one, he speaks from the heart. And he does not grope for the popular things to say. As the saying goes, he tells it like it is.

Mr. President, I was fascinated by Snow Holding's entire speech of last October, but I was most intrigued with his comment about such things as education and giving our young people the necessary incentives. He talked about pension plans, Federal handouts, and a number of other subjects.

Senators ought to read this speech. Some will disagree, perhaps, with parts of it, but all of us should at least consider what Snow Holding has said.

I seldom put speeches in the RECORD, Mr. President, but this one I shall.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that a text of Mr. Holding's speech be printed in the RECORD.

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

ADDRESS BY LEWIS R. HOLDING, SMALL BUSINESS SYMPOSIUM, RALEIGH NC, OCTOBER 23, 1989

It is a real honor to have the opportunity to speak to you this evening and to participate in this program.

Secondly, I can tell you without any reservation that North Carolina has been fortunate indeed to have the services of the Honorable Harlan Boyles, Treasurer of the State of North Carolina. He has national stature and an impeccable reputation in North Carolina for honesty and fair dealing. We need to keep him where he is.

In the few minutes that I have, I would like to share with you some thoughts, hopes and dreams of and for North Carolina. These dreams are not only for those living North Carolinians but for those yet to be born. I'd like to take a few minutes to do a little sketch about the past, and to take a look at the present. Then, most of all, I want to talk about the future.

North Carolina has been most fortunate in terms of the type of people who settled this state. We have people of all races, all faiths. We are a people who have been able to live and work together for more than two hundred years. This compatibility and harmony is our greatest asset and our primary heritage. It was true in the past, and it is true today. In my judgment, it will be true in the future.

Reviewing the past in terms of education, we need to look at the forward step taken by Governor Aycock in the development of North Carolina's public education system. Coming out of the War between the States, our state literally led the South in the development of public education.

There has been a lot of talk recently about how our system is ranked forty-ninth in the nation. I am as ashamed of that as you are. I would remind you, however, that of all the states in the Union, North Carolina has one of the very highest percentages of its population enrolled in public schools (approximately twenty percent).

We talk about how much money we have or haven't spent on education. I would assure you that North Carolina has not slighted education in terms of the gross state product. This is not to say that we shouldn't do more. But, we have certainly not neglected education in the past. It is also important to remember that our higher education system ranks 5th in the nation in terms of the percentage of the state gross product allocated to our institutions of higher learning.

Now, let's look back a moment at the history of our highways. We haven't been standing still. I wasn't there, but I know about former Governor Cam Morrison's road program that linked every county seat in this state. North Carolina was leading the country. We weren't following—we were leading.

Then Governor Kerr Scott came along and built more roads. Today we have more miles of paved road than any state in the Union. Now, there are those who will insist that it's too costly to keep up these smaller state roads and that their maintenance is at the expense of the bigger roads we need. Well, having been reared in Johnston County, I have a few observations about that.

We didn't have many paved roads. In fact, most of them were in Smithfield—a total of about four blocks. In those days you couldn't buy a new automobile. Folks used to get used cars from Washington, D.C. where they had been driven on paved roads. They'd bring those cars down to Johnston County and wear them out in one year on those washboard roads.

Well, I'll tell you one thing. I'd rather pay more taxes—more gasoline taxes, more income taxes, than to buy more cars from Detroit where they want $25 an hour so they can sell cars to North Carolinians who make $6 an hour. Kerr Scott understood that and he did something about it.

The same leadership applies to water and our other natural resources. A great deal has been done to preserve the water sheds—just look at Lake Norman, Lake Gaston, Kerr Lake and Jordan Lake.

We don't have much of a past history in waste disposal. This is because it wasn't a problem until we became a real industrial state and until the advent of atomic waste. We are working hard on this and are nearing a resolution of the problem.

Now, I would like to reflect a little about the social, economic and political environment that existed. We have had in the past, particularly in the last twenty-five years, rising expectations on the part of all of our people—those less fortunate and those more fortunate. These expectations have been fostered by certain persons for their own political aims and ambitions.

Now, let me say this to you—I don't think there's a darn thing wrong with people wanting to have more. There's nothing wrong with wanting to participate more and to advance to the maximum of one's potential. I think it's a great thing about America and our state in particular, that people want more. We can build on a bedrock of healthy aspirations.

A look at North Carolina's economic history shows that we have evolved from a agricultural economy and a low wage paying textile economy. Now we have moved into the world of high tech. With centers like the Research Triangle Park, the Tarheel State is attracting some of the finest and biggest companies in America. These industries are paying wages far beyond anything our people could have dreamed of fifteen or twenty years ago. If you don't believe me, just pay a visit to Philip Morris in Concord, Miller Brewing in Eden, Clark Equipment in Statesville, Johnson & Johnson in Johnston County, Dupont in Kinston and Timken in Lincolnton. The recognition of the need for economic development and the energy and thrust to make it a reality, came from former Governor Luther Hodges. He woke us up in terms of industrialization. What has happened is unbelieveable. It is the stuff that legends are made of.

Now let's touch on our past political environment. Beginning around 1880 we had a one party system in North Carolina. It was a stable system. Because we had a primarily agrarian economy and because the legislature only met every two years, we were able to attract the best minds to serve. Senators and Representatives could come to Raleigh and spend ninety days every two years without it being too much of a burden. There wasn't much turnover in the General Assembly so there was a lot of continuity. The situation is vastly different today.

To sum up those thoughts on our past, I would say that North Carolina was able to exist as if it were an island. We charted our own course and went our own way, socially, economically and politically. We were able to do our own number and, I would submit, we did it pretty good.

But, ladies and gentlemen, things have changed. With the advent of a global system as outlined by Mr. John Medlin and the introduction of television, jet air planes, cargo shipping . . . My Lord, this world is a different world.

And, where do we find ourselves in terms of the subjects we have been reviewing? I have some thoughts about all of this that I want to share. Please understand that what I have to say is in no way meant to be critical. I mean to be constructive and to suggest how we might approach the future.

We have the matter of rising expectations that I outlined and which I heartily endorse. We are confronted with the migration of the less fortunate from the farm to the cities. In the city they cannot have a milk cow, they cannot raise chickens, they cannot have hogs. We have always thought of this phenomenon as a national concern, associated with major urban cities. But in North Carolina we have not and should not think we have escaped this problem.

Where do we stand with education and how can it meet the challenges of a global economy and social migration? You've heard the ratings. I must tell you that former Governor Jim Hunt recognized one thing above all else. He recognized that if people cannot read in today's world they become unemployable. If they cannot read, they cannot write and they cannot compute. If they can't participate and be productive then you and I are going to have to support them. They are going to have a poor opinion of themselves and we won't be able to build enough prisons to lock them up.

Dropouts don't begin in the eighth, ninth and tenth grades. They begin in the first, second, third, fourth and fifth grades. If they can't read, can't write, and can't compute, we need to forget about taking them to the airport to see the jets take off.

The other day while riding from my home to the office, I saw all these boys and girls walking around the Capitol and state government. Little ones, walking around there—just having a big time. It's my personal opinion that this is a criminal waste of their time and your money. All we have to do is produce a videotape about state government which can be a hell of a lot better and more informative, and put it in every school in North Carolina. This could be done for less than a million dollars and stop all this needless transportation expense. But, really, it's not the expense I'm worried so much about. It's the needless waste of time. These young people need to spend their school hours learning to read and write and compute.

The day is fast approaching when you will not even qualify to be a maid in a hotel without the capacity to read, write and compute. Hotel employees now use little computers to track their work and their inventories. If we do not do something for the less fortunate to enable them to be gainfully employed, we are going to have to support them for the rest of their lives.

I don't care how many PhD's we graduate or attract to North Carolina because there are plenty more dropouts. These people are dropouts because they have not mastered the basic skills early in their school careers. The PhD's can take care of themselves. We have to take care of the dropouts.

I would suggest that we have an inordinate misconception in this state and throughout the United States about what constitutes an education. Everything is geared to college . . . go to college . . . go to college. Well, the world is full of highly successful people who have never darkened the door of a great university. We have a very fine community college system, headed by former Governor Bob Scott, that has a significant role to play in our education portfolio. I am particularly impressed with the products of our excellent technical schools. In these schools we've got a tool that deserves the support of every businessman, politician and citizen of this state. All of us are not college-bound. Have you ever tried to get anyone to repair a damn thing? Brother, you'd better buy a new one. Forget about having it fixed. That's where we are today and we need to do something about it. Higher education isn't the answer. A renewed emphasis on basic education and skills is what we need.

It seems to me that it is imperative that there be a closer working relationship between our public schools, headed by North Carolina Superintendent of Public Instruction Bob Etheridge, and our community colleges and technical schools. The curriculums offered should be coordinated and structured so that those who are truly college bound will be prepared for the experience and that those who are not college bound will have a learning program which not only assures them of acquiring basic educational skills but also other skills which will enable them to be productive and self supporting.

What about our political system today? We have a strong two party system in this state. It's not a dream, it's a fact.

You know though, that we're all North Carolinians. We've got differences of opinion but thank God we've got politics and politicians because that's the reason we don't have revolutions. We politic things out. We talk about the issues, and we seek new methods and new solutions. For things we can't work together on, we go our separate ways. But in the present, as well as the future, this two party system is going to continue to be a way of life. I hope that in the public's best interest, our politicians will be able to differ but always communicate. They need to talk things over. It's surprising what those rascals can come up with when they want to.

While I'm on the subject, I want to commend the General Assembly for passing the Bill that appropriated $8.6 billion for the highways. It's one of the great things that has happened in our state in recent years. The only trouble is that it's not enough. I'm for more. We've got a hundred bridges at least, that a school bus can't go over because it has been determined that they are unsafe. Yesterday I drove up to Littleton and around Roanoke Rapids. It was such a beautiful day. Not all the road development and traffic problems are in Raleigh. Our Bank goes from Murphy to Beaufort and from Wilmington to Elizabeth City, and I can tell you that the road problems are everywhere. If we are to provide the kind of economic opportunity to benefit the less advantaged and enhance the opportunities for the more advantaged we'd better get on with it. We don't need a twelve-year program or a thirteen year program, ladies and gentlemen, we need a seven year program.

And, I'll comment on something Mr. Medlin talked about. Government has no intention of curtailing spending. You can forget it. Spending is out of control and it's going to cost us so much more than just dollars. It's going to cost us if we delay our educational program and our highway program. You can't imagine the sheer replacement cost of a crumbling facility. But more importantly, there is the economic cost to our fellow citizens and to the state itself. People will produce if given an opportunity. But if they can't produce—we won't have the necessary tax base and tax revenues. We must put out the seed money to get things started and we must endeavor to lead not to follow. Let's emulate the example of Governors Aycock, Morrison, Scott and Hodges—and forge ahead.

Now, in Washington anyway, when you say a billion right quick, it sounds like a million. This brings me to the question of budget balancing. We pride ourselves on pay-as-you-go, balancing the budget. I'll defer to Treasurer Boyles to answer all questions on this subject but I'll submit that it's been many a year since North Carolina has balanced the budget. The last accounting I got showed that the unfunded portion of the state's retirement fund was greater than the bonded indebtedness. The last General Assembly failed to fund the state retirement fund by tens of millions of dollars. We're all full of promises to state employees but we're not putting up the money. We ain't paying the piper. I would ask you to consider what would happen to First Citizens Bank or Fieldcrest Mills or the Wachovia Bank if we ran our pension funds that way. I'll tell you what would happen to John Medlin. They'd put him behind bars in Atlanta. That's just a fact. If what I've said is not true, the Treasurer will have an opportunity to refute my remarks when I sit down.

Now, let's talk about the future. We can't be worried about China, Japan and Germany. We should try to learn from them. I don't necessarily subscribe to Mr. Medlin's theory that the United States is falling behind because we are only going to grow 1 percent in population and that our gross national product is only going to reflect a 2 percent growth. Our future is up to us. Forty years ago Japan and Germany were defeated nations in rubble. Yet today, they are the only countries who've got any significant surplus foreign exchange.

Success is a question of priorities, a question of leadership, a question of dedication. Over and over again in our history, the American people and North Carolinians in particular, have responded in a very positive way to real and dynamic leadership. Tar Heels know the truth when they hear it. I haven't always agreed with the results of every election but basically, North Carolinians are careful. They will embrace sound programs and they will turn thumbs down on irresponsible people, governments and institutions. We've got an unbelievably good government. If you don't think so, go to other states where they are indicting Governors, locking up Secretaries and Treasurers, prosecuting Legislators and so forth. They have for years, and keep on doing it. It's sort of like a mountain politician who asked me one time, "You know what you do with a rabbit when you catch him?" I said "No, Sir." He said, "You skin him." Well, we've not ever done that in North Carolina and we're not doing it now.

While we're talking about government and institutions, I'd like to mention the Savings and Loans. Mr. Medlin says that it's going to require some 160-200 billion dollars to bail them out. I'm here to tell you that the bail outs of HEW, HUD and the Farmers Home Administration are going to make the Savings and Loan figures look like chicken feed. Listen, I'll take the Savings and Loans—and take them all—compared to that. I can grasp the problems of the Savings and Loans, but I cannot grasp the morass at HEW, HUD and FHA.

But, come what may, our government is not going to allow gross disinflation. Even Washington is smarter than that. They will simply print the money to pay the debts. This means inflation.

Therefore, it is all the more important that we provide the essential elements that create opportunities for North Carolinians. We need to be about this business and I would encourage the Legislature and the Governor and all members of government to

assume leadership positions in this endeavor. The people will follow. They've proved it over and over again.

But, my friends, one thing that greatly concerns me about the people is their lack of true economic understanding. Man is capable of noble deeds and good works. However, inherent in every man is sin. There is also selfishness, acquisitiveness and entrepreneurship. When you defy or deny these truths, you are contradicting the very nature of man.

The Communists believe that they can make the new man. If you have not read "Das Kapital" you need to read it, although you probably won't because you don't have enough hours to wade through it. Karl Marx talks about making a new man to each according to his needs and from each according to his ability. Well, I'll tell you what I don't want to do. I don't want to let's all get poor together. And if you don't believe there aren't any poor in Russia, think about those recent pictures on television of destitute coal miners living in complete squalor.

In Russia, a very small group of about seven million people run the country. They are registered Communists and they are highly organized. The rest of the Russian population is worse off than you can possibly imagine. If you look at the scenes from the Armenian earthquake versus the California earthquake you'll see exactly what I'm talking about. Look at the people, their surroundings, their clothes, their shelters. Considering the same Richter Scale measurement, compare the loss of lives.

We have two kinds of people in America and two kinds of people in North Carolina. We've got the less fortunate and the more fortunate. But think of this. To be an American of any kind, you have a leg up. To be a North Carolinian to boot, you're even one step closer to heaven.

Let's talk about the future. We've got an opportunity here to take advantage of the nature of man and accept him for what he is, me included . . . and you, and capitalize on it. That's what we ought to do and that's what we started out to do in this country. Now, in our attempt to "do good" we are in fact defying man's true nature.

I heard on the news the other night that, in Washington, there was some question as to whether or not people ought to be permitted to rebuild on Palm Island, south of Charleston, in the wake of Hurricane Hugo's devastation. Well, when in the world did the government take it upon itself to decide that? Now, it's another matter if the government doesn't want them to have flood insurance. That's all right. But, if somebody wants to go down there and spend $200,000 on a beach house, I don't think the government ought to have a damn thing to say about it. I also don't think the fellow should come crying when his house gets washed away. The government should define the flood plain and the citizen should be allowed to build if he can get the financing. We don't need all these agencies and all these people directing everything and making choices for us from the cradle to the grave. It's denying the nature of man. It's killing initiative. It's stifling acquisitiveness. If you can get something without working, why work for it. If we are going to take care of people from birth to death, why should they work.

Fellow North Carolinians, all of us in this room are among the most fortunate. We've got to provide opportunities for every person in our state through education and through jobs. We have to create a climate which makes it possible for our young people to feel that they can become successful—not that success is guaranteed, but that they have a chance. The chance to get ahead will motivate a man or woman more than anything you can possibly do for them. You can't give them enough to get up in the morning, work all day and work overtime unless it's the opportunity for them to make more and have more. Take that incentive away and you're stifling initiative—denying the nature of man and killing the goose that laid the golden egg.

I plead with the members of government, both state and federal, to bear this in mind as they contemplate legislation and formulate the rules and regulations by which we all must live.

I would like to say this in closing. The responsibilities of those individuals serving in the governments of our state and nation are truly monumental. The magnitude of their challenges is tough to contemplate.

They need to actively seek and implement ways to unleash the nature of man. The resultant forces will do more to solve America's problems than anything else. Great opportunities lie ahead. Here in North Carolina we have the leadership in place to make all things possible. In addition, we have undiscovered leadership potential and we can look forward to the new and innovative approaches that these individuals will generate.

I would remind you, and everybody's got to blow his own horn a little bit, that we do not run the First-Citizens Bank according to national average or trends. We walk our own road—and this road benefits North Carolina. We protect our customers, protect our borrowers and serve our state. We are not in the business of buying and selling and taking the highest dollar, wherever it might be. We had the opportunity to participate in loans from Brazil to Zaire at 15 and 18 percent plus three points up front, plus one over the prime. We never bought the first damn loan, and we've been successful. We kept the money in North Carolina.

Thank you very much for the opportunity to be with you tonight.

WE CAN'T REMAIN NEUTRAL: JAMES H. MEREDITH

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, as many Senators know, I am privileged to have as a staff a man who has made a contribution to our Nation's history, James H. Meredith, whose friends know him as "J.H."

One of Mr. Meredith's goals is to warn Americans of all races of the crisis we face as the traditional American family slowly disintegrates. He has devoted much of his time to researching the adverse and destructive effect the liberal welfare state has had on our Nation's families. I shall be sharing it from time to time, beginning today, and in the coming months.

Mr. President, "J.H." reminds us that 1,500 years ago the once-mighty Roman Empire collapsed. Common wisdom contends that Rome was overwhelmed by vicious barbarian hordes. The real story is very different.

Rome was not conquered by the armed mobs of Europe and Asia in one pitched battle. In "The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," the great English historian Edward Gibbon tells us that it took 300 years for Rome to fall. In fact it took longer for Rome to fall than most nations survive. But despite all of its wealth and power, Rome collapsed of its own weight. It was destroyed from within.

Mr. President, Rome's death was agonizing. It suffered through 300 years of intellectual and spiritual decay. The Roman people witnessed centuries of government expansion, bureaucratic incompetence, debased currency, bloated budgets—and, more important, the wanton disregard for the institutions of law and family which had built the Roman state in the first place. The family unit in particular was wrecked by centuries of neglect and indifference.

Does that scenario sound familiar? I realize historical analogies are not perfect, but when I read Roman history I am fearful for America—particularly as I look around and see what is happening on our streets and in our homes. Like Rome, we are collapsing from within and the destruction of the American family is the root cause.

The great American family is fast disappearing. Fifteen million American children are growing up today without a father; one-fourth of all live births occur out of wedlock; the number of divorces now reaches 1.2 million per year. In fact, one of every two of today's marriages will end in divorce. These numbers represent the greatest social emergency in our history.

The disintegration of the family is a prime cause of crime and drug abuse and is the best explanation for the crisis we have reached in education and the continuance of poverty despite the largess of the welfare state. Combine this with our acceptance of violence and pornography in our everyday lives, and you see why we are fast becoming a new Rome.

Mr. President, our democracy is in grave danger, but it is not from any foreign foe. It is no accident that the totalitarian tyrants of this century have tried to destroy the family unit. From Moscow to Havana, the prophets of government planning have deliberately crushed the family and replaced the authority of the family unit with the power of the tightly controlled party bureaucracy.

The Communists understand that where strong families exist, individual freedom advances and the power of government retreats. Where the family withers away, government moves forward and finally dictates.

Marxism makes the removal of the family the cornerstone of its creed. Our Government has unwittingly followed the same pattern, perhaps with the best of intentions. In fact, one of the greatest threats to the family is

the enormous welfare state that has been created. Because Government proposes to be the solution to every problem, family resources are squandered in the search for new programs. In other words, Government steals from the family in order to save it—in the form of more taxes and less parental authority.

Mr. President, the family has been forced to give up its power to the courts and the regulation writers. It has been forced to give up its voice in education and social policy to the ever encroaching public official. It has been forced to give up its hard-earned wages to the insatiable welfare state.

It is time to declare that traditional families are the source of any nation's strength. Families who choose to have children are protecting our future. Families who choose adoption over abortion are to be praised. Parents who choose to raise their families themselves, instead of leaving it to somebody else, should be encouraged, not penalized by unfair taxes. Public policy must support these and other fundamental family decisions.

We can no longer afford to be neutral. We become a part of what we condone. If we do not reverse our course, America will find itself on the ash heap of history precisely as the Marxist despotisms and the Roman Empire did before them.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time has expired.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Does the Senator wish additional time?

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

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FOWLER). Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT—S. 1630, S.J. RES. 212, AND S. 1430

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that S. 1630, the clean air bill, not be displaced should any motion to proceed to Senate Joint Resolution 212, the Armenian genocide resolution, be adopted and that S. 1630 remain the regular order at any time, notwithstanding the provisions of rule XXII, at the discretion of the majority leader, after consultation with the Republican leader.

I further ask unanimous consent that, if there is a cloture vote on the motion to proceed to Senate Joint Resolution 212 on Thursday, February 22, and if it is unsuccessful, the majority leader, after consultation with the Republican leader, may proceed at any time to the consideration of S. 1430, the national service bill.

I further ask unanimous consent that, if a second cloture motion is filed on the motion to proceed to Senate Joint Resolution 212, the vote on that cloture motion occur on Tuesday, February 27, at 2:15 p.m. and, if the motion to proceed to Senate Joint Resolution 212 is agreed to, S. 1430 not be displaced thereby.

If either cloture vote is successful, I ask unanimous consent that the majority leader, after consultation with the Republican leader, may at any time proceed to the consideration of S. 1430, the national service bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, and I shall not object, as I understand the Thursday vote, we hope to agree on some mutually satisfactory time with the leadership and the distinguished President pro tempore.

Mr. MITCHELL. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. President, for the information of Senators, if consent is granted to this request, it is my intention to ask unanimous consent today, after the second scheduled rollcall vote, which is now scheduled to occur at approximately 4:30 p.m., to proceed to Senate Journal Resolution 212, the Armenian resolution. I understand and anticipate that the distinguished President pro tempore intends to object to that consent request, at which time I would move to proceed to the resolution, which motion to proceed would be fully debatable.

It is then my understanding and expectation that the distinguished Republican leader, who is the author and principal sponsor of the resolution, would file a cloture motion which would set up a cloture vote on the motion to proceed to the resolution on Thursday. Under the rule, of course, that vote would occur 1 hour after the Senate convenes on Thursday. But, after discussing it with both the distinguished Republican leader and the distinguished President pro tempore, it is my understanding that there will be further consultations to determine whether a time other than 1 hour after convening on Thursday would be more convenient for them and for a larger number of Senators. If so, that decision will be made and announced tomorrow.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there any objection to the unanimous-consent request of the majority leader?

Hearing none, the request is agreed to.

SCHEDULE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I thank my colleagues, both the distinguished Republican leader and the distinguished President pro tempore, and, therefore, announce for the benefit and information of Senators that following the second scheduled rollcall vote today, I will ask unanimous consent to proceed to Senate Joint Resolution 212, the Armenian resolution. Senator BYRD indicated his intention to object to that request.

At that time I will make a motion to proceed to the resolution, which is, of course, a debatable motion. And Senator BYRD has indicated his intention to be prepared to address the Senate on that issue at that time.

We will then be in session, I would estimate, talking to the two principal participants, for a couple of hours today for debate on it. And tomorrow, following the appearance of President Havel at the joint meeting with the House, we will return to the Armenian resolution in the early afternoon, as soon as we complete proceedings with respect to President Havel, and will stay on that resolution for debate tomorrow until approximately 7 p.m., if that is agreeable to the Senators.

By then we will have determined and announced whether the vote will occur 1 hour after convening on Thursday morning or at some other time during the day on Thursday.

That is the schedule as now anticipated.

On Thursday I will announce, following discussions with my distinguished colleagues, what our plan will be with respect to the national service bill. That will depend to some extent on what happens on the cloture vote that will occur sometime on Thursday.

TRIBUTE TO PATRICK POUZAR

Mr. SASSER. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Mr. Patrick Pouzar, of Nashville, TN, who was killed while on an official visit to Chile in his capacity as a Food and Drug Administration investigator. I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge the tremendous sacrifice Mr. Pouzar made in the interest of protecting U.S. citizens and his many worthwhile contributions during his career with the FDA.

I hasten to add that the tragedy that struck down Mr. Pouzar also took the life of another FDA official, Mr. John Harty. Both men left the United States in January on their second trip together to the Republic of Chile to closely review the variety of security precautions initiated by Chilean fruit processors and export officials. These actions became necessary as a result of the public scare in this country stemming from the discovery of chemically

contaminated grapes imported from Chile nearly 1 year ago.

Following a tour of several fruit processing centers in northern Chile, both FDA officials, joined by a representative of the Chilean Agriculture Service and an executive of the Chilean Exporters Association, began their journey back to Santiago. En route, their small plane crashed and everyone on board perished.

The Food and Drug Administration depends heavily on the expertise and commitment of its people. Throughout its history, the FDA has distinguished itself as the national guardian of consumer safety. The dedicated people who shoulder the burdens imposed on the FDA have created and supported a system to ensure a safe food and drug supply that is second to none.

Mr. Pouzar was one of these people. Throughout his long career with the FDA, Patrick Pouzar made public service his highest priority. He and his colleague will be sorely missed, but their many contributions to the betterment of American society will endure.

I know that all Tennesseans join me in extending to Mr. Pouzar's mother, wife, and three daughters our condolences and prayers during this very difficult period. Our sympathies also go to the families of Mr. Harty, the Chilean officials, and the plane's pilot.

Finally I want to express deep appreciation to the Chilean Government and to Ambassador Errazuriz for their diligence and compassion in expediting the return of Mr. Pouzar and his colleague to their homeland.

TRIBUTE TO BETTY NIXON

Mr. SASSER. Mr. President, today I rise to pay tribute to a friend and fellow Tennessean, Betty Nixon. Betty has worked tirelessly for our State over the years, and I was privileged to have her on my staff here in Washington last year.

Now, I have known and admired Betty Nixon for many years. As a 12-year member of the Nashville City Council and an activist deeply committed to bettering our State, Betty has played a key role in Nashville's efforts to improve housing conditions, better transportation, and encourage economic development. Betty has earned respect and gratitude all across our State for her work, and I can only add to those sentiments.

Last year, as a member of the staff of the Governmental Affairs Subcommittee on General Services, Federalism, and the District of Columbia, which I chair, Betty Nixon used her experience with local government to help us here at the Federal level better serve our States and localities. For example, she looked at the massive problem of the decay of America's infrastructure and recognized the need to open up a dialog on the issue between infrastructure experts and State, Federal, and local legislators. Betty succeeded in facilitating such a dialog which provided valuable guidance to local officials around the country.

Mr. President, I could go on praising Betty Nixon for quite some time. But most importantly, let me say that Betty is a trusted and valued friend. From our days together at Hillsboro High School, to her work as my campaign manager, to today, Betty is someone who merits my admiration and gratitude. And I can add with pride that Betty Nixon is one of the most respected and popular elected officials in the history of Nashville.

As of the first of this year, Nashville is again fortunate to have Betty Nixon living and working within its borders. As much as we here in Washington will miss Betty, I know that she will do an outstanding job in her new role assisting Vanderbilt University in its local, State, and Federal relations. I know my alma mater will benefit greatly from her service, and I wish Betty Nixon the very best.

TERRY ANDERSON

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I rise to inform my colleagues that today marks the 1,802d day that Terry Anderson has been held in captivity in Beirut.

I would also like to note that Mr. Anderson's sister, Peggy Say—who has been tireless in her efforts to free her brother—recently began a "journey of peace, reconciliation, and hope" in an attempt to gain further international support for her most noble cause. Mrs. Say has met or will meet with the International Committee of the Red Cross, Pope John Paul II, the Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie, UNESCO Director-General Frederico Mayor, Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Sharaa, and Yasir Arafat.

I would like to wish Mrs. Say well in her travels and reiterate my respect and steadfast support for her efforts.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that three articles detailing Peggy Say's tour be reprinted in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

[From the Buffalo News, Feb. 9, 1990]

PEGGY SAY LAUNCHES TRIP IN BID TO FREE BROTHER

NEW YORK.—Peggy Say, sister of Terry Anderson, the longest-held Western hostage in Lebanon, is launching a "journey of peace, reconciliation and hope" to Europe and the Middle East in a bid to free her brother.

Mrs. Say will meet today with U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to begin her mission, which will include meetings with Pope John Paul II in Rome, the archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, in London and Palestine Liberation Organization Chief Yasser Arafat.

"In Terry's last videotape in October 1988, he asked that the United States use its influence in a positive, not a negative way," she said. "I intend to make that same appeal to all of those who may have influence in this hostage situation."

"I want to appeal for an end to the suffering of all people in the Middle East, including these innocent hostages," she added.

Anderson, chief Middle East correspondent for the Associated Press, was seized March 16, 1985, in Beirut. Seventeen other Western hostages—seven Americans, four Britons, two West Germans, two Swiss, an Italian and an Irishman—are being held in Lebanon.

During the tour, Mrs. Say and AP executives also will meet with the European Parliament's Committee on Human Rights in Strasbourg, France; the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, Switzerland; UNESCO Director General Federico Mayor in Paris and Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Sharaa in Damascus.

Mrs. Say said efforts to meet with Iranian officials received no response. Sheik Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah, spiritual head of Hezbollah, the pro-Iranian Shiite Moslem movement in Lebanon, declined to meet with the group outside Lebanon.

Anderson is being held by a group calling itself Islamic Jihad, or Islamic Holy War, generally believed to be one of several groups operating under the umbrella of Hezbollah.

The AP delegation includes photographer Donald Mell, who was with Anderson when he was kidnapped, and Larry Heinzerling, who has been serving as special assistant to AP President and General Manager Louis D. Boccardi on the Anderson case.

"The approach of the fifth anniversary of Terry's captivity carries with it the clear message that there is no point in continuing his cruel ordeal," Boccardi said of the tour.

"Our group will try to convey publicly what we have tried to convey privately—that is, that in the name of humanity, it is time for Terry Anderson to be allowed to come home."

Public and private efforts throughout the world, involving scores of governments, organizations and individuals, have failed to obtain Anderson's freedom.

Most visible in these efforts has been Anderson's sister, who has campaigned tirelessly on her brother's behalf. The Associated Press has supported Mrs. Say's efforts and pressed its own efforts to win Anderson's release.

Mrs. Say, formerly of Batavia, N.Y., and now of Cadiz, KY, said church groups in Buffalo and Batavia plan to organize a nationwide fast and prayer through March 16 "for an end to the suffering of the people of the Middle East." Anderson graduated from Batavia High School.

The Buffalo Area Metropolitan Ministers called on Americans to select a day or days of fasting and prayer in support of the hostages, culminating in a 24-hour fast beginning the evening of March 15.

The Rev. Dr. Charles R. White, executive director of BAMM, could not be reached for additional information on the group's plans.

[From the Buffalo News, Feb. 14, 1990]

POPE TELLS MRS. SAY HE PRAYS FOR CAPTIVES

VATICAN CITY.—Pope John Paul II met Wednesday with the sister of Terry Ander-

son, the longest-held Western hostage in Lebanon, and said he would pray for him and for an end to the bloody conflict in the Middle East country.

"Your brother is a journalist and he is a hostage. This is a terrible, terrible thing," John Paul told Peggy Say, speaking in English.

Anderson, chief Middle East correspondent for The Associated Press, was seized in Beirut on March 16, 1985.

Mrs. Say, formerly, like her brother, a resident of Batavia, N.Y., was received in private audience by the pope during a tour of Europe and the Middle East in efforts to free her brother.

She said the pope assured her that "he would be praying with me, as he does every day, for an end to the conflict in Lebanon and peace and reconciliation for the people there."

She added the Pope John Paul said he would pray "for not only Terry Anderson but all of the hostages."

Mrs. Say recalled to the pope how another American hostage, a Catholic priest, the Rev. Lawrence Martin Jenco, had celebrated Mass for Anderson using bits of dried bread and water instead of wine. Anderson had pulled fibers from his floor mat and made rosaries for the two of them, she told the pontiff.

Father Jenco was freed in 1986 after nearly 19 months as a hostage and was received by the pope before returning to the United States.

After the audience, Mrs. Say met with reporters before heading to the next stop on her tour, the European Parliament's Committee on Human Rights in Strasbourg, France.

Seventeen other Western hostages—seven Americans, four Britons, two West Germans, two Swiss, an Italian and an Irishman—are being held in Lebanon.

Mrs. Say showed Pope John Paul a photo of Anderson's daughter, Sulome, who was born several months after he was taken hostage, and an older daugher, Gabrielle, now 14.

Larry Heinzerling, who has been serving as a special assistant to AP President and General Manager Louis D. Boccardi on the Anderson case, also attended the audience.

Before coming to Rome, Mrs. Say and AP executives met with the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, Switzerland.

They will also meet with the archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, in London, UNESCO Director General Federico Mayor in Paris and Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Sharaa in Damascus.

The group also hopes to meet with Palestine Liberation Organization Chief Yasser Arafat.

Mrs. Say, who now lives in Cadiz, KY, has said efforts to meet with Iranian officials received no response. Sheik Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah, spiritual head of Hezbollah, the pro-Iranian Shiite Muslim movement in Lebanon, declined to meet with the group outside Lebanon.

Anderson is being held by a group calling itself Islamic Jihad or Islamic Holy War, generally believed to be one of several groups operating under the umbrella of Hezbollah.

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 18, 1990]

ARAFAT MEETS PEGGY SAY

TUNIS.—Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat promised the sister of American hostage Terry Anderson that he will do his "very best" to help free Anderson and the other 17 Westerners held in Lebanon.

The PLO chairman met for an hour with Anderson's sister, Peggy Say, in the dining room of his well-guarded mansion overlooking the Mediterranean in the Tunisian capital, where the PLO has its headquarters.

"I am doing my very best to get the hostages released," he told Say. "I shall continue to do this because I consider it my duty. With the fanantical groups holding them, it is not an easy task. But I promise you that I will do my utmost."

AIRLINE ISSUES

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, I was recently honored to participate in a local radio production called Capital Commentary, which airs on WGMS-FM. This radio station runs "Capital Commentary" from Members of Congress as a public service to its listeners. I commend WGMS for offering this opportunity to address important subjects.

I would like to submit for the RECORD a transcript of my comments for the "Capital Commentary" Program.

CAPITAL COMMENTARY

This is South Dakota Senator Larry Pressler.

I serve as a member of the United States Senate Transportation Committee, and airlines are a major topic before us in 1990.

The issue of air safety affects everyone who flies. Also, the issue of ticket pricing and the growing monopolies in the American airline system are a great concern to us on the committee.

The issue of foreign ownership of some of our airlines must be faced. Also, the average traveler is very concerned about ticket prices. Now, it's true that you can get a very good deal on airline ticket prices if you can plan far in advance and buy a Super Saver. But if you suddenly have to go to an event, a funeral, or a business engagement, for example, that you can only plan a few days in advance, you can be stuck with paying very high airline tickets.

There's also a problem with the small airports in places such as South Dakota where we do not have a hub airport. I am a strong supporter of the Essential Air Service Program to help out those smaller town areas.

Then there's the issue of airport congestion at airports for airplanes and the gridlock of just getting to and from airports.

We have many challenges in our society and in the Senate Transportation Committee to address in 1990 regarding air service for our citizens.

This is Senator Larry Pressler for "Capital Commentary."

MARGARET CHASE SMITH

Mr. COHEN. Mr. President, a very wise man once noted that youth is not a time of life—it is a state of mind. There is no one who better personifies this adage than a great lady from the State of Maine. I am referring, of course, to our former colleague, Senator Margaret Chase Smith.

At the age of 92, there seems to be nothing that the youthful spirit of Senator Smith cannot undertake. Not long ago she climbed aboard a Ski-Doo 486 snowmobile for a ride with her niece in the frigid Maine winter. She travels frequently, tends to the Margaret Chase Smith Library in her beloved Skowhegan, keeps up with volumes of correspondence and lectures frequently.

An article detailing many of the activities of this remarkable woman appeared recently in the Capitol Hill newspaper Roll Call. I am sure it will be of interest to my Senate colleagues and I ask that it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

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

FEISTY EX-SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH, 92, IS STILL RIDING SNOWMOBILES, FOLLOWING POLITICS

(By Karen Foerstel)

In 1948, she became the first woman to be elected to both Houses of Congress. Sixteen years later, she was the first woman to have her name placed in nomination for president at the convention of a major party.

And today, at the age of 92, former Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R-Maine) is again making headlines, this time not for her political moves but for her maneuvering on a snowmobile.

Just two weeks ago, Smith, who celebrated her 92nd birthday this past Dec. 14, braved 15-degree Maine temperatures, hopped onto the back of a Ski-Doo 486 with her niece, and was off to the hills for a day of snowmobiling.

"It hit the papers for some reason," Smith said in a telephone interview from her home in Skowhegan, Maine, on Monday. "I don't know what I did."

Smith, who lives on her own in the house she designed 40 years ago, first came to public attention in 1940 when she was elected to fill the vacancy left by her husband, Rep. Clyde Smith (R-Maine), who had died suddenly of a heart attack.

Urged by her husband's friends to run for the seat, the 42-year-old widow won easily.

"I never had any dream of such a thing," Smith said of her unexpected entrance into the political arena. "But I had his business to take care of."

After serving a quiet six years in the House, Smith was told by a friend that she had "reached her peak" in politics and had no place to go but "downhill."

It was this statement, Smith says, that made her determined to move in the opposite direction. Forty-one years ago, Smith was elected to the US Senate.

In 1950, as a freshman, she delivered her now-famous "Declaration of Conscience" speech on the Senate floor, denouncing the tactics of her colleague Sen. Joe McCarthy (R-Wis).

"I think if I go down in history, it would be for that," Smith said in her soft and shakey voice. "It called attention . . . as to how serious this was. He was attacking educators, politicians . . . everybody."

Smith's speech placed her on the McCarthy hit-list. His first act of retaliation, as ranking minority member of the Executive Expenditures (now Government Operations) Committee, was to kick Smith off the subcommittee on permanent investiga-

tions and replace her with newly elected Sen. Richard Milhous Nixon (R-Calif).

Six years later, Smith was chosen by her party to debate Eleanor Roosevelt, FDR's widow, on "Face the Nation" during the Eisenhower/Stevenson presidential race.

And in 1964, Smith announced her own candidacy for the Republican presidential nomination, saying, "Because of these very impelling reasons against my running, I have decided that I shall enter the New Hampshire Presidential preferential primary and the Illinois primary."

Today, Smith is still fighting the odds. In November she overcame a bout with food poisoning which hospitalized her for eight days.

She's now back at full speed, attending local political functions, lecturing to community groups, and "giving a good many interviews."

She still stays in touch with several current Members of Congress—although she declined to mention any names—and keeps up with the latest news from Washington.

Regarding the Congressional salary increase: "There are too many other things to do than worry about a pay raise," she says. The top salary she made while on the Hill, she recalls, was about $22,500.

Regarding ethics: "I think ethics cannot be legislated. People either have ethics or they don't."

While she no longer drives, she still owns her own car and hires a driver to take her to political and community gatherings.

Two weeks ago, she attended a "big party" for the Speaker of the Maine House and days later took part in a Chinese New Year celebration.

"I don't miss [Congress] because I'm keeping so busy here," she said.

Smith spends most of the day working in the Margaret Chase Smith Library—built adjacent to her house in 1982—sorting through her thousands of papers and files of her political career.

Another chunk of her time is spent personally answering the 40 pieces of mail she receives daily.

Many of the letters are from people who think that Smith—who was defeated for reelection in 1972 by Democrat William Hathaway—is still serving the Congress.

"So many people don't realize I'm no longer in the Senate, asking me to do things for them."

LANDMARK JUSTICE

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, during his long and distinguished tenure on the U.S. Supreme Court, Justice William Brennan has made many significant contributions to America's understanding of the Constitution's promise of equal justice under law. Some of these—such as Justice Brennan's historic opinions on libel law, due process, voting rights, equal rights for women, and the separation of church and state—received widespread public attention when they were announced and are well known to many Americans. But his important judicial pronouncements on the subject of land use have not received the attention they deserve.

That situation has now been corrected by Landmark Justice, a new book by Charles M. Haar, Brandeis professor of law at Harvard Law School, and Jerold S. Kayden, a Guggenheim fellow and visiting faculty member at the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy in Cambridge, MA. Professors Haar and Kayden have produced a thorough and insightful analysis of Justice Brennan's opinions on many important land use questions, from his service on the New Jersey courts and on the U.S. Supreme Court. As the authors demonstrate, Justice Brennan's rulings on these issues reflect his deep-seated conviction that the Constitution embodies a fundamental vision of human dignity, protected from Government interference.

Professors Haar and Kayden have added a new dimension to our appreciation of Justice Brennan's profound impact on American life and law, and I commend their study to my colleagues in Congress.

MAINE ACADIAN CULTURE PRESERVATION COMMISSION

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, for more than 200 years, Acadian settlers and their descendants have greatly contributed to the culture, history, and growth of Maine. Sadly, this culture, grounded in its strong commitment to family, religion, hard work, and sacrifice is in danger of being lost.

Last year, I introduced legislation along with my colleague, Senator COHEN, to preserve Maine's Acadian culture. The legislation, S. 1756, would establish a Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Commission to advise the National Park Service on how to conduct activities and programs to interpret the story of Maine's Acadian settlers and their descendents as well as preserving and perpetuating Acadian music, arts, crafts, and folklore.

An article in the November edition of Down East magazine demonstrates the clear need for this legislation.

The article describes the efforts of Ida Roy, who has made her life's work preserving Acadian folk songs. Along with performing these songs at festivals around Maine, Ida Roy has collected and taped hundreds of these songs with the assitance of Roger Paradis, a historian and folklorist at the University of Maine at Fort Kent.

Those tapes are now kept in a suitcase in Ida Roy's home. They deserve to be archived and made more readily available to an interested public. That is precisely the goal of my legislation.

Without the enactment of S. 1756, it is likely that the history and culture of the Acadian people, who have lived in this country and the State of Maine for more than 200 years, will be effectively lost to the ages.

That should not be allowed to happen. As Ida Roy knows, the culture and history of Maine's Acadian people deserves to be celebrated and preserved before it is lost to future generations, in the words of Down East, "to the clamor of American mass media."

I hope that will be accomplished through enactment of this legislation.

I ask unanimous consent that the November Down East article on Ida Roy be printed at this point in the RECORD.

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

[From Down East, November 1989]

VOICE OF THE VALLEY

(By Ernie Freeberg)

It's a long way from Van Buren to Portland, a good seven hours on the road. But every August a small, unassuming woman named Ida Roy makes the trip down to the Maine Festival to represent the St. John Valley on the festival's folk arts stage. "I am so proud to do it," she says. As she steps up to perform, the lifelong Aroostook resident is dwarfed by the stage and awkward behind a microphone, as unsure of electronics as she is of the English language. But she has a big voice with an edge of brass, strong enough to hold its own against the surrounding din of the festival, stirring enough to hold the audience spellbound. Some of the Acadian songs she sings have, in fact, been holding audiences spellbound for centuries.

Before each new song she offers a translation in halting English for the non-Acadians in the audience. One is a tragic love song about a dying bride who asks her lover to bury her in a white dress, diamonds, and roses. Another tells the tale of a solidier who went off to the Seven Years' War and returned to find his wife remarried. To lighten the mood, she sings a comic song about a man who sells his girlfriend's wig to buy drink. Then she offers one with a message: against her father's wishes, a girl marries a drunkard. Before long the girl runs away, and her family finds her frozen to death one morning on their doorstep. "That's something true," Ida explains. "My mother used to sing that a lot to us children and she would say 'listen carefully.' "

At sixty-eight, Ida is the only one in the Valley still singing many of the old songs; but she is doing her best to see that others will at least get a chance to hear them. Somewhere in Ida Roy's Van Buren apartment she's hiding what she calls "the big treasury of the St. John Valley"—a suitcase overflowing with cassette tapes, 240 at last count. Each tape is full of Ida's songs, recorded on her home cassette recorder, wrapped in tinfoil for safekeeping, then hidden away, protected for posterity. "As long as the house don't burn down they are safe for sure," she says in a melodic Acadian accent. "They're valuable now because I think I'm the only one that's got them."

Until her retirement a few years ago, Ida turned her kitchen job at the local rectory into a daily concert. And now, with more time to spare, she practices her songs each day and never misses a chance to share them. "I don't advertise, but if anybody asks, I don't turn them down."

Ida's suitcase notwithstanding, Ida's songs belong to the whole St. John Valley, where they've been passed down from one generation to the next ever since the first French settlers arrived in the late 1700s. Ironically, they have become Ida's "treasure" simply because most of her neighbors no longer want them. Not so long ago, just about ev-

eryone in the Valley knew at least a few of the old tunes, most could sing along at the informal kitchen parties known as *soirees,* and every village had its master singers who knew hundreds of songs by heart. "I've been questioning all the people I meet around here," says Ida, "and no one has some songs anymore."

That may be the exaggeration of a fanatic folksong collector. The fact is Ida's secret suitcase holds close to a thousand songs. The first few hundred she inherited from her parents, handed down like family heirlooms. The rest she coaxed out of her neighbors, or found by combing the local history shelves of Valley libraries. "I used to sing for the nursing homes and the old people, they sang along with me. And once in a while someone had a song or two I didn't have yet." With a mixture of sorrow and scorn she adds, "But the young people, they don't have anything like that. They don't have one."

Ida stands on the brink of a generation gap that will leave an enduring mark on the valley's cultural life. For most of their history, the Acadians were too busy trying to wrest a living from the soil to have much time for formal education, and so they used songs and stories, not the written word, to pass on their history, customs, and language. But now, in a single generation, centuries of oral traditions are about to be lost, the old Acadian voices drowned out by the clamor of the American mass media. "My children, they don't want to learn the songs. All they sing is what's on the radio," says Ida. "It really bothers me that nobody will take after my father and me."

Ida gives her father much of the credit for her own passion for French music. "He was singing all the time," she recalls, and of the hundreds of songs she learned from him she says "he knew all of them by heart; he didn't have one written down, not one."

Ida also inherited her father's strong voice, a talent that earned her the honor as a schoolgirl of leading the class in a round of "American songs" every morning. But it was the French songs Ida loved. "They didn't come from the radio, only from the people around. And every little song that I could find, I'd pick it up."

When Ida's father wasn't singing, he was working—traveling around Aroostook County as a lumber-mill mechanic, running a shingle mill and blacksmith shop, and supervising the family farm in St. Agatha, with lots of help from Ida and her sister. "We worked on the farm like men," she says, "feeding the animals, harvesting the buckwheat; whatever had to be done, we did."

That work, and the long winter walk to school in the days before girls wore pants, were the reasons Ida quit school in the sixth grade. But each night when the chores were done the family gathered in the parlor and Ida's musical education continued. "Of course there was no television. My dad had a radio, but he was saving his battery for the news. So instead I was crocheting and singing all the time. That's the way we learned."

Ida also learned at family soirees. Relatives from all over the Valley converged on a single farmhouse for a long evening of singing, card playing, story-telling, and dancing. "We were a crowd," she laughs, adding without a trace of irony that "it was just like the old times we see sometime on TV." She remembers her relatives piling into three or four horse-drawn sleighs at the end of an all-night song swap in Daigle, driving across frozen potato fields, not arriving back in St. Agatha till daybreak.

The songs Ida picked up at those soirees are like beautiful beach stones, ancient and worn smooth by the endless handling of time. Many in her repertoire have been passed down from parent to child for centuries. These are the love songs Ida's great-grandparents probably courted to, the tragic ballads with moral lessons every Acadian mother hoped to sing into her children's conscience, and the humorous ditties that helped pass long hours in potato fields and lumber camps.

These ballads have lasted so long because they relate the timeless tales of lost love, war, and tragedy every generation wants to hear. But embedded in them like fossils are historical references that date some all the way back to the Middle Ages. The songs were brought to the Valley by the first Acadian settlers. A long way from France and surrounded by inhospitable Englishmen, they became extreme cultural conservatives; while language and culture marched on in the rest of the world, the Acadians isolated in St. John Valley managed to stop the clock. That's why to this day they speak a dialect full of 300-year-old idioms; and that's why Ida still sings about Napoleon, the Seven Years' War, and Indian ambushes.

Not all of Ida's songs are antiques. Within her lifetime Acadian songwriters were still recording local history through long plaintive ballads called complaints, songs about what Ida calls "a tragedy that really happened." For example, she sings a complaint about the death of her brother-in-law, Wilfred Roy: as a young lumberjack he fell to his death in a woods accident. "He was supposed to come home the very next morning but late that night he fell from a big pile of logs and broke his neck on the bobsled," Ida remembers. "His cousin Alsime Madore saw everything that happened, and had to go tell my husband who was asleep in the camp, that his brother had died. Madore came out from the woods and while he was planting potatoes that spring he was thinking of what he saw there and decided to compose a song about it."

Madore wrote the song for the victim's family and friends, to help them remember the event and to express their grief. Like many complaints, it ends with an apology: Madore admits he wrote it, then asks the listener to forgive him if he failed to do justice to the subject. That kind of humility is common among the Valley's Acadians. Ida herself will sometimes apologize for the songs she loves. "Songs that educated people sing you see right away it's not Acadian, that they learned it in school somewhere. In the Acadian songs the words are not always grammatical and sometimes the words don't go with the air too well." But Ida is proud enough of the tradition never to correct what she collects. "I like a song the way it is because that's the way they wrote it."

In spite of the fact that her children complained about her constant singing, and her late husband had "no voice, no talent except to work real hard for a living," Ida stuck with the old songs. But it wasn't until 1972 that Roger Paradis, a historian and folklorist from the University of Maine in Fort Kent, launched her on the song-collecting spree that has since filled a suitcase. Paradis, who also grew up in the Valley, realized that the old songs and stories were an endangered species and that most people who knew them were "either in the grave or the nursing home." So with the help of his students, he began to collect the Valley's songs on tape, and his inquiries soon led him to Ida Roy. For several months Ida spent Friday evenings at the university, taping her entire musical memory for the archives.

When Paradis started the collection twenty years ago, there were lots of others in the Valley who knew as many or more of the old songs. But, as Paradis predicted, most are gone now, and he says, "At this point Ida is probably unique; you would be hard put nowadays to find anyone else still singing the old ballads this way."

Since her children and fellow Acadians seem uninterested in carrying on the tradition, Ida realizes she will probably be the Valley's last ballad singer. Far from shrinking under the burden, she has launched herself with missionary zeal into the effort to set these songs down for future generations. That means lots of investigative work in local nursing homes and libraries, and in the back rooms of her own memory. "Just the other day one came back to me in a flash and I ran to write it down," Ida says. "It was a song no one has heard except in the old days."

Ida Roy would like to see her personal song collection out of the suitcase and into print; and so, at the age of sixty-three, she's contemplating going back to school for some typing and French classes, so she can publish her own songbooks. "I'll need more education since I want to make a good job on that," she says. "I'm nearly too old to go back to school but I've got a good courage so I'll keep singing and writing and we'll see what happens."

THE FIGHT AGAINST WORLD HUNGER: A STRATEGY FOR THE 1990'S

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, as we launch the 1990's with well-founded hope and expectations about changes in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, I believe it is important to reflect that in other places, the outlook is not nearly as promising. Hunger and poverty continue to plague many parts of Africa, Latin America, and South Asia, and our attempts to overcome these problems have been grossly inadequate.

The last decade was not kind to the world's poorest, hungriest nations. Famine, war, and civil strife have strangled the food supply of entire regions. Yet the 1980's also saw encouraging developments in understanding the root of this problem, which has led to progress in providing emergency aid, combating childhood and nutritional diseases, and the emergence of grassroots development groups. Our challenge in the 1990's is to build upon these small successes.

With that goal in mind, in November 1989, hunger experts from 14 countries met in Bellagio, Italy, to analyze the problem of world hunger and to offer a remedy. The group concluded that half of the world's hungry people could have reliable access to sufficient food by the end of the next decade. Their conference document, the Bellagio Declaration, lays out four steps to that achievable goal.

At Brown University in Providence, RI, the Alan Shawn Feinstein World Hunger Program is actively engaged in the fight against hunger; it played a crucial role in coordinating and developing the Bellagio initiative. I believe that this document warrants our serious consideration as we move forward in charting our course in the decade ahead. I recommend the Bellagio Declaration to my colleagues and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

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

THE BELLAGIO DECLARATION: OVERCOMING HUNGER IN THE 1990'S

(The Bellagio Declaration was produced and adopted by a group of 23 planners, practitioners, opinion leaders and scientists meeting at the Rockefeller Foundation Study and Conference Center in Bellagio, Italy, on November 13-16, 1989. Participants came from 14 countries, both north and south. They are affiliated with 9 national or international agencies, 8 advocacy and grassroots organizations and 5 universities and research institutes, but participated as individuals sharing their expertise and concern. The Declaration reflects the content of the original background document for the meeting and the views expressed in different rounds of discussion during the conference. It represents the consensus emerging at the meeting but not necessarily the individual views of each participant. A list of all participants is attached.)

It is possible to end half the world's hunger before the year 2000. We have only imprecise numbers to take measure of the hungry, but those numbers tell us that: (1) a billion people live in households too poor to obtain the food they need for work; (2) half of those are too poor even to obtain the food they need to maintain minimal activity; (3) one child in six is born underweight and one in three is underweight by age 5; and (4) hundreds of millions of people suffer anemia, goiter, and impaired sight from diets with too little iron, iodine or vitamin A. In a world of potential food plenty, we have collectively failed more than one billion of our people.

Hunger wears many faces. It may be acute or chronic, visible or hidden, food or disease related, but it is typically rooted in poverty and in the economic and social processes that perpetuate it. The elimination of hunger, therefore, is formidable and a long term undertaking. Recognizing this, we still believe that reducing hunger by half in the 1990's is a realistic objective for the world. We can act meaningfully to end hunger in the short run without losing sight of the continuing need in the long run to address its basic causes.

The decade now ending has been described as "the lost 80's," a time when efforts to overcome hunger have been grossly inadequate in the face of deteriorating economic conditions in Africa and Latin America, persistent hunger in South Asia, and increased incidences of hunger in wealthy countries. Overall, the 1980's has been a period of growing realization that most development efforts have failed the hungry and poor in the Third World and that current uses of natural resources are unsustainable. Less visible, but more encouraging trends in the 80's include a fresh understanding of the origins and causes of hunger, lessons learned from recent attempts to improve nutrition, the evolution of a worldwide logistical system to provide emergency food aid, rapid progress against childhood and nutritional diseases, and the maturation of grassroots movements and development groups.

As we turn into the 1990's the world is in great ferment. Fears of imminent worldwide economic collapse have abated. Peace and effects for peace are emerging in all regions of the world. In many countries, both industrialized and developing, a wave of democratization, participation, and pluralism is evident. On the other hand, unequal trade relations between the North and the South, growing and already heavy debt burdens, environmental degradation, and continued rapid population growth make life miserable and particularly difficult for poor people in Third World countries.

It is against this background of new opportunity and persistent problems that organizations—governmental, intergovernmental and nongovernmental—concerned with hunger have begun to identify needed directions for the 1990's and to propose new initiatives for public action. Specifically, the Bellagio Declaration proposes four achievable goals for the 1990's.

ACHIEVABLE GOALS

We believe that it is possible and imperative in the 1990's (1) to eliminate deaths from famine, (2) to end hunger in half of the poorest households, (3) to cut malnutrition in half for mothers and small children, and (4) to eradicate iodine and vitamin A deficiencies. Together, they comprise a comprehensive yet still practical program that can end half of world hunger in the 1990's.

These goals are achievable because they build on the best experiences with programs and policies for overcoming world hunger. The most promising ones are those that empower people to assess their own condition and to act in their own behalf, that provide short-term hunger relief while addressing deeply-rooted causes, and that can be sustained over the long term.

1. ELIMINATE FAMINE DEATHS

An attainable target by the year 2000 is the virtual elimination of deaths due to famine among the 15 to 35 million people at risk of famine in any year through improvement of early warning and response systems and international efforts to provide safe passage of food in zones of armed conflict.

Many of the tools needed to prevent deaths due to famine are already in place. Efforts to cope with drought, flood, war and famine in the 1980's have led to major improvements in the global system for providing emergency food aid. Some developing countries have created early-response mechanisms to take advantage of early warnings. Continued effort must be made to improve these programs by taking into account local indicators of increased vulnerability among groups at particular risk.

Another achievement growing out of experience with the famines of the 1980's is the widespread awareness of the need for relating short-term relief measures to longer term development objectives. Although emergency food aid often is the most critical intervention, agencies and organizations engaged in famine relief now know that they need to couple it with measures to reduce dependency on such aid and to promote self-reliance.

The major obstacle to eliminating famine remains the destruction or interdiction of civilian food supplies in zones of armed conflict. The rudiments for international protection of civilian rights to food exist in international law, most specifically in the 1977 protocols to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 that prohibit starvation of civilians as a means of combat. More recently, there is renewed interest in an international or regional covenant for the sanctity of civilian food supplies and the safe passage of emergency food relief. Such a covenant could bind nations to provide safe passege and might permit convoy by United Nations peacekeeping forces within their national territory.

2. END HUNGER IN ONE-HALF THE POOREST HOUSEHOLDS

Also attainable is the goal of augmenting purchasing power and food production levels so as to enable half the hungry people in the world to buy or grow enough to eat.

For many poor farmers in the Third World, a key need is maintaining access to the natural resource base and the inputs needed for cultivating, herding, or fishing in the face of growing population and increased competition for land. Increasingly, poor households have had to cope with the deterioration of their resources, the loss of crucial access to common resources, and restriction to all but the most ecologically marginal land. The task of rehabilitating degraded ecosystems and restoring to the most vulnerable groups their access and control of productive resources of land, forest, and water must be accelerated. A variety of sustainable agricultural and forestry techniques with demonstrated ability to sustain productivity, provide fuelwood, limit soil erosion, and increase food and income can also be applied.

Measures to increase small farm agricultural production and to create new income and work activities could end hunger for a third to a half of the roughly 450 million people who now live in rural households too poor to minimally feed themselves. Programs that provide wage and food income in return for labor to construct needed agricultural infrastructure and to restore degraded resources show particular promise. They reduce poverty in the short run through direct supplementation of incomes and in the long run through sustained increases in agricultural productivity and income. Programs that have provided self-sustaining sources of credit to start small businesses or produce local products and services, especially for women, have also proven quite effective in many countries.

Food-security programs, given targeting and effective application, could by the end of the decade end hunger for half or more of the 150 million people in urban households too poor to minimally feed themselves in present circumstances. There is widespread agreement that untargeted food assistance, carried out by means of price control, overvalued exchange rates, import controls, or cash subsidies is ineffective or cannot be sustained because of its high costs. Yet ample experience with food-security programs demonstrates that careful targeting can be accomplished by subsidizing foods that are consumed primarily by the poor and by distributing food and coupons in poor neighborhoods and to vulnerable groups such as mothers and children. The use of existing marketing networks to distribute food can often lower costs and improve participation. Community-organized mass feeding programs are also effective, low-cost ways to target and distribute food.

3. CUT MALNUTRITION AMONG WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN HALF

Women of reproductive age and children under five years of age are particularly vulnerable to malnutrition. Although many of the measures listed above will help improve their situation in the decade to come, special measures are still needed to reduce their special vulnerabilities. Sustained breastfeeding, expanded supplemental feeding, and growth monitoring, in combination with limiting the effects of childhood illness, could reduce by half the common forms of childhood wasting and stunting. The prevalence of breastfeeding is stable or even increasing in many developing countries, perhaps assisted by continuing efforts to encourage and maintain it. Innovative programs that combine monitoring of child growth through regular weighing to detect wasting with supplemental feeding hold promise to address the weight loss of children with recurrent bouts of illness and the difficult weaning transition from breast to the adult diet.

Many such initiatives for the benefit of children place an increased burden on already overworked mothers, even though they may be somewhat compensated by the reduced care required of healthy children. Community-based programs that include child-care and other supports can lessen this burden while enhancing mothers' efforts. Reducing by at least half through iron supplements the nutritional anemia endemic in women of reproductive age can further strengthen mothers. Continued promotion of improved birth spacing will benefit both children and mothers.

4. ERADICATE IODINE AND VITAMIN A DEFICIENCIES

Through the use of current techniques, most of the 190 million cases of goiter could be eradicated and the 280 million children at risk of vitamin A deficiency protected by the end of the century. Selected regions and countries have made major progress in eliminating iodine deficiency disorders—marked by goiter, mental impairment, and, in the extreme, cretinism—and the visual impairment of vitamin A deficiency diseases. For goiter, most countries can provide iodized salt to most areas endemic with the disease and injections of iodized oil for inhabitants of more remote mountain and desert regions. For vitamin A deficiency, a capsule taken two or three times a year can protect a child throughout the critical ages of one to four years. Evidence is also increasing for wide-ranging health benefits beyond eye protection from vitamin A therapy.

STRATEGIES AND RESOURCES

Any strategy to overcome hunger in the 1990's must be conceived and implemented in full awareness of the array of fundamental changes and trends that will characterize the coming decade and shape the context in which hunger persists. Indeed, if we fail to relate efforts to end hunger to these broader forces—which represent both obstacles and opportunities—short-term gains may well be swamped by long-term increases in hunger.

The outstanding situation that must be recognized as we move into the 1990's is the inequitable economic relationship between the North and the South, which withdraws net capital from the South, diverts agriculture in developing countries from producing food to meet local needs, creates contentious food trade barriers, underprices food commodities, and often encourages capital investment that undermines rather than advances sustainable uses of agriculture and resources.

No less challenging than the worldwide economic picture is the precarious state of the global environment. Deforestation, desertification, soil erosion, water shortage and salinization, chemical contamination, and global warming will adversely affect the sustainable food production capacity of the planet. But embedded in this threat is also an opportunity. Worldwide attention, from heads of state to the general public, is now strongly focused on the endangered planet. We who combat hunger must put a human face on the environmental issue: unless we restore and maintain viable ecosystems and ecological cycles, we will increasingly threaten our ability to feed humanity. Opponents of hunger must embrace their environmentalist allies in a common cause.

Exacerbating the environment/hunger problem is the continued growth of the world's population. During the 1990's, the world will need to feed another billion mouths, most living in the very countries where the ability to curb hunger is already severely strained. Family planning programs that have slowed the overall rate of population growth in the world must persist and expand with international support to reduce the vulnerability of the poor to hunger and famine.

A particularly welcome evolution has been the rapid chain of events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. This has reduced tension between the East and the West and opens up new opportunities for trade and investments. These opportunities for cooperation on a global scale should be used to strengthen North-South cooperation as well. For instance, a social compact might be agreed upon whereby funds that become available through reduction of East-West arms expenditures would be used to assist both Eastern Europe and the South.

From the perspective of these anticipated global trends, what then are the strategies to overcome hunger that will be most effective?

Particularly important is the creation of new opportunities for the hungry themselves, together with their leaders, advocates, mass movements, and local organizations and resources. In this context, it is especially important to empower women who grow most of the Third World's food and feed its families. More needs to be known about the full development potential of the wide range of non-governmental organizations, especially for the multiplication and aggregation of grassroots initiatives and the advocacy of needs and interests of people who normally find no way of expressing their demands through formal government channels. But much more needs to be done even by well-intentioned governments and aid agencies to incorporate into their modes of operation greater sensitivity to modes of participation that enable people to act on their own behalf.

Although many governments in developing countries are under severe financial pressure and often lack capacity to implement extensive programs, they must play a growing role in a renewed effort to combat hunger. Decisions to decentralize responsibility to lower echelons of administration and to local government institutions or to use the distributional capacity of the market that gained momentum in the 1980's must continue. Such local level agencies can play a major role in developing and restoring necessary rural infrastructure and services. To make these investments worthwhile, however, governments must also take important steps toward the creation of an enabling environment in which citizens and their organizations can make more effective contributions to overcoming hunger.

Finally, an achievable reduction in hunger in the 1990's will require substantial new financial resources above and beyond the maintenance of current levels of donor and national support. The costs of the achievable goals range from a high of $25 per person to provide famine relief or to build rural infrastructure through food-for-work programs to 57¢ per person to provide the vitamin A and iodine supplementation needed to prevent blindness and goiter. Much of these costs are already partly met in current national and international expenditures. Thus, a realistic program to combat hunger in the 1990's might require U.S. $5 to 10 billion per year in new or reallocated funds.

The most common source proposed for additional resources is a substantial reduction in the annual military expenditures, currently nearly U.S. $1 trillion worldwide, as great power rivalry and conflict diminish and serious efforts are made to resolve regional disputes. A reduction of one percent in these annual expenditures could more than fund a comprehensive program to overcome hunger in the 1990's. Additional food aid, if properly used, can not only meet emergency needs in extreme deficit situations, but when carefully marketed, can provide new sources of funds for local initiatives. Other new sources of funds could include the "swapping" of actions against hunger in exchange for outstanding debts, the redirection of existing development expenditures by identifying poor people rather than poor countries as the relevant target of interventions, and the linking of efforts to overcome hunger with those to improve health care, enhance poor people's access to productive resources, and promote sustainable environmental development.

Although the objectives of the program to end half the world's hunger before the year 2000 are global, strategic emphasis will differ between regions and countries. In sub-Saharan Africa priority may be given to strengthening early-response systems to famine, including exploration of an accord, sanctioned by the Organization of Africa Unity, on safe passage for relief supplies; targeted support for increased production by the poor, including efforts to control pests that significantly reduce harvests and stored food; and efforts to break the disease-undernutrition nexus. In Asia, where the food problem is often less a matter of production than redistribution, priority may be given to restoring and increasing access and control by the poor of necessary resources and to encouraging development strategies that are socially just and environmentally sustainable. In Latin America priority may be given to alleviating the disproportionate share of the debt burden that is currently carried by wage earners and the self-employed in the informal sector; reforming food systems so that they better meet the needs of vulnerable groups of women, urban poor, indigenous populations, and small farm households; and improving the health and nutrition infrastructure to enable governments and other organizations to meet the targets for mothers and children and for the major nutritional deficiency diseases.

CALL FOR ACTION

An ambitious program to attack hunger in the 1990's requires most of all the mobilization of public support for this cause both in developed and developing countries. In most of these, the hungry and the poor do not have natural allies in their governments. Their needs are considered and their voices heard only to the extent that they are mobilized into their own organizations or that their cause is adopted by others. The last decade has witnessed a slow emergence of new public voices for the hungry and impoverished in rich countries based in churches, development organizations, and populist groups. Such groups have mobilized constituencies for the hungry, utilized the mass media, and developed long-term relationships with governments wherever appropriate. In developing countries, opportunities for influence have been different. Mass media and lobbying efforts have been less important than efforts by religious and political organizations. These emerging voices need to be strengthened, particularly in countries where the voices of the hungry are faint.

Faced with potentially competitive concerns, the call for ending hunger must be strengthened. But the clarity of the message needs to be strengthened as well, reminding constituencies of the enormity of the need, creating alternatives between the acceptance of hunger as always with us and the postponement of action until the world can be set fully right, and weighing in with promise on the fine balance between hope and despair. Pragmatic as well as altruistic arguments need to be used. The billion hungry people are effectively outside of markets for anything but the lowest-valued foodstuffs. It is in the long-term interests of economies that live by trade to help those households move beyond the threshold of hunger. By placing political leaders at all levels under constructive pressure to consider overcoming hunger as both an achievable goal and an inescapable concern of the 1990's, individuals and organizations can make a lasting contribution toward the emergence of a new political vision and a renewal of social energy to ensure places at the table for the hungry of the world.

For the first time in human history, the end of famine is achievable. The worst forms of hunger in both rural and urban areas can be halved. Most nations, even poor ones, could provide for the minimum nutritional needs of mothers and children. Goiter can be relegated to a glandular disorder of the few rather than the iodine-starvation of the many. Blindness can be prevented in the 42 million children with vitamin A deficiency. A focused attack on these four faces of hunger—drawing on new resources and combining the better and best of efforts that have worked well for the poor—can end half the world's hunger over the next decade.

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ILO CONVENTION (NO. 160) CONCERNING LABOR STATISTICS

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, as in executive session, I ask unanimous consent to modify the agreement on the ILO convention as follows:

I ask unanimous consent that the committee-recommended declaration be in order.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Hearing to objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I thank my colleagues and especially my two very distinguished colleagues, the Republican leader and the President pro tempore, for their cooperation in this matter.

I yield the floor.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the hour of 12:30 having arrived, the Senate will now stand in recess until the hour of 2:15 p.m. today.

Thereupon, at 12:32 p.m., the Senate recessed until 2:15 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer [Mr. SANFORD].

EXECUTIVE SESSION

ILO CONVENTION (NO. 160) CONCERNING LABOR STATISTICS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now go into executive session to consider Executive Calendar No. 8, International Labor Conference Convention Concerning Labor Statistics.

The convention has been advanced through its various parliamentary stages to the presentation of the resolution of ratification, on which there shall be 1 hour of debate to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

The clerk will report the resolution of ratification.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

Resolved (two-thirds of the Senators present concurring therein), That the Senate advise and consent to the ratification of a Certified Copy of the Convention (No. 160) Concerning Labor Statistics, adopted by the International Labor Conference at Geneva on June 25, 1985.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, today the Senate will take up the International Labor Organization's Convention No. 160 Concerning Labor Statistics.

The purpose of this convention is to call upon all ratifying governments to collect, compile, and publish basic labor statistics in any or all of nine specific subject areas. The U.S. Government already publishes basic labor statistics in all of the areas covered by the convention. Therefore, the convention will not impose any additional burdens on the U.S. Government nor will it alter in any way U.S. labor laws or practices.

The convention has the full support of the AFL-CIO and the U.S. Council for International Business. Therefore, I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of granting advice and consent to the ratification of this convention.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I would like to congratulate the senior Senator from New York [Mr. MOYNIHAN] for the excellent job he has done in chairing the hearings on this convention. Early in his distinguished career, Sen-

ator MOYNIHAN did an extensive and comprehensive Ph.D. thesis is on the International Labor Organization and is, in my view, the leading expert on international labor issues in this body. He deserves a great deal of credit for a job well done.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from the State of New York.

DECLARATION NO. 1257

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I send to the desk a declaration and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from New York [Mr. MOYNIHAN], proposes a declaration numbered 1257.

Strike the period at the end of the text of the resolution of ratification and add the following language: ", subject to the following declaration:

"There is agreement by the United States Government agencies concerned, the AFL-CIO, and the United States Council for International Business, that each ILO convention will be examined on its merits on a tripartite basis; that if there are any differences between the convention and Federal law and practice, these will be dealt with in the normal legislative process; and that there is no intention to change State law and practice by Federal action through ratification of ILO conventions, and the examination will include possible conflicts between Federal and State law that would be caused by such ratification."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I thank the Presiding Officer for commencing this historic moment, if I may put it so, a moment in which we prepare to consider for only the 10th time in the history of our relations with the International Labor Organization an international labor convention.

I shall return in time, sir, to the declaration that the clerk has just read.

When I speak of this as historic, I mean that in several senses. There is the simple fact of our having moved now to the tenth ILO convention we have considered. But more important, by this action, that I am confident the Senate will take today, we move into a new period in our relations with the ILO; namely, a period in which we are an active participant, not just in the deliberations that lead to labor conventions, but by adopting them as well.

There are more conventions to come. I will note that in our long experience of the ILO, after membership in 1934, we adopted some seven ILO treaties, six of which involved maritime matters which the Congress has always felt a need to legislate on.

After the war, we adopted a purely technical convention which brought the ILO under the United Nations. And then, for a third of a century, nothing, nothing at all. Whereupon we finally resumed consideration of ILO conventions. This will be the third we have considered in 3 years, an event of some importance.

I mentioned, Mr. President, that this is a history that goes a long way back into our national life, and indeed it does.

The League of Nations, which was the subject of such fierce debate on this floor in the fall and winter of 1919-20, came to life somewhat furtively in the clock room of the Quai d'Orsay in Paris in January 1920. The United States itself had convened the meeting as provided by the Treaty of Versailles, but in point of fact the league system had already begun to work here in Washington in October and November of 1919 when the first international labor meeting was held at the Pan American Union Building on Constitution Avenue and the first human rights treaties in the history of the world were adopted.

Not many weeks ago, Mr. President, we had an opportunity to hear an extraordinary address to a joint meeting of the Congress by Lech Walesa, the head of the Solidarity trade movement in Poland, the survival of which very much turned on the fact of Poland's obligation to allow freedom of association under ILO conventions it had agreed to both before and after World War II.

This is an extraordinary organization. It is the part of the league system the United States was least likely to join. The league system consisted of the league itself, the Permanent Court of International Justice, and the ILO. The ILO is the one which we did join and we have been proud members for a great many years, with one interruption, to which I will return.

But at this point, Mr. President, I observe that the distinguished ranking member of the Committee on Foreign Relations is on the floor, and I wonder if he might want to take this opportunity to make an opening statement. I look forward to hearing his views.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, needless to say, the distinguished Senator from New York is always gracious. I have been listening with great interest to his comments.

Mr. President, the convention before us today is not controversial in any sense. That in itself is kind of unusual around this place when it comes to multilateral conventions. In the past there have been problems with the nonshipping conventions, which have constituted the great majority of the international labor organization treaties.

I recall that the distinguished Sam Ervin of North Carolina, who served in this body for so many years, always was careful—and it should always be a major concern in this body, I might add—to make sure that U.S. domestic labor law was not altered by treaty. Sometimes people do not understand why this question is so important. I know the Senator from New York understands what Senator Ervin meant and what I today mean. But that does not appear to be an issue this afternoon with the convention pending before us for the advice and consent of the Senate.

ILO Convention 160 on the publication of labor statistics should not be and is not, so far as this Senator is concerned, controversial. It simply would require the United States and other ratifying parties to collect and compile basic labor statistics in nine different areas, such as average wages and hours for important categories of economic activities, the average earnings for representative occupations, wage and salary structures for the entire national economy, average household income and expenditures, number of annual industrial disputes, and an annual survey of occupational injuries and illnesses.

The point is this, Mr. President. The U.S. Government already collects and compiles and publishes statistics in every one of these nine areas covered by this convention now pending. Since ratification will not require the United States to alter in any way its present laws for labor practices, I have no objection to this convention and in fact, of course, do support it.

What I am concerned about—and I may as well mention this in conclusion—is the failure of other participating governments at times to publish accurate statistics. Falsification of recordkeeping may lead to new labor conventions which create labor procedures based upon this erroneous information, so in the long run this would have a negative effect upon domestic law. I hope that we can do something about that as time goes by. If this convention is to be useful, there must be honesty in compliance by every one of the ratifying parties.

Mr. President, I thank the Chair, and I thank the distinguished Senator from New York.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I rise to agree vigorously with the distinguished and able Senator from North Carolina. The ratification of an ILO convention entails the obligation to comply, and it is fully within our capacity as members of the ILO—labor is represented at its annual conference, business is there, Government is there—to review compliance.

The Senator is entirely correct that these are categories of measurement, quantification, that we comply with in the main. These are in fact labor statistics which we invented. Some persons may not know this, but the first demands of the American labor movement as it began to form, first in the 1830's and then later in the 1870's was that Government keep score on things

such as the cost of living, what a family requires to get through the week, a minimum city worker's living standard, and to see if they could find what it cost to have a decent standard of living. They were thinking really of the cities of the North at the time, say, in New York; the trade unions would try to bargain for wages that would equal that amount of money.

Soon after the Civil War, industrialization began in this country, and we established a Bureau of Labor Statistics, before a Department of Labor—long before it. It was meant to measure these things. One of the results, as with the Bureau of the Census, was that American business had much more information about its economy long before any other industrial nation did. It is one of the reasons we grew so well. We could measure; we could count. As a rule you never do anything about a subject until you learn to measure it, and we have learned, and the world has learned from us.

But I think the Senator would agree that if we are going to speak with authority during international trade disputes, agreements, negotiations, it is very important for the United States to know what wage levels are in competing nations and what industrial disputes take place there and the levels of compensation and social insurance. Wages and hours, these are the basic numbers of productivity.

We will have this information, if those nations which ratify this convention comply. We will now have ratified. We can ask them to ratify. If they do not, there is bound to be a reason. If they do ratify, they have to keep accurate statistics.

It is important to know how far back our history with the ILO goes. One of the great demands of the working people in France, Britain and the United States during the First World War, was that after the war there be some attention paid to the fact that labor standards were often the victim of international trade. That is the basic theory of the labor convention—to prevent an employer from saying "I would like to pay you 50 cents an hour, but I have to compete with the Belgians, and they pay 40 cents an hour, so I am sorry."

The ILO never adopted a minimum wage convention, but here in Washington in 1919 they agreed to an 8-hour day. Thereafter, employers would not have to think about their competition and say "I would like to have an 8-hour day—also a 6-day week. But they do not do that in France, England and in Pittsburgh."

International trade questions were at the heart of the idea of an international labor organization. At the heart of it I think with this convention, once again, we return to a trade issue; we will be able to gather data and use it in our negotiations.

So, Mr. President, before I return to the specifics of the matter before us, may I first express my appreciation for the remarks of the Senator from North Carolina and for his support in this matter. I do think we are going to have a unanimous vote today.

The International Labor Organization was created by a commission which was headed by Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor and it was much more a part of the campaign for the League of Nations than we remember.

Woodrow Wilson, on his great trip across the Nation campaigning for the United States to join the League, spoke continuously of the International Labor Organization. Indeed, almost the last words he spoke before his stroke, before he collapsed in Pueblo, CO, were about the ILO. Literally the last paragraphs. He told the people in Colorado about the League covenant and the ILO. But, he collapsed, and was prostrate when the international labor conference was organizing here in Washington.

His Secretary of Labor, William B. Wilson, did not know what to do. The Senate was caught up in a protracted debate about whether to have anything at all to do with the League. And a rather special event occurred. A very distinguished British civil servant, Harold Butler—later Sir Harold Butler—arrived in New York by ship and then came down here, intent on putting together the new international organization. He found the President prostrate and silent, and the Secretary of Labor unable to take any action without the President.

The first meeting of the new world organization was to be here. Well, over at the AFL, as it was then, they got a little committee together, and they got the use of the Pan American Union Building. It is still there, of course, near the White House on Constitution Avenue.

By sheer chance, he had dinner one night with the assistant Secretary of the Navy, a young, rising New York political figure, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and his wife Eleanor, and explained his difficulties. "There is nothing to worry about," said Roosevelt; "I will take care of you." Roosevelt was devoted to Wilson. He just cleaned out the offices of the Navy, the temporary buildings the Navy had built on the Mall down there—which temporary buildings lasted until the 1970's. He just threw the admirals out of their offices and opened it up to the ILO.

Harold Butler did not believe it. He said that the life of an Assistant Secretary of the Navy who threw admirals out of their offices in Whitehall would be a short and not particularly happy one.

As a matter of fact, the ILO became an issue for Franklin Roosevelt, When he was elected in 1932, one of the first things he did, thinking to move toward the League itself, was to move toward the ILO. He sent delegates to the next meeting of the International Labor Organization in the Spring as observers. The following year he proposed membership, and it went very nicely through by joint resolution and was seen by the world as a move by the United States toward the League system.

Alas, with the invasion of Abyssinia—Ethiopia, as we say—and the reoccupation of the Rhineland, no further steps were taken.

Certainly in the thinking of Roosevelt, the ILO was central to the international system. When the United Nations was put together, it was very much with the thought that the ILO would be there—the one organization of the League that survived the League. It had established through international agreements that there are certain rights that individuals have, that they are entitled to an 8-hour day, for example, and that we can agree on this across borders.

Mr. President, this may sound hyperbolic, but it is not: these were the first human rights treaties. This was the beginning of the agreements known as the Helsinki accords; the genocide convention we have talked about so much on this floor; of the whole notion, which is part of the laws of the United States, that human rights are an international obligation under the Convenant of the League of Nations, and the Charter of the United Nations, which speaks of fundamental human rights.

It should be pointed out that as we adopt this convention, we are not simply indicating the sense of the Senate, some view of things we would like to see happen and hope to see progress. We enact the laws. Treaties are the supreme law of the land.

This is a treaty. And indeed a treaty is not just any law because its enactment requires a special majority, two-thirds of the Members present and voting, not a majority. A majority will not do for a treaty. This is a solemn act we undertake.

As I said earlier, sir, it is an act which has been rare. At the advent of the administration of President Eisenhower, the United States had ratified exactly seven ILO conventions, six maritime conventions of no great consequence, and the technical convention required by the demise of the League system, and then it took some 35 years until another ILO convention came before the Senate. That was 2 years ago when the Senate voted overwhelmingly to approve two ILO conventions, in one case by a vote of 81 to 2, and in the other by a vote of 84 to 0.

At this point, knowing that he is necessarily away from the city at this moment, I wish to acknowledge the exordinary role in this turnabout, after a third of a century with no action whatever, played by the distinguished learned Senator from Utah, Senator ORRIN HATCH.

As the then-chairman, of the Committee of Labor and Human Resources—this was 4 years ago—Senator HATCH recognized that the ILO had put into place a comprehensive set of conventions which protected the human rights of workers around the world. He suspected that the failure of the United States to ratify these very same conventions, even as we advocated them, weaken our influence within the organization and limited our ability to use those treaties to protect rights in other nations.

For instance, in the 1980's the conventions that Poland had signed on freedom of association were absolutely essential to the rights Solidarity claimed before the international community. We could invoke those rights only with the partial disability of our never having ratified those conventions ourselves.

It was with this thought in mind that Senator HATCH proposed that we again begin to ratify ILO treaties. He held a hearing which he described on the floor 2 years ago. I would take the liberty of quoting him at this point. He said:

> The hearing made it quite clear that our failure to ratify a single ILO convention during the last 3 decades has undermined the effectiveness of our representatives to this important international organization. . . . Unfortunately, when we have criticized Communist violations of ILO standards, our credibility has always been somewhat suspect given our own refusal to even consider ratifying ILO conventions. To be taken seriously in this organization, Congress must break away from the policy of abstention we have practiced for the last 30 years, the policy of not ratifying a convention regardless of its content.

Mr. President, at that time—we are talking here of February 1988—Mr. HATCH's effort was strongly supported by former Secretaries of Labor William Brock and Ann McLaughlin. That is one of the nice things about the ILO. From the beginning this has been an organization in which business was represented, labor was represented, and Government had half the delegates, but only half. The chamber of commerce in the 1920's kept saying, let us get involved there. It was the trade issue. So there is nothing in the least unusual about Republican Secretaries of Labor favoring these moves. It is part of a tradition that has now entered, sir, its eighth decade.

I am happy and proud to say that a person of very special importance to this Chamber, the present Secretary of Labor, Elizabeth Dole, is strongly of the view that we should ratify this Convention. I have known Secretary Dole for a good 20 years, since we first served together in an administration here in Washington, and understand exactly how she feels about this.

At a hearing last November she told the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which the Presiding Officer is a distinguished member:

> Our ratification record is very poor indeed. Today the United States has ratified only 9 of the 169 conventions adopted by the ILO. * * * Some enshrine fundamental human rights, such as freedom of association. * * * The International Labor Organization is the United Nations most effective advocate of human rights.

May I say that again? According to the Honorable Elizabeth Dole:

> The International Labor Organization is the United Nations' most effective advocate of human rights. We are all aware, for example, of the ILO's courageous support of Solidarity during the darkest days, and the critical role it has played in Poland's historic journey to democracy. But our ratification record works against our participation in the ILO's activities precisely in this critical area. * * * It is something I feel strongly about.

I would say, Mr. President, that anything Elizabeth Dole feels strongly about, we are well advised to pay close attention to.

I will say that again: Anything Elizabeth Dole feels strongly about, we are well advised to pay close attention to.

Mr. President, that being the case, I would now like to turn to the matter of the ground rules for the ratification of the ILO conventions. They were spelled out in the declaration I have offered. They are threefold, and they should be understood by all who hear us and who will read this RECORD. They are agreed to by this extraordinary combination of government, business, and labor organizations which goes by the acronym of TAPILS, the Tripartite Advisory Panel on International Labor Standards. That is experts from the U.S. Council for International Business, which includes the National Association of Manufacturers, the AFL-CIO, and the U.S. Government.

The ground rules are as follows, sir:

First, each ILO convention shall be considered on its own merits. It must withstand scrutiny apart from any other issue involving the ILO and will not be examined on a tripartite basis: the executive branch, labor, and business should all agree. We bring these conventions to the floor with the unanimous support of the organizations that are affected. We do not say we have a two-thirds vote or a majority vote. We have consensus. It will not mean of course that everybody involved gets everything they would want. That is not the nature of consensus procedures, but the support is even so extraordinary.

The second conviction is that, if there is any difference between the convention and the Federal law and practice, these will not be changed by virtue of adopting the convention, but rather will be dealt with in the normal legislative process.

It is understood that the Federal law and practice remains in effect until changed to comply with the convention. That may have to happen in a given case because, in adopting the convention we have adopted law. We may have some intervening period, during which the Congress enacts laws to execute the convention, resolving any conflicts of law.

Finally, Mr. President, the third condition is that there is no intention to change State law and practice by ratifying a convention, and in examining each convention the parties will consider any possible conflicts with State law which might arise as a result of ratification.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. I thank the Chair. My time has expired.

The distinguished ranking Member has asked me if I would allocate time in the course of the hour's debate. Seeing no Senator seeking recognition at this point, I will yield myself an additional 10 minutes.

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

This does come out of the total hour.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. That is correct.

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

Mr. MOYNIHAN. I thank the Chair.

Let me then, Mr. President, discuss for a moment the convention before us by first stating, as I said in the exchange with Senator HELMS, that the United States will not have changed its behavior one iota, one whit, to comply with this convention. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, now in its 106th year, is one of the most admirable institutions of our Government: Venerable, able.

I have the distinction to be able to say that I was in graduate school with the most able, distinguished present Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Dr. Janet Norwood. Years ago, in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, I was Assistant Secretary of Labor, and had very nominal oversight over the BLS. They were very generous about that, and let me think many things that were not necessarily so, but were very agreeable to hear, namely, that I helped them with their decisions which, of course, I did not.

I would like to quote Dr. Norwood, who testified about this convention at our November 1, 1989, hearing:

> It has become increasingly clear that labor market information is critically important for economic decisions by policymakers and private companies, and that comparable data across countries is important to the

functioning of markets in an increasingly internationalized world.

Robert Davis, who is the Solicitor of Labor, confirmed before our committee that an exhaustive review by legal experts had established that Convention 160, the one before us today, requires no changes in U.S. law or practice. Mr. Anthony Freeman, special assistant to Secretary of State, testified in support of ratification as well.

In addition, the committee heard from such able and experienced persons in the private sector as Mr. Rudy Oswald of the AFL-CIO; Mr. Brian Glade of the U.S. Council for International Business; Edward Potter, counsel to the U.S. Council for International Business; and F.M. Lunnie, Jr., of the National Association of Manufacturers. Each of these witnesses is an expert on ILO matters and none raised the least objection. To the contrary, they put forward the strongest support for ratification.

Finally, Mr. President, I would like to note that the convention was adopted by the ILO in 1985, by a unanimous margin, 422 to zero. Also it should be noted that this is one of the last acts of President Reagan, who submitted the convention to the Senate on January 12, 1989. We are here 1 year and some weeks later and I think it could be said that we have dealt with it with some dispatch: and deliberation, but not delay.

I hope that President Reagan will take some satisfaction from the fact that he submitted to us virtually a third of the ILO treaties the United States has ratified. He submitted three conventions to us, each of which was ratified, one unanimously, one as near as makes no matter, and, I hope, we will have a unanimously vote again today.

Mr. President, before I yield the floor, there is a final matter that should be touched upon briefly. My colleagues will remember that in 1977 the United States withdrew from the ILO. This was a bipartisan decision. As Ambassador at the United Nations under a Republican administration in 1975 it fell to me to draft the letter stating that the United States would withdraw at the close of the mandatory 2-year notice period. When that moment came, in 1977, I stood on this floor as a Democratic Senator and moved that the United States do just that. It was the policy of both President Ford and President Carter. Our complaints with the ILO were several, but chiefly, that it had come to apply a double standard to the conduct of nations in the West and in the totalitarian block and that it was being abused as a forum to carryout political agendas unrelated to its legitimate purposes.

The bitter medicine of U.S. withdrawal had its effect. In 1980 the United States rejoined. Questioned on this matter at the committee hearing, Mr. Freeman of the State Department replied:

[W]e think that the ILO has been doing a good job * * * particularly since our return to the ILO." He cited, as did Secretary Dole, an ILO report which was "highly critical of Polish efforts to crush the Solidarity trade union." He cited ILO criticisms of Romania, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union, including specific ILO attacks on Article Six of the Soviet Constitution which the Soviets are now discarding. Secretary Dole concluded that "we can be fairly certain that the United States will be measured by the same yardstick as other ILO members. * * *

Mr. President, today we will vote on the third ILO convention we have considered in 2 years. Others are being examined by TAPILS—the tripartite body of legal experts—and may very soon be forwarded to the Senate for consideration. Among these are important, substantive treaties, including a convention on the prevention of forced labor. So we will be hearing much more about the work of the ILO in the days to come.

Mr. President, I would like to congratulate the Washington branch office of the ILO for their excellent work in assisting the committee in this matter. In particular, Steve Schlossberg continues his absolutely outstanding service in the cause of labor rights. I also wish to acknowledge the great assistance of Mr. Schlossberg's colleague, Don Smythe.

I thank the Presiding Officer so very much for his thoughtful cooperation.

My time having expired, I yield the floor and will not resume the floor unless the occasion seems to require it later on.

Mr. President, as no Senator appears to be seeking recognition at this point, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KERREY). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask that a statement by Senator HATCH be printed in the RECORD. That statement expresses Senator HATCH's strong support for this ILO Convention. Senator HATCH is representing the Senate at the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on Drug Control, which is also taking place today.

The statement follows:

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION CONVENTION NO. 160

● Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, it is with great pleasure that I rise today in support of ratification of International Labor Organization Convention No. 160, which concerns labor statistics. It marks the third such convention we will have had the opportunity to ratify within the last 3 years. The United States is already in full compliance with this technical convention due to the existing work of the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

My distinguished colleague from New York, Senator MOYNIHAN, is an internationally renowned scholar on the International Labor Organization, and I want to thank him again for his dedication, interest, and support for the need to ratify these conventions. He understands the important role this international body plays in other countries and the way it can help improve the working conditions of people around the world. He also appreciates, I believe, the quiet but positive impact our participation in the organization has had on our Nation's foreign policy and credibility.

There was an unfortunate 35 year hiatus in the willingness of the United States to even consider ratification of an ILO convention. In September 1985, I held a hearing on the ratification process in the hope that by focusing attention on this area, we might regenerate some activity. Secretary Brock took the challenge and revitalized the necessary tripartite review procedures among representatives from business, labor, and the Federal Government. He reconvened the President's Committee on the ILO and the Tripartite Advisory Panel on International Labor Standards, and their collective efforts ultimately led to the ratification of two conventions in 1988 and submission of Convention No. 160.

The review procedure was rejuvenated after an agreement was reached on three ground rules and the creation of a two-track system. The ground rules were first that each ILO convention would be examined on its own merits on a tripartite basis; second, that if there are differences between the convention and existing Federal law or practice, these differences would be addressed in the normal legislative process; and third, that there was no intention to change State law or practice through the ratification process.

It was also agreed that there would be two separate tracks for reviewing ILO conventions. The first track would consider the numerous technical conventions, such as Convention No. 160, which can be ratified rather easily. The second track addresses the more fundamental ILO human rights treaties, which go to the heart of labor and employment law in the United States. Care must always be made that in ratifying these conventions, our constitutionally required, Federal bicameral legislative process is not usurped.

I was pleased to learn, Mr. President, that the Tripartite Advisory Panel has been working on other conventions. In September 1989, they concluded that ILO Convention No. 105 concerning

forced labor could be ratified without amending our domestic labor laws, subject to two understandings to clarify how the convention could be implemented in the United States. It is my understanding that a decision on whether to recommend this convention for ratification will be made by the executive branch next month. If ratified, it would be the first ILO human rights treaty adopted by the United States.

Moreover, I understand that the Tripartite Advisory Panel is currently reviewing for ratification Convention No. 138 on child labor, Convention No. 150 on labor administration, Convention No. 111 on equal treatment, and Convention No. 87 on freedom of association.

Mr. President, as we witness daily the euphoric quest for freedom in Eastern Europe and other countries throughout the world, it should be noted that in several, such as Poland, a vigorous free trade movement has been a catalyst for freedom. While we as a body search for ways to support these changes, we may never find one as effective as the International Labor Organization. By continuing to work within the organization, reviewing and where possible ratifying its conventions, we can help to foster throughout the world a true atmosphere of democratic freedom.

I hope my colleagues will join in support of this important convention.●

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, in the remaining moments before we vote in the ILO Convention before us, I would take the opportunity to recall the role of the International Labor Organization in the survival of the Solidarity trade union movement.

First, Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays on the convention at the appointed time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, it is simply a fact that, throughout the 1980's, as the struggle went back and forth between the Polish Communist Party and the Solidarity labor movement, Poland's having ratified the landmark conventions relating to freedom of association was vital. First, there was Convention No. 87, freedom of association and protection of the right to organize, and then Convention No. 98, the right to organize and bargain collectively. Ratification of these conventions was a fact which the Government of Poland could not deny. In 1978, the International Federation for Free Trade Unions charged Poland with violating Convention No. 87. The ILO agreed.

Mr. President, the point here is that as we grow familiar with our post-Leninist world, we see that there can be more than one trade union in a Communist country. But that was not so in Poland in the 1970's. The Communist Party had the same leading role that it has had in Moscow, and no competing organizations had the right to exist, but under the ILO conventions, they did.

In 1980, Poland's Minister of Labor wrote to the ILO Director General stating that Poland officially recognized Solidarity, the first independent trade union to gain national recognition in a Communist country—the first ever. And the 1980's began with that fact. Lech Walesa went to the 1981 International Labor Conference as Poland's labor delegate. Then in 1981, the Government tried to withdraw recognition, and it went back and forth and back and forth. But the basic fact is that Poland was obliged by treaty to recognize Solidarity, and domestic law, even martial law, could not undo those treaty obligations.

We owe a very great deal to the organization which Franklin D. Roosevelt helped in September 1919, the name of which formed almost the last words on the lips of Woodrow Wilson before he collapsed. The ILO was founded under a charter drafted by a commission headed by Samuel Gompers. It was one part of the league system that we joined when Franklin Roosevelt returned to Washington as President. It is still there today and more relevant than ever.

I close these remarks by stating that the first human rights treaties ever adopted in history were adopted at the Pan American Union in November 1919 at the first meeting of the International Labor Organization; it occurred in the United States and it is something the United States can be proud of today as we adopt our 10th International Labor Convention. It is the third in 2 years. This is a moment which I think we can also take pride in, and we certainly want to express our gratitude to the labor and business organizations that have cooperated in bringing this convention to the floor.

I again thank the Secretary of Labor for her diligence in advocating the matter. I, for my part, would like to thank Mr. Nirenberg and the ranking Republican member for his courtesy and support throughout.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time having expired, the question is on agreeing to the declaration to the resolution of ratification offered by the Senator from New York.

The declaration was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution of ratification with the declaration. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CRANSTON. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. BENTSEN], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. BOREN] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY] is absent on official business.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY] would vote "yea."

Mr. SIMPSON. I announce that the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH] and the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH] would vote "yea."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The yeas and nays resulted—yeas 94, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 14 Ex.]

YEAS—94

Adams	Glenn	Metzenbaum
Armstrong	Gore	Mikulski
Baucus	Gorton	Mitchell
Bingaman	Graham	Moynihan
Bond	Gramm	Nickles
Boschwitz	Grassley	Nunn
Bradley	Harkin	Packwood
Breaux	Hatfield	Pell
Bryan	Heflin	Pressler
Bumpers	Heinz	Pryor
Burdick	Helms	Reid
Burns	Hollings	Riegle
Byrd	Humphrey	Robb
Chafee	Inouye	Rockefeller
Coats	Jeffords	Roth
Cochran	Johnston	Rudman
Cohen	Kassebaum	Sanford
Conrad	Kasten	Sarbanes
Cranston	Kennedy	Sasser
D'Amato	Kerrey	Shelby
Danforth	Kohl	Simon
Daschle	Lautenberg	Simpson
DeConcini	Leahy	Specter
Dixon	Levin	Stevens
Dodd	Lieberman	Symms
Dole	Lott	Thurmond
Domenici	Lugar	Wallop
Durenberger	Mack	Warner
Exon	Matsunaga	Wilson
Ford	McCain	Wirth
Fowler	McClure	
Garn	McConnell	

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—6

Bentsen	Boren	Kerry
Biden	Hatch	Murkowski

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Two-thirds of the Senators present having voted in the affirmative, the resolution of ratification, with its declaration, is agreed to.

Mr. MOYNIHAN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from New York is recognized.

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, may I note, sir, that this is the second occasion in 2 years that the U.S. Senate has unanimously agreed to the ratification of an International Labor Organization convention, a fact which I know the world will take note of, and which we can be proud of.

Mr. President, finally, this could not have come about without the singular abilities of the chief counsel to the Committee on Foreign Relations, who

has been with the committee for some 18 years, Mr. David Keaney. I would like to acknowledge as I have once before, Mr. Darryl Nirenberg's assistance, and the particular care and attention of Mr. Stephen Rickard, of my staff.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order the Senate will return to legislative session.

EXTENSION OF AUTHORIZATION OF CERTAIN SCHOOL DROPOUT DEMONSTRATION PROGRAMS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order the Senate will proceed to the consideration of Calendar Order No. 124, H.R. 2281, on which there will be 1 hour of debate, to be equally divided and controlled by the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] and the Senator from Kansas [Mrs. KASSEBAUM] or their designees.

The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 2281) to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to extend the authorization for certain school dropout demonstration programs.

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

Mr. PELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I am extremely pleased that we are considering H.R. 2281, which would provide a 2-year extension of the School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act. This act is the result of legislation I originally introduced in 1985. Since its enactment in 1988, this important program has provided over $45 million in grants to school districts to address the very severe problem of students who drop out of high school without getting their diploma.

The Senate has already passed two other pieces of legislation to extend the School Dropout Act. Most recently, for example, we included continuation of this important program in the President's Educational Excellence Act. Last year, its continuation was made of part of the Taft Institute reauthorization, which was approved by the Senate in November.

Unfortunately, reauthorization of the Dropout Program has been jeopardized by the long delay that ensued after the President's education package was reported to the Senate floor. As my colleagues know, I was opposed to that delay and very much regret that it occurred. It has seriously damaged prospects for continued funding of the program during the current fiscal year. We are eager, therefore, to reauthorize the dropout program as a separate measure so that we can insure that it will not come to an end.

Today, the need for the School Dropout Assistance Act remains just as critical as it was when it became law 2 years ago. The annual dropout rate in this nation averages 25 percent. That figure can reach an alarming 50 percent, or even higher, in many urban areas. And for specific at-risk populations, the percentage of students leaving school before graduation can be an overwhelming 80 percent.

The economic waste that results from this situation is terrible. School dropouts swell our unemployment and welfare rolls. And, if dropouts do find jobs, those jobs all too frequently require only minimal skills and involve only minimal wages.

A major study conducted by UCLA also shows that school dropouts represent a significant loss in potential revenue and productivity. This loss adds up to $200 million per year for each graduating class, and over their lifetime can balloon upwards to $200 billion. It is this figure which I find most troublesome. For while dropping out of school holds severe repercussions for the individual student, and while it means an immediate cost to us in welfare and other social costs, it is the loss in productivity and output which poses the greatest danger.

We simply cannot afford to lose even one student. The decade of the nineties will place us squarely in the center of an economic battle for international markets that, by comparison with the past, will look relatively tame. The transition to a European Community in 1992 poses a particularly significant challenge for our Nation's industries, which will have to compete with the newly formed European Common Market. To fend off this threat we must have a vigorous work force—one that is highly skilled and inventive.

We have already seen considerable evidence of our weakening position in the world economy. But it is not too late to turn that situation around. America today is still a vitally functioning economic power. Our industries continue to hold the attention of the world. And it is America's citizens who can still claim that they invent the majority of new markets, materials and products.

Our Nation also has tremendous resources, the greatest of which is our people. But these resources requires a significant investment in education and training to keep them within the mainstream of international competition. Maintaining our cutting edge in the new global economy will require nothing less than the full contribution of the talents of each of our citizens.

Figures from the Department of Labor indicate that of the 20 fastest growing occupations, at least 18 will require 2 years or more of higher education preparation. And it is projected that up to 9 percent of these jobs could go unfilled because of insufficiently skilled workers. We must, therefore, make every effort to keep our students in the educational pipeline, so that once part of the work force, they are able to meet the constantly changing demands of the workplace. It is both wrong and unwise to let our Nation lose ground in the international market because high-skilled jobs go unfilled while unskilled workers remain unemployed.

That is why the measure before us this afternooon is so critical. For, in reauthorizing the School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act, we set our sights on the future, a future that is one of economic strength and expansion for our country and for our citizens.

Projects funded under this act in the last 2 years have shown great promise in keeping students in schools and in ensuring that their time spent in school is meaningful and productive.

One of the most outstanding projects is the Providence Dropout Prevention Collaborative in my home State of Rhode Island. This project has brought together a broad crosssection of the Providence community to reduce their dropout rate. This program began under the initiative of Dr. Marcia Feld, Dan Challener and Peg Dyer of the Urban Field Center at the University of Rhode Island. They combined their talents and efforts with the superintendent, Dr. Joseph Almagno, the assistant superintendent, Neil Corkery, and Mary O'Brien of the Providence School Department, as well as Marcia Reback, president of the Providence Teachers Union. Henry Woodbridge, executive director of Workforce 2000, and other representatives of business and industry are also part of the collaborative. And many other members of the Providence community have given freely of their time for this critical endeavor.

The Federal program has also provided grants to 87 other projects in 31 other States, including Iowa, Oregon, Tennessee, and Pennsylvania.

We have only just begun to tackle this serious problem, and we simply cannot afford to have the program end at this critical juncture. In cities—like Providence—where work has begun, it must be continued. In areas where work has not begun, it must be encouraged and initiated.

This year the President has submitted a budget request of $45 million for the school dropout program, which is more than double the current appropriation. I am greatly heartened by the support that the executive branch has demonstrated for this program. The President's voice is a welcome addition to what we have been saying for many years. It is an indication that the White House has come to recog-

nize the stake that we have in insuring that these at-risk students are educated to the full limits of their potential.

No greater investment can be made than in the training and education of our young. The student we keep in school may well blossom into the person who one day may find the cure for cancer, solve the problem of cleaning up our environment, or bring to fruition our goal of providing a lasting peace on this planet. No one could ask for a greater yield on an investment than that.

Mr. President, within the hour it is my hope that we will approve this legislation, and send it to the President so that it might quickly be signed into law. Then we can continue the work begun in 1988 and move headlong to an even stronger future.

I yield the floor.

Mrs. KASSEBAUM addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kansas.

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, I am pleased that the Senate is considering H.R. 2281, legislation to extend the authorization of the School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act through fiscal year 1991. This measure was approved by the House of Representatives last June.

The School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act was established in 1988 as part of the Hawkins-Stafford school improvement amendments (Public Law 100-297). The purpose of the program is to support the establishment or expansion of model programs to reduce the number of school dropouts. These model programs can provide needed information about effective means for identifying and supporting students at risk of dropping out and for encouraging students who have already dropped out to reenter school.

There is a pressing need to find effective ways to stem the flow of students dropping out of our schools. Each year, we lose 650,000 to 700,000 students who leave school without graduating. Overall, our national high school completion rate is just over 71 percent.

In his recent State of the Union Address, President Bush put forth a series of national educational goals—among them one that the United States increase the high school graduation rate to 90 percent.

The need to keep young people in school cannot be emphasized too strongly. Failure to receive a high school diploma spells tragedy for the individual dropout, who operates at a permanent disadvantage in job prospects and lifetime earnings. It is a tragedy as well for our Nation, which loses the productive capacity we so badly need from all of our workers.

As dropout figures attest, we are doing a disappointing job in emphasizing the importance of education. Far too many young people fail to recognize the need to make this investment in their futures. The School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act attempts to assure that our efforts to turn this situation around will be based on strategies that work.

The fiscal year 1989 funding level for this program was $21.7 million, and the Department of Education awarded 89 demonstration grants during the 1988-89 school year.

These grants have made possible a wide variety of demonstration programs. Grant size ranged from just $23,000 to nearly $500,000. The vast majority of grants were awarded in urban areas, but rural projects comprised nearly 25 percent of the total.

The majority of the programs are either comprehensive K-12 or middle school/high school projects. Seventy percent of these programs were not in operation prior to the receipt of a grant award, and most of these new programs were modeled on successful efforts in other school districts. Nearly all the programs received at least half of their support from the Federal grant, and 80 percent received supplemental funding from their local school budget.

The number of students served ranged from a low of 30 to a high of 11,500. Nearly all programs targeted educationally or economically disadvantaged students. Approximately one-third of the programs included pregnant teenagers as a target population. Poor attendance and/or truancy records were most frequently used in identifying program participants, although many of the programs also relied upon test scores, teacher recommendations, grade-level performance, and discipline problems.

Social and personal services, including individual counseling and parental involvement, were offered in well over 90 percent of the programs. Academic services were also routinely offered, and approximately three-fourths of the programs offered vocational services as well. A substantial number of programs provided services such as transportation and/or coordination with social services programs. In general, these programs operated at regular school sites during the school year. Most had a small number of full- or part-time staff.

Authorization for the program expired in fiscal year 1989. Consequently, no funding is currently available for the program. Enactment of H.R. 2281 would permit funding to resume in fiscal years 1990 and 1991 at an authorization level of $50 million in each of those years.

In addition, this legislation makes three modifications in the original program:

First, it expands the number of grants available to partnerships with local educational agencies. Currently, 25 percent of the grants are made available to partnerships. Under this legislation, grants to partnerships could fall in a range of 25 to 50 percent of the funding available for the program.

Second, it authorizes the Secretary of Education to use up to $1.5 million for program evaluation expenses.

Finally, it provides that evaluation reports will be submitted within 6 months after the end of the grant period.

It is important that we build upon the work which has already begun in this area. The potential demonstrated by these initial grant awards has been recognized by the administration. The President's budget proposal recommends a fiscal year 1991 funding level of $45 million for dropout demonstration programs. I urge all of my colleagues to join in support of continuing this important effort.

I yield the floor.

● Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I want to express my support for this bill. Passage of this legislation will enable the Department of Education to continue the school dropout programs currently authorized in law.

Before the recess, this body passed the National Literacy Act of 1989. That legislation is aimed at solving the problems which happen after students leave school. The legislation we are addressing today will help to ensure that all of the citizens of this country are literate, by preventing them from dropping out of school in the first place. This legislation is actually a prevention program for illiteracy.

The workplace continues to require more education for workers. Ninety percent of the workers of the future will need at least 2 years of education beyond high school according to projections by the Department of Labor. This means that our society cannot afford to have students leaving high school if we are to have the work force we need for the 21st century.

We also need to reduce the dropout rate for the individual growth and progression of the citizens. Any person who leaves high school without graduating limits the job options and career opportunities which are open to him or her. Studies have shown that the average earnings of a high school graduate are 20 percent higher than those of someone who has not completed high school. People with lower wages have a lower standard of living during their working lives and at retirement. Consequently, the decision a student makes at 16 to leave school will affect that student for his or her entire life and will also have negative consequences for any children he or she may have. It is imperative that these students be guided at an early age so that they will not make the wrong choice.

My home State of Utah is running some demonstration programs for dropouts. One of the programs is centered in the San Juan School District wherein approximately 50 percent of the students are native Americans. The district currently has two demonstration programs with funds from the Federal Government. One involves just the San Juan School Distict and the other is a joint program with the College of Eastern Utah. One program works with children and parents in elementary school to increase communication between the school and parents through more counseling. In the 2 years since the program has been operating, the attendance rate has increased by 5 percent.

In a program at the high school level, 125 students were identified who were at least 2 years below grade level. In a 2-year period of time, 50 percent of these students were back at grade level. Another program is aimed at encouraging students who left school to return for some form of additional training, either through Job Corps, adult education programs, alternative high school, or the traditional program. Of the 100 students who were targeted for this program 2 years ago, 82 have returned, although not all 82 have yet completed their training.

I think you can see how successful these demonstrations can be. Programs such as those currently underway will serve to help those students at risk of leaving school. I urge my colleagues' support of the extension of the authorization of this legislation.

I yield the floor.●

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I yield such time as the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts desires.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Massachusetts is recognized.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, over 750,000 American students will drop out of school this year. They will have many reasons for doing so, including poor teachers, broken homes, devastated communities, poverty, drug use, and the need to go to work. Whatever the cause, their decision is a tragedy for them and for the Nation.

These dropouts—along with the other 4.2 million young adults who have no high school diplomas—will have a higher rate of unemployment, greater dependency on social welfare programs, and lower income—22 percent lower than that of the average high school graduate. They represent a significant loss for the Nation in terms of the contribution to our national well-being that they will be unable to make.

A report recently issued by the Department of Education shows that 28 percent of our Nation's 18- and 19-year-olds have not graduated from high school. The figures are even higher for minorities: 42 percent of black and 52 percent of Hispanic 18- and 19-year-olds failed to graduate. If we consider 20- and 21-year-olds, the figures look slightly better, but are still too high: 15 percent of whites and 18 percent of black 20- and 21-year-olds have not graduated. The number for Hispanics remains intolerable: 45 percent have not graduated.

The report is encouraging in that it shows the gap between black and white dropout rates has narrowed significantly in the last decade. This improvement points to the effectiveness of Federal and local education programs targeted at this population.

Nonetheless, dropout rates—especially the high levels for Hispanics and even higher levels for native Americans—continue to be grossly unacceptable. In my own State of Massachusetts, black students continue to drop out at twice the rates of whites, while Hispanic students drop out at three times the rate of whites.

Today, the Senate is considering the extension of the only Federal program specifically designed to stem the tide of school dropouts. This legislation, H.R. 2281, is vitally important. We need to ensure that it is promptly approved and that the necessary funds are provided.

In 1987, Congress passed the School Dropout Prevention Demonstration Act, resulting in $45.6 million over 2 years in grants to local educational agencies, community-based organizations, and private/public partnerships for the development of innovative ways to keep students in school. These methods range from early intervention services for first and second graders to transition programs that help dropouts return to school.

Many of these programs have had notable success. In rural Illinois, Operation Rebound provides transportation, private tutors, and counseling for at-risk students and one-time dropouts who might not otherwise graduate or make the transition back to school. Half of the 300 students served each year go on to higher education.

In Massachusetts, the Cambridge public schools have used their grant to bring social workers and psychologists into 10 schools to work with at-risk students, their families, teachers, and school administrators. Federal funds have also allowed them to hire translators so that teachers can work more closely with parents of Hispanics, Portuguese, and Haitian students.

In Portland, OR, school district No. 1 helps at-risk students through a combination of six programs—drug and alcohol counseling, parent outreach, peer counseling, attendance monitoring, transition services for return students, and a student service center. After only 2 years, the freshman dropout rate has fallen 10 percent.

While these efforts are laudable, they are far from adequate. The Education Department received over 800 proposals for funding under the Dropout Prevention Act, and has been able to make only 89 awards serving 50,000 students. We need to do more. An article in this weekend's New York Times reported that Philadelphia is able to reach only 1,750 of the city's 101,000 high school students, Chicago serves less than half of its 200,000 students at risk of dropping out, and Los Angeles has programs for only 144 of its 600 schools.

Through these dropout programs, we can help our students and our Nation. At the same time we can acquire better information on how to prevent dropouts. With the data and information generated from this program, we will make major strides in understanding the problems that lead students to drop out and identifying concrete steps to address this crisis.

The action we are taking today would extend the current 2-year grant program for an additional 2 years. It would authorize $50 million each year to expand existing programs and establish new, innovative projects.

I was gratified to see that last week Secretary Cavazos named the Nation's first special advisor on dropout prevention and at-risk youth. In addition, the President's 1991 budget includes a request of $45 million for the program we are extending today. This modest investment will yield high returns: The Chicago public schools estimate that for each dollar we invest in dropout prevention, we will receive $12 in increased tax revenues and lowered social welfare costs and crime. This kind of investment speaks for itself.

I urge my colleagues to approve the extension of this important program.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the New York Times article on dropout prevention programs be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the New York Times, Feb. 17, 1990]

CUTTING THE DROPOUT RATE: HIGH GOAL BUT LOW HOPES

(By Michael deCourcy Hinds)

American educators are trying almost anything to keep children in school. They give pizza parties in Chicago, promise after-school and summer jobs in Philadelphia, hold drawings for used cars in Milwaukee and enroll American Indian youths in private schools in Minnesota, at state expense.

The challenge of reducing the dropout rate is something educators around the country have been struggling with for many years, with programs that are often experimental and, in any case, reach few of those at risk for leaving school. In his State of the Union speech, President Bush set a goal of graduating 90 percent of high school students by the year 2000.

Over and over, school officials say they do not have the money to spend on much more than the basics, and certainly not enough to solve the larger problems of society like poor housing and drug abuse that contribute to the dropout rate. The nation's high schools now graduate about 71 percent of students who enter as freshmen, a figure that has remained about the same for two decades.

INSPIRATION STRESSED

"Is it realistic to build a school system that graduates 90 percent of its students?" said Dr. Ernest L. Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. "Yes, if we really mean it. Yes, if we're willing to put resources into it. Simply declaring it as a vision and not defining a program will leave us in 10 years about where we are now."

But the Bush Administration says more inspiration than money is needed at this point.

"Per-pupil expenditures increased dramatically, by 29 percent over inflation, during the last decade, but reading scores and other results were essentially flat over that period," said Christopher T. Cross, the Assistant Secretary of Education for educational research and improvement. "What the critics are missing is that we have to have commitment to change values, to motivate students. Until we get that, throwing more money at the problem won't change it."

PHILADELPHIA SUCCESS STORY

Education experts could come up with no example of a school or school district that has succeeded in making what Dr. Boyer called "that great leap," raising its graduation rate nearly 20 percentage points, as Mr. Bush wants for the whole nation. More commonly, a school with a low dropout rate never had a major problem retaining students in the first place.

Schools are increasingly encouraging teamwork with local businesses, which do have money to devote to dropout prevention programs, as an investment in a more qualified work force.

One of the oldest and most successful pairings of business and education is in Philadelphia. A 20-year-old program, offered at 14 of the city's 21 high schools, integrates academic courses with vocational training in auto mechanics, business and other careers.

The program, Philadelphia High School Academies, recruits eighth graders considered likely to drop out with guarantees of after-school and summer jobs, at $5.75 an hour. More than 93 percent of the students who enter the program graduate, as against 70 percent for the school district over all.

But the program now reaches only 1,750 of the city's 101,000 high school students, said Natalie S. Allen, president of the program. "We hope to be able to serve 5,000 kids by 1995," she said, adding that a program that large would cost about $1.2 million a year.

Mrs. Allen said the money would have to come from businesses and foundations rather than the school district, which faces a $60 million deficit next year in its $1 billion budget. In the 1987-1988 school year local businesses contributed $400,000 to the program; last year they gave $830,000.

PIZZA AND USED CARS

In Milwaukee, where only 60 percent of the students graduate from high school, principals are enlisting local businesses to provide incentives for children who improve their attendance, grades and behavior, said David C. Begel, a spokesman for the district, which has 98,000 students.

Most companies give away small things like certificates for pizza, but two car dealerships give away used cars. Two schools let their most-improved students participate in a drawing for a car each year.

"Clearly, it's an incentive for some kids, but I don't know how you would quantify the impact," Mr. Begel said. The programs have been in effect for three years at one school and one year at another.

Chicago spends $3.8 billion a year on its public schools, including $1 million on programs to prevent pregnancy, a key reason for dropping out. Much of the money in that program is spent on pizza parties and party gifts to draw students to seminars.

"Counselors try to build their self-esteem and teach them about their bodies," said Dr. Grace G. Dawson, director of the district's Division of Dropout Prevention. "We think we're reducing the pregnancy rate by as much as 50 percent."

PROGRAMS SEEN AS LIMITED

But she said this program and several other dropout prevention programs reach fewer than half the 200,000 students considered at risk of dropping out. There are 410,000 students in the city's school system, Dr. Dawson said the dropout rate ranged from 20 percent in some schools to 70 percent in others.

In Los Angeles, a three-year effort to curb a 39 percent dropout rate has the money to serve only 144 of the district's 600 schools, said Peter Martinez, coordinator of the district's Dropout Prevention Office. The budget for his program is $5.6 million this year, out of a district budget of $3.2 billion.

One of the more novel ideas, which started in West Virginia two years ago and has already spread to Texas, Florida, Louisiana, Wisconsin and Ohio, is to revoke the driver's license of dropouts and truants.

"We're very pleased with the law," said Therese M. Wilson, acting director of the Office of Education Support Services in West Virginia's Department of Education. So far, the state has revoked the licenses of 1,003 teenagers, she said. As a result, 170 teenagers have returned to school and 163 others have enrolled in high school equivalency programs.

"West Virginia is pretty rural, so if you don't have a license you really can't get around," she said.

Minnesota is the only state that graduates more than 90 percent of its high school students. Six other states graduate slightly more than 85 percent of their students, according to a study of the high school class of 1987 conducted by the United States Department of Education. The states are Iowa, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

Florida ranked last, the department said, with 58 percent graduating, while Georgia, Louisiana, Michigan and New York had only slightly better rates. In the District of Columbia, the graduation rate is only 55.5 percent.

Schools in Minnesota have graduated 89 to 91 percent of their students since 1981, when data were first collected, said Robert J. Wedl, the state's Deputy Commissioner of Education. He conceded that the state had few minority students and less poverty than the national average, around the country, minority members and the poor are more likely to drop out. But he said it also helped that the state had long given education to top priority.

"We're graduating 91 percent of our kids, but that's not nearly enough," Mr. Wedl said. "It's not O.K. to throw away 10 percent of our kids."

A FLEXIBLE SCHOOL SYSTEM

With 720,000 students and a $3.8 billion budget, Minnesota ranks 17th in per-pubil spending. The state has developed a flexible school system, with a wide variety of specialty and year-round schools, and students can attend any school within commuting distance.

In 1988, when Minnesota could not keep one-third of its American Indian students from dropping out of high school, the Legislature passed a law permitting the State Department of Education to pay for private school for Indian children at risk of dropping out.

"You have the change the school to suit the child, rather than trying to change the child to suit the school," said Dr. David Beaulieu, the state director of Indian education.

He said school districts contracted with seven private schools, including three runs by tribal governments, that graduate 90 percent of their students. The schools provide students with a great deal of individual instruction in an amblence and cirriculum that reflect Indian society and culture, he said.

GRADUATION RATE BY STATE

[For the 1986-87 school year]

	Rate (percent)	Rank
Alabama	70.2	34
Alaska	66.7	41
Arizona	64.4	45
Arkansas	77.5	18
California	66.1	42
Colorado	73.7	26
Connecticut	80.5	11
District of Columbia	55.5	51
Delaware	70.1	35
Florida	58.6	50
Georgia	62.5	47
Hawaii	70.8	33
Idaho	78.8	14
Illinois	75.7	22
Indiana	73.7	27
Iowa	86.4	5
Kansas	82.1	9
Kentucky	67.4	39
Louisiana	60.1	49
Maine	79.3	13
Massachusetts	76.5	20
Maryland	74.5	23
Michigan	62.4	48
Minnesota	90.6	1
Mississippi	64.8	44
Missouri	74.4	24
Montana	86.2	6
North Carolina	67.8	37
North Dakota	88.4	3
New Hampshire	72.7	29
New Jersey	77.2	19
New Mexico	71.7	32
New York	62.9	46
Nebraska	86.7	4
Nevada	72.1	31
Ohio	82.8	8
Oklahoma	72.6	30
Oregon	72.8	28
Pennsylvania	78.7	15
Rhode Island	69.4	36
South Carolina	66.9	40
South Dakota	79.7	12
Tennessee	67.8	38
Texas	65.1	43
Utah	80.6	10
Virginia	74.0	25
Vermont	78.0	16
West Virginia	76.2	21
Washington	77.8	17
Wisconsin	85.4	7
Wyoming	89.3	2
Total	71.1	

Source: Department of Education.

Mr. KENNEDY. I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a table showing the dropout rates in my own State of Massachusetts.

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

MASSACHUSETTS ANNUAL AND PROJECTED 4-YEAR DROPOUT RATES 1987-88

	Number of dropouts	Annual rate (percent)	4-year rate (percent)
Statewide (grades 9-12)	13,983	5.4	20
Grade:			
Grade 9	3,271	5.0	
Grade 10	4,230	6.5	
Grade 11	4,001	6.1	
Grade 12	2,481	3.8	
Gender:			
Male	8,093	6.2	21
Female	5,890	4.6	18
Racial/ethnic groupings:			
Asian	298	4.8	18
Black	1,808	10.6	36
Hispanic	1,727	14.4	45
Natice American	54	11.8	40
White	10,096	4.5	17
Kind of Community:			
Urban Centers	9,274	8.9	31
Econ. Developed Suburbs	1,883	2.6	10
Growth Communities	1,275	4.3	16
Residential Suburbs	358	1.4	5
Rural Economic Centers	988	4.4	17
Small Rural Communities	115	3.5	14
Resort/Retirement/Artistic	90	2.9	11

The Annual Dropout Rate is the percentage of students who dropped out between July 1, 1986 and June 30, 1987. The Projected Four-Year Rate is an estimate of the proportion of students who entered grade nine in 1986 who may not graduate.

Source: Massachusetts Dropout Report, 1987-88.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I commend the chairman of the Education Subcommittee, Senator PELL, for his constancy in developing this legislation, and for bringing the legislation into the consolidated form that it is in today. It is stronger legislation than the ways in which we have approached it in the past.

I commend Senator KASSEBAUM for her work in this area. She has made the needs of education a top priority of hers and has had a very positive and impressive impact both in this legislation and the other education programs which have come out of our committee.

I also commend and congratulate the Senator from Illinois, PAUL SIMON, who worked tirelessly on the legislation. I hope it will be passed by overwhelming majority.

Mr. President, I yield back my time.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Massachusetts, the chairman of our full committee, without whose help and support none of our education bills will get through. I appreciate his kind words.

BASIC SKILLS FUNDING

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, section 1 of H.R. 2281 adds a restriction to the authorization for the School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act so that funds are not available in any year in which funds are appropriated for part C of chapter 1 of title I. Part C is the Secondary School Programs for Basic Skills Improvement and Dropout Prevention and Reentry which was created as part of Public Law 100-297, the 1988 omnibus reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Could my colleague from Rhode Island provide a little legislative history as to why this particular provision is part of H.R. 2281?

Mr. PELL. Certainly, I would be glad to answer the question of the senior Senator of Massachusetts. When we reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1988, we in effect created three programs: First, the School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act; second, the Secondary Schools Basic Skills Demonstration Assistance Act; and third, the Secondary School Programs for Basic Skills Improvement and Dropout Prevention and Reentry. The first two demonstration grant programs are authorized through 1989. In fiscal year 1990, the authorization for the third program was to become effective. The third program is basically a combination of both demonstration programs, providing assistance to address both the school dropout problem and the need to expand basic skills instruction in secondary schools. This third program is different from the first two, however, in that it distributes money to the States on the basis of the chapter 1 formula rather than on the basis of discretionary grants awarded by the Secretary of Education.

It was our intent when we created the first two programs to authorize these programs as demonstration programs through fiscal year 1989, and then to roll them into one formula-driven program beginning in fiscal year 1990. The dropout demonstration program was authorized through fiscal year 1989 at a level of $50 million, and the secondary schools basic skills demonstration program was authorized through fiscal year 1989 at a level of $200 million. Beginning in fiscal year 1990, these programs were to be combined into one program at an authorization level of $400 million to provide money to each State on the basis of the chapter 1 formula for these two activities. The formula program, contained in pact C of chapter 1 of title I, directs the State to spend one-half on basic skills for secondary school students, and up to one-half on preventing students from dropping out of schoool.

We established this structure so that we could first fund demonstration projects to develop the most effective methods for addressing these needs. The information gained from the operation of these programs—especially that of identifying what works—would then enable us to provide much more comprehensive assistance, with the assurance that we had proven successful programs as models.

At the time, we had envisioned that by fiscal year 1990 sufficient appropriations would be available to distribute money to the States on basis of the chapter 1 formula, as is provided under part C of chapter 1 of title I. To date, however, appropriations for the part C program have not been forthcoming. We therefore have extended the authorization of the demonstration program to continue the progress already underway and to begin new projects in other school districts. Once sufficient funds are available to provide this kind of assistance in every State, we could then switch to a formula-driven program. In our view, distribution by formula would require an appropriation level which is close to $100 million. This level would insure that when the allocation is distributed to the States, each State has sufficient funds to operate at least one successful program.

The language referencing the part C program is designed to ease the transition from a demonstration grant program to a formula-driven program in the event that sufficient funds for the part C program were made available.

Mr. KENNEDY. As you know, $5 million in appropriations has been provided for the basic skills for secondary school students in the fiscal year 1990 appropriations. This money has been provided for the basis skills demonstration grant program authorized under section 6103—in part B of title VI—of Public Law 100-297. It was not appropriated for the basic skills/dropout prevention formula-driven program which is authorized under section 1108—in part C of chapter I of title I—of that same law. The language in H.R. 2281 refers only to the title I part C formula-driven program, and does not apply to the title VI part B demonstration grant program. Am I therefore correction in understanding that the $5 million fiscal year 1990 appropriation for the basic skills demonstration program would not affect the authorization for the School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act under the language in H.R. 2281?

Mr. PELL. Yes, that is entirely correct. The fiscal year 1990 appropriation for the basic skills program will be distributed in the form of discretionary grants from the Secretary of Education, and not by formula as contained in part C of title I of ESEA. Thus, under the language in H.R. 2281, the school dropout demonstration program authorization would not be affected by the fiscal year 1990 appropriations.

Mr. KENNEDY. I thank my colleague for clarifying the fact that the language in H.R. 2281 does not apply to the $5 million appropriations for basic skills provided under fiscal year 1990 appropriations.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, what is the time situation?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island has 17 minutes and 38 seconds remaining and the Senator from Kansas has 27 minutes and 30 seconds remaining.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I am pleased to support passage of H.R. 2281, the National School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act. This bill will reauthorize a highly-important program that, currently, is the Federal Government's only active program aimed at preventing high school-aged students from dropping out of school.

In the 1988 School Improvement Act this program was given a 2-year authorization that must be renewed this year for it to continue. Also included in the 1988 act was a larger, more-comprehensive, State-administered anti-dropout program entitled the Secondary School Program for Basic Skills Improvement and Dropout Prevention. The money simply has not been there to begin funding this second program, so it is imperative that we keep the dropout demonstration program alive.

Recently, Congress has been paying great attention to the critical educational needs of this country. Within the past few weeks the Senate passed a large legislative package designed to engender reform and generate excellence in American education. We also passed an important measure to coordinate and enhance national literacy improvement efforts.

America's disturbingly high dropout rate is perhaps the most significant condition we face urging us to reform and improve our educational system. Students who drop out have given up on education—a decision that will often harm them well into the future, as their disinterest for learning continues throughout their lives.

With some 600,000 to 700,000 American students dropping out of school every year we are putting far too many at risk of failing throughout their lives. In my State of New Mexico it has been estimated that nearly 28 percent of our students will dropout of high school—giving us the 12th highest dropout rate in the country. This high rate is driven by frighteningly higher dropout rates among our Hispanic and native American students.

Where does this lead? It has been estimated that fewer than 40 percent of New Mexico's poor high school dropouts, aged 15-21, were employed in 1985. Only 20 percent of these managed to find full-time work.

It is important to find ways to help these children before they drop out. In 1988, when work on the larger dropout prevention legislation was being done, I introduced a bill entitled the Educational Block Grant for Children at Risk Act. The goal of that legislation was to enable local communities to pool the various resources and services they have available so as to meet the complex educational and social needs of children who are at risk of failing in education.

Mr. President, education is a difficult enterprise, requiring tremendous effort on behalf of both teacher and student. While often it seems we encounter students who seem unreachable, we still must find a way to reach them. Sometimes this can be accomplished with some creativity—using new or different educational techniques that meet the diverse needs of different students. Often, this may also require educators to collaborate with others in the community who can help meet some of the complex needs youngsters have—people who can also help reach our students.

Surely our efforts to engender educational reform and promote excellence should be our central path to improving the education available to students. But programs such as the one we are reauthorizing today are highly important as well. Through this program we can help facilitate some of the creativity and collaboration necessary to reach kids who are at risk of failing in our educational system.

I am pleased the Senate is moving to reauthorize this important program and I urge my colleagues to support it as well.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I yield such time as he may desire to the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. KOHL].

Mr. KOHL. Mr. President, I rise today to extend my support for the reauthorization of the National School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act, and to thank my distinguished colleague from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] for bringing this bill before the Senate for consideration.

Many are focusing on our need for new programs and new funds to meet the education goals set by the President and the Governors. I agree that we have to explore new approaches, but that does not mean we have to ignore the programs we already have in place. The National School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act is an existing program which is dealing with some of the most difficult and hard to solve problems facing our educational system. It deserves our continued support.

Today, I would like to share with you the success of one dropout prevention program in Wisconsin. That program is called Project Hold.

Project Hold is a program which has been funded since August 1988 under the Dropout Demonstration Assistance Program.

Project Hold is a nationally acclaimed program at the Milwaukee Area Technical College [MATC], working with young people, to help reduce the dropout rate in the Milwaukee area. Participants range in age from middle school students through young adults in their early twenties.

Over 1,500 students have been identified and contacted through Project Hold; 406 students have reenrolled in MATC/Community based organization programs; 172 students have reenrolled in the Milwaukee public schools. Without Project Hold, these individuals would not have had the opportunity to continue in with their education in pursuit of a high school diploma.

Project Hold is working. As of today, 60 students have received high school diplomas, and 16 have received their GED. Over 50 percent of these students have gone on for advanced training in a postsecondary institution.

This project is so successful that MATC now has more dropouts wanting to participate than the program can handle. Its classrooms are full.

I commend the Project Hold staff in Milwaukee for helping to lead the way in designing a program that works. I also commend the leadership shown by my colleague from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] in bringing this bill before the Senate today.

I realize that the Senate passed the Educational Excellence Act last week with a reauthorization of this program included. However, it is critical that this legislation be passed in a timely manner in order that appropriations can be approved and the program continue without interruption.

I urge my colleagues to support passage of the School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act.

Mr. President, according to a report from the Corporate Task Force on Education, "Undereducated, Uncompetitive USA," the dropout rate for the Nation at the high school level is 25 percent. Recognizing the unacceptability of this figure, the President, in his State of the Union Message to Congress, stated, "The United States must increase the high school graduation rate to no less than 90 percent." In order to help reduce the dropout rate, the President has requested $45 million for a program of dropout prevention demonstrations.

What approaches are needed to address the serious problem of young people dropping out of school, with some even dropping out while in elementary school? Project Hold is a program which is attempting to find the answers. This program is working to identify and retain potential dropouts in school through high school graduation. Recognizing that the skills necessary for a literature work force are steadily increasing, another objective of the program is to encourage participating students to further their education after receiving a high school diploma.

Project Hold has three component parts. First, the program is designed to instill in each student at the middle school level the value and importance of an education. The program seeks to achieve that goal by helping out career classes and arranging tours to postsecondary programs and businesses to help illustrate the importance of staying in school. Second, at the high school level, the program works to identify dropouts and put them back into a situation where they can learn and succeed. They may be placed in MATC's own high school program, or return to their own district high school, or be placed in a community-based organization for instruction and counseling. Third, for adults up to the age of 25, the program works to provide basic skills in order to move these individuals into an adult high school program. Students receiving the GED are encouraged to work for an associate degree.

We know that the approach taken by Project Hold is working. With the Department of Education in the middle of an evaluation process of these demonstration projects it would be imprudent to end a program that appears to be having success, especially when Congress is considering a number of initiatives designed to promote excellence in our education system.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum with the time to be equally divided.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DODD). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

I thank the Chair and I yield the floor.

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

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

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I rise today in support for the extension of funding for the National School Dropout Demonstration Program, H.R. 2281.

This bill will authorize $50 million for the next 2 years to continue effective dropout prevention programs in public schools.

Our most valuable resource in America today is our youth. Our world standing depends on how we train, develop, and support not just the brightest kids, but also the ones most in danger of losing ground due to poverty, drugs, or teen pregnancy.

We cannot afford to enter the next century with a generation of kids labeled "not fit for duty." This legislation will help focus our Federal dollars on making our at-risk youth part of the solution for academic excellence before they become part of the problem.

I encourage my colleagues in the Senate to follow the example of the House of Representatives and pass this reauthorization bill unanimously.

Mr. DIXON. Mr. President, I rise in support of H.R. 2281, a bill to reauthorize the National School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act.

I believe that the school dropout problem is an issue which this Nation must address as a priority item. We are told that 25 percent of all students in this country drop out of school each year. This is a national disgrace.

Many of these students are later added to our welfare caseload. These are our potential teachers, doctors, lawyers, community leaders, and, of course, taxpayers. Nonetheless, the education and employment potentials of these students are not met.

As my colleagues know, H.R. 2281 would extend for 2 years the National Demonstration Program under the Elementary and Secondary Education Assistance Act. It would provide a $50 million authorization for each, fiscal year 1990 and 1991. The House also added a provision which was requested by the administration to allow the Secretary of Education to reserve funding in the program for the evaluation process.

Mr. President, H.R. 2281 was introduced in the House by my Illinois colleague, Congressman HAYES, who has proven to be an outstanding leader on this education issue. He recognized the urgent need for this legislation so that the Federal Government can continue its efforts to help public schools come to grip with their dropout problems.

For fiscal year 1989, six projects in Illinois received dropout demonstration grant awards, as follows: $337,974 to the Chicago public schools in Chicago; $267,993 to Northeastern Illinois University in Chicago; $93,775 to the Youth Services Project, Inc., in Chicago; $178,346 to Hamilton-Jefferson Counties school district; $214,678 to Triton College in River Grove; and $113,014 to Carbondale Community High School District No. 165 in Carbondale.

Mr. President, while I realize that $50 million is far from what is needed to adequately fund the School Dropout Demonstration Assistance Act, I believe that this body should support H.R. 2281 so that we are able to sustain the progress already made in this area.

My colleagues may remember that on February 7, 1990, the Senate overwhelmingly approved S. 695, the Excellence in Education Act. The legislation includes a specific provision to extend funding for the School Dropout Program, unless prior to its enactment, funds are appropriated for another more comprehensive State-administered antidropout program in the Basis Skills for Secondary Schools Program.

Mr. President, since the House has not yet acted on S. 695, I call upon my colleagues to approve H.R. 2281 today so that this worthy dropout program is funded on a timely basis.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I stand in strong support of H.R. 2281, which would reauthorize the School Dropout Prevention Demonstration Program under part A of title VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education Assistance Act.

Illiteracy, a problem that the Senate recently addressed with my S. 1310, is in part linked to the school dropout problem. There are 23 to 27 million illiterate adults in America. As youngsters, many of them had trouble in school and simply gave up, becoming part of the dropout statistics before becoming part of the adult illiteracy statistics. Many of them also become part of the crime statistics: 80 percent of all prison inmates are high school dropouts.

Our Nation's schools are desperately in need of assistance to deal with this problem. The Chicago public schools have a dropout rate of 43 percent, almost three times the national average. The dropout rate is as high as 80 percent for Hispanic students in some urban areas.

In 1984, then-President Reagan set out a goal of raising the high school graduation rate to 90 percent by the year 2000. A few weeks ago, President Bush presented the same goal for the Nation. We cannot reach that goal without committing some resources to programs that specifically address the problem.

By funding innovative demonstration programs, the School Dropout Prevention Demonstration Program helps schools find answers to the dropout problem. And this is the only Federal program focused specifically on school dropouts. The demand for funding demonstrates the need for the program: In fiscal year 1989, there were 850 applicants, but only about 10 percent of those applications could be funded with the $21 million available.

Mr. President, reauthorization of the School Dropout Prevention Demonstration Program is long overdue. I commend Senator PELL, Senator KENNEDY, and Senator KASSEBAUM for their efforts today to keep this valuable program alive.

DROPOUT PREVENTION

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, I strongly support this legislation to authorize $50 million in this fiscal year and fiscal year 1991 for the National School Dropout Demonstration Program. This authorization is a limited extension of this important program. For the children, the consequences of a child dropping out of school are tragic—the individual is likely to get stuck in low-wage jobs, with few opportunities for advancement. In too

many cases, dropping out leads to wasted lives, with terrible effects on families and communities.

As a nation, we suffer the economic consequences of every child's decision to quit school earlier—in lower productivity, lost tax revenues, more demands on social services. As a society, we suffer the social consequences—in increased crime, in substance abuse. It is imperative that we address this problem in a serious way. I welcome the President's goal of cutting the dropout rate in the 1990's. But we must match resources to this critical goal. In my home State, our economic security depends upon our continuing to have one of the most educated, flexible, and creative labor forces in the world. Those characteristics are what have produced one of the highest standards of living in the Nation. However, while the growth in our labor force has slowed to a trickle, less than one-half of 1 percent per year, we have not effectively reduced dropout rates and equipped these young people to help build our future and theirs.

John Stuart Mill once wrote, "Ask a man to do nothing for his country and he will have no love for it."

Mr. President, helping to prevent our youngsters from dropping out is a critical way of making them feel a part of what is happening that is good and productive in our country and it is a critical element in creating the citizens we need in this country.

Mr. President, I was personally unable to participate on the Senate floor in this debate and vote today because I had the honor of representing the Senate as a U.S. Delegate to the United Nations Special Session on Drug Control which began today in New York. Obviously I would have joined in supporting this measure. But clearly, dropouts and drugs are too often tragically related aspects of the same young lives. We simply must do a better job of solving both of these problems, each of which treatens our future.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I yield back the remainder of my time.

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. Mr. President, I yield back the time remaining, if any, on this side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has been yielded back.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I request the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be proposed, the question is on the third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to a third reading and was read the third time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall it pass?

The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. CRANSTON. I announce that the Senator from Texas [Mr. BENTSEN] and the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY] is absent on official business.

I further announce that, if present and voting, the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY] would vote "yea."

Mr. SIMPSON. I announce that the Senator from Indiana [Mr. COATS], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH] are necessarily absent.

I further announce that if present and voting, the Senator from Indiana [Mr. COATS], and the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI] would each vote "yea."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote.

The result was announced—yeas 94, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 15 Leg.]

YEAS—94

Adams	Glenn	Mikulski
Armstrong	Gore	Mitchell
Baucus	Gorton	Moynihan
Biden	Graham	Murkowski
Bingaman	Gramm	Nickles
Bond	Grassley	Nunn
Boren	Harkin	Packwood
Boschwitz	Hatfield	Pell
Bradley	Heflin	Pressler
Breaux	Heinz	Pryor
Bryan	Helms	Reid
Bumpers	Hollings	Riegle
Burdick	Humphrey	Robb
Burns	Inouye	Rockefeller
Byrd	Jeffords	Roth
Chafee	Johnston	Rudman
Cochran	Kassebaum	Sanford
Cohen	Kasten	Sarbanes
Conrad	Kennedy	Sasser
Cranston	Kerrey	Shelby
D'Amato	Kohl	Simon
Danforth	Lautenberg	Simpson
Daschle	Leahy	Specter
DeConcini	Levin	Stevens
Dixon	Lieberman	Symms
Dodd	Lott	Thurmond
Dole	Lugar	Wallop
Durenberger	Mack	Warner
Exon	McCain	Wilson
Ford	McClure	Wirth
Fowler	McConnell	
Garn	Metzenbaum	

NAYS—0

NOT VOTING—6

Bentsen	Domenici	Kerry
Coats	Hatch	Matsunaga

So the bill (H.R. 2281) was passed.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mrs. KASSEBAUM. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. MITCHELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. MITCHELL. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, I will speak on the Armenian resolution before us, with the concurrence of the leader.

I am waiting for the leadership to decide on that.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair will say that the resolution is not before the Senate.

Mr. MITCHELL. Will the Senator yield to permit us to proceed in a manner that will have the matter before the Senate for debate?

Mr. PRESSLER. Yes.

Mr. MITCHELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

ARMENIAN GENOCIDE DAY OF REMEMBRANCE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, as I announced this morning, I will momentarily ask unanimous consent to proceed to Senate Joint Resolution 212, at which time I understand and anticipate that the distinguished President pro tempore will object, following which I will move to proceed to the resolution, that motion to proceed being a debatable motion.

The matter will then be before the Senate in the form of debate on the motion to proceed to the joint resolution. As a result of prior discussion among the three of us, including the distinguished Republican leader, the principal author of the resolution, who will during the day today address the subject and file a cloture motion, which will ripen for a vote on cloture on the motion to proceed to the resolution some time during the day on Thursday.

Accordingly, Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 212, a joint resolution designating April 24, 1990, as a national day of remembrance of the 75th anniversary of the Armenian genocide of 1915 to 1923.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, I will object. I will not give my reasons until after the motion to proceed has been made, which the distinguished majority

leader indicated he will make shortly, and after the distinguished Republican leader has had an opportunity to speak on the matter. I do object.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Objection is heard.

MOTION TO PROCEED

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I now move to proceed to the consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 212.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the motion. Who seeks recognition?

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who seeks recognition?

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, if there is no objection, I yield first to the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PRESSLER].

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, I first became interested in the Armenian holocaust many years ago while a student at Oxford University. Frankly, I was looking for a topic to write a D. Phil. on, which I never did, but I had to find a topic that was new and had not been written on before. And in searching about for such a topic, I looked to the area of Turkey, Cyprus, and Greece, but found that the Ottoman Empire records were closed for the period of history I was most interested in. So I was interested in this subject of the Armenian holocaust long before I came to politics.

It has always appeared strange to me that the Turkish Government did not open the records prior to 1918, that the records of the Ottoman Empire are closed on this issue, even though certain items have been published in the New York Times, even though telegrams have been made public, and so forth.

So, first of all, I think it would be very appropriate for the Turkish Government to open, without censoring, the historical records of that period during which the Armenian holocaust occurred.

With that being said, I wanted to tell my colleagues how I first got interested in this subject. I think we should all be interested in holocausts wherever they have occurred, be they in World War II, in Cambodia, or any other place in the world or time in history. Certainly, we should have a resolution on the Armenian holocaust. Remembering the tragic events of the past is a form of honoring the victims of history. It is not a condemnation of those current nations that have descended from the original perpetrators of violence. If it were the latter case, we would not have a Memorial Day or Veterans Day. We observe these days as a way of remembering and honoring the dead.

It is for that reason we should reject the feeble notion that Senate Joint Resolution 212, the Armenian genocide resolution, is in any way an insult to Turkey, a valued ally.

Mr. President, I frequently have said that we should be friends with Turkey, but in this one area we should not feel that speaking our minds on this issue of Armenian genocide is necessarily inconsistent with being a friend of Turkey. The truth, of course, is that this resolution is intended to honor the victims of the Ottoman Turk massacres of Armenians during World War I. Those who attribute the other motivation to the resolution do a disservice to the entire human rights movement.

Turkey would be better off if it opened the records of the Ottoman Empire. I think Turkey would be better off if it acknowledged this genocide.

At a time when the world rejoices over the bursting into flower of the democratic movements in Eastern Europe, it is sad to see these aspersions cast upon those of us who wish to honor the Armenian dead in a fashion quite similar to the way we honor other victims of historic human rights abuses.

I am interested in the cause of human rights. Indeed I attended a meeting of the NATO parliamentarians in Antalya, Turkey, last year. There was a presentation of how human rights are being advanced in Turkey—I applaud that—how the prisons were becoming more in line with what Amnesty International would approve of. But I raised some questions about this Armenian question and was given a very cold shoulder. It is unnecessary for Turkey to hide this event in its history. I think it is unwise of Turkey not to just open the whole thing up and acknowledge it as the important human rights issue it is.

Still worse, Mr. President, is the effort by the opponents of this Armenian genocide resolution to deny the very occurrence of that genocide. Generations of respected historians and other scholars have investigated the allegations of genocide by Ottoman officials and have determined them to be factually accurate. The Armenian genocide did occur, resulting in the death of 1.5 million human beings and the forced deportation of another 500,000 souls from the Armenian provinces of Turkey. Only 100,000 Armenians remained in those areas when the hideous Ottoman project was complete.

But the violence really has not ended. It is still going on against Armenians in the Middle East, and herein lies another reason for the resolution. Unless we recognize this historic tragedy and remember its victims, we will, in effect, be accepting a lie as truth. And when we do that, Mr. President, we will give encouragement to those who would like to continue persecuting Armenians.

I cannot believe that this U.S. Senate would ignore the historical record of this tragedy. I cannot believe the Senate would paper over the Armenian genocide because of the flimsy excuse that it insults Turkey. The resolution has nothing to do with Turkey, and nothing to do with NATO security. If Turkey's misinterpretation of the purpose of the resolution inspires it to cause trouble with the United States or disrupt NATO activities, then surely we must question Turkey's value as an ally.

This is not a debate on the value of the Turkish Republic, although some may try to make it that. It is really a question of whether or how to appropriately recognize the victims of the genocidal policies of the Ottoman Empire.

Mr. President, I do not see Germany feeling insulted when memorial observances are held at Auschwitz, Dachau, or elsewhere to honor the victims of Hitler's monstrous genocide. Germans overwhelmingly accept and recognize what happened in World War II. They are a better people for not trying to live a lie. They are respected far more now than they otherwise would be, because they had the courage to face up to the bitter reality of the Holocaust.

Turkey does itself a serious disservice by not showing the same kind of courage with respect to the Ottoman Empire's genocide against Armenians more than 70 years ago. This is strange, indeed, in view of the fact that many Europeans recognize the genocide as fact. The longer Turkish leaders sweep the past under the carpet, the more damage is done to the credibility of their efforts to eliminate current human rights abuses in their country.

Mr. President, I commend Senator DOLE's leadership on Senate Joint Resolution 212. I am proud to be an original cosponsor of the Armenian genocide resolution and urge our colleagues to give it prompt and favorable consideration.

Mr. President, in conclusion I know this debate will be very heated and emotional on both sides of the issue. I know that Turkey is one of our valued allies, but I also know there are many people in the world human rights community who feel very strongly about this. I feel very strongly that the Senate should do what is right. That is why I support Senator DOLE's resolution and hope that we move to a vote on it quickly.

Mr. President, I yield the floor to my colleague, Senator DOLE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. KOHL). The Chair recognizes Senator DOLE.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, first, I thank my colleague from South Dakota for his continuing forthright support, and I appreciate the statement that has been made part of the record.

Mr. President, we are going to have a lot of debate in the next few days on a very important issue. Some will say: "Why are you taking up Senate time on something like this? There are a lot of other important issues that affect life in today's world."

That was said about the Genocide Convention around this place for 30 some years. Nobody wanted to bring it up. Nobody wanted to take it on except Senator Proxmire. I might add my former colleague, Senator William Proxmire from Wisconsin, made a speech on it every day for several years. And I am proud when I was majority leader of the Senate we acted on that resolution after 30 years, and we finally recognized what had happened in Hitler's Germany, how the Jews had been eradicated.

Genocide is a term coined in 1946. It was not a term used in 1915 and 1923, the period we are talking about today.

I would say to friends who supported my efforts at that time, just listen to the debate and listen to the facts. I think for too long we have ignored history, just as we waited too long before we took action on the Genocide Convention just a couple years ago. For too long we bowed to a powerful ally and powerful interest groups.

And for too long we have failed to speak about the truth about the tragedy of genocide. I think it is time for the U.S. Senate, the Congress, the Government—it is finally time to do what is right.

We pride ourselves in America in doing what is right, not what is expedient. But, Mr. President, getting to this point has not been easy. One of my Republican colleagues, an opponent of the resolution, has observed that the resolution generated one of the most intensive lobbying campaigns he has ever experienced. And I do not think there is a Senator around, either for or against the resolution, who would dispute that observation. I can tell you what impact it has had.

At one time or another 61 Senators agreed to cosponsor the resolution. On the day the Judiciary Committee reported out the resolution, there were 50 cosponsors. Today there are 46.

The history of 1915 to 1923 has not changed since last fall. The facts certainly have not changed since last fall. But what has changed is the launching of a massive lobbying effort against the resolution by the administration, by the Government of Turkey, by American businesses who operate in Turkey, and regrettably by some private organizations and individuals who ought to be supportive of the resolution. At least they were when we were talking about a genocide convention on this floor not too long ago.

I might say as an aside, one of the strawmen raised against the resolution is that it is the foot in the door for a broader Armenian agenda, including a claim for reparations. There are a lot of strawmen floating around. I want to take care of a few of them now. And as the author of the resolution I can categorically say that that is a phony charge, as far as I and my cosponsors are concerned.

I do not and will not support any claims for reparations, simply because I believe and have said repeatedly: the modern-day Turkish State and Government are in no way responsible for the events of 1915 and 1923.

So it is a strawman. I have tried to make that point with the Turkish Ambassador, a fine man, and with the President of Turkey, for whom I have great respect. But the fact is that if the Turkish Government offered "reparations"—and to stress the point I have made, I have that word in quotes—but if Ankara did offer in "reparations" what it spent on lobbying against this piece of legislation, the whole issue would have already been resolved. In fact, if we simply held back in aid what Ankara spent in lobbying, we would probably achieve de facto the 5-percent cut in earmarked and that I advocated on the foreign aid issue.

Mr. President, every big gun of our opponents has been pulled out, and they have been fired off, again and again and again. It kind of reminds me of David versus Goliath. I think it is a very important point.

Let us take a look at Armenia. I doubt that many Senators have been to Armenia—I happened to have been there in August. It is one of the most tragic spots on the face of the Earth. A republic of maybe 3½ million people, 25,000 to 50,000 of this number were killed in an earthquake less than 15 months ago. It devastated the region. One-sixth of the entire population is still homeless from the quake. Hundreds of thousands more are fleeting from the violence in A'jerbausan.

The place is flat on its back. Now that is Armenia. And I said before if you want to visit some place that will make you cry, go to Soviet Armenia and go to Spitak, go to Leninakan, and visit the little monument that is there to memorialize the destruction of a school where 400 young children were wiped out in 40 seconds in the earthquake. That is Armenia.

And on the other side is Turkey, big, powerful, a major alley, no doubt about it. And I am proud of that. Big money American companies operating there—none of these are operating in Armenia—pulling out millions of dollars of profits, these American companies; the recipient over the years of billions of dollars in United States aid, a half-billion this year alone. And maybe they deserve more. In fact, they would have had more under my plan, I might add, than they receive now.

So I will not quarrel with that. But I must say when I came back from Soviet Armenia I asked the State Department, I asked the administration, what can we do in a country where 500,000 people are homeless, where 30,000 to 50,000 have been killed, where 100-and-some villages have been demolished? Well, after a lot of effort and some help from my friends on the Appropriations Committee, including the distinguished President pro tempore, we were able to get $5 million for earthquate relief. And we cannot give direct aid to the Soviet Union, so we do it through private relief organizations.

So I want to sort of set the stage to understand that we are talking about: two countries in the same geographical area, different religious backgrounds, and in nearly every other case big, big differences.

So as I see it, it is sort of Turkey and its allies, versus Armenia and its friend. I have told many in Armenia, you are a small country. You do not do business with big American companies, which can call Senators and say you better watch that we are about to sell x dollars' worth of goods to Turkey. You cannot get calls from somebody in the State Department or somewhere else saying, you better watch this; this is not good for our relations with Turkey.

And the irony of ironies, the issue is not Turkey at all. That is something I fail to understand. Maybe somebody will explain it to me. This resolution says nothing about modern day Turkey. In fact, the language is explicit: The events in question occurred in "1915 to 1923, prior to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey." We are talking about the Ottoman Empire.

I will have all kinds of documents that cannot be refuted from countries around the world during that period of time. I ask my colleagues, if they have time, to peruse some of the documents and some of the facts we will have available, because this is important.

If this were a contest of clout, there would not be any contest. Maybe that is the way it will turn out, but I hope not. This is a simple question of what is right or wrong, not who has the most influence, who has the most lobbyists, who has the most money. And the bottom line is not which country is more important to American security, Turkey or Armenia—no contest there either—but do we excuse everything that happened in the past. Had we done that, I will recall again, we would have not acted favorably on the Geno-

cide Convention in the United States Senate.

So I guess we just have to, those of us who support the resolution, make our case the best we can. I have read the arguments of the Turkish lobby and the organized mailings and printed handouts, which cover page after page, but they boil down to four basic arguments.

No. 1: The resolution will offend our ally, Turkey. And I believe I can say that no one regrets more deeply than I that this resolution generated such a strong reaction from Ankara. I visited Turkey. In fact, I went to Turkey at the suggestion of my friend, the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD]. And he is right, more Senators ought to visit Turkey. They are an important ally. They are important to the United States. We are important to them. So I have no quarrel with that.

I met with the Turkish leaders. I know how important Turkey is to NATO and to the United States.

Several weeks ago, President Ozal was visiting Washington. He was kind enough to let me come to the Madison Hotel and spend about 45-55 minutes with him. We spoke for nearly an hour on the resolution. He made his case vigorously and with conviction. I remember one thing he said: "This is one thing which unites all Turks." He thanked me for that. I tried to make the point again and again about our friendship with Turkey, but also of history and that these deeds of the Ottoman Empire had no relationship to the modern day Turkey and tried to stress the point that this resolution is not anti-Turkey either in intent or content. That is the simple truth.

No one disputes that there was a genocide in Nazi Germany. But no one makes a claim that such a genocide means the present day German Government or people are responsible. If that were the case, we probably would not have passed, would not have acted on the Genocide Convention in the U.S. Senate. The West German Government and the East German Government both acknowledge that there was a genocide in the early history of their homeland. The world acknowledges it without demanding punishment from anyone except from those who actually perpetrated the deeds. Indeed, one reason this is simply not an issue for modern day Germany is that the people of that nation have faced up to their history, put it in perspective, and moved on to face their future. And that is all we suggest Turkey do in this instance.

I should also add that in 1987, when the European Community was considering a resolution much more strongly worded than mine on the Armenian genocide issue, Turkey threatened to retaliate strongly. That resolution was passed by the European parliament, and Turkey's actual response was muted. It did not give up on the Community, but continued its pursuit of full membership. It did not retaliate politically or economically against the members of the Parliament.

I am not suggesting Turkey is bluffing. I am suggesting that, as important as this issue is to Ankara, there are other important issues out there, too, in the real world.

We hear that we must stay on the good side of our ally, Turkey, because of the instability in that region. Well, that is true. But Turkey cannot be unmindful of the importance to its own security in that unstable area, of its alliance with us. So all of this cuts both ways, as it generally does.

I hope and I believe that responsible contemporary statesmen on both sides ought to be able to deal with long past history, even one with which they disagree, without it disrupting relations which are mutually important, mutually beneficial, and mutually based on concrete security interests of both countries. So that is argument No. 1.

No. 2: Some are saying, I think maybe the Ambassador may have mentioned this to me in my meeting, that this resolution is an invitation to terrorism, perpetrated by Armenian extremists. Frankly, that argument is offensive to me and I think to others who cosponsor and support this resolution. We abhor terrorism: every Member of this body does. I condemn terrorism. I acknowledge and history must acknowledge, just as it acknowledges the Armenian genocide, that a tiny, tiny minority of extremists in the Armenian community worldwide have undertaken individual acts of terrorism against Turkey and Turkish citizens.

I condemn those acts. Every responsible Armenian organization condemns those acts. As one example, the spokesman for the Armenian Assembly, one of the largest Armenian-American organizations, unequivocally acknowleged and condemned such actions in a speech before the B'nai B'rith last December, and I will be putting that speech in the RECORD. Every responsible American condemns that action. That is not the issue, but it is another strawman.

In fact, according to the State Department, which over the years has not been an advocate of the Armenian viewpoint on the issue, there have been no reported cases of Armenian terrorism against the Turks for several years. So this is not only a strawman, but a dead strawman at that.

Argument No. 3: This resolution is only a foot in the door for the real agenda, which includes reparations and territorial dismemberment of Turkey.

I have offered to introduce resolutions, and would include in the pending resolution, wording which would have put the Senate and America on record, unequivocally against any raising of the issues of reparations or territorial dismemberment of Turkey as being absolutely dangerous, unjustified, unfair, and unacceptable.

I would offer it as an amendment to the pending resolution. I would work with anybody on such legislation, and I believe we could accomplish quick passage of such legislation, and I renew that offer again today.

We recognize Turkey. We need a stable, secure Turkey. We have no designs on Turkey. We have no claims on Turkey, financial or otherwise, growing out of the events of 1915 to 1923.

To anyone in the Armenian community—and I know of no one who thinks otherwise—I would say there would be almost total disagreement in this body with any effort to the contrary. I think that is the view that every Member of the Senate and the Congress that I know would ascribe to. That is the view the U.S. Government ascribes to. And that is the view every member of the Armenian community ought to ascribe to, in my view.

So, on this point, at least, let us put it to bed once and for all.

Senate Joint Resolution 212 is what it is. And what it is has nothing in the world to do with claims for reparations or territorial dismemberment of Turkey, period. In fact, I think maybe it might be well to read the text of the resolution, the pending resolution. I will quote page 2, line 1:

> That April 24, 1990, is designated as "National Day of Remembrance of the 75th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923," and the President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation calling upon the people of the United States to observe this date as a day of remembrance for the 1.5 million people of Armenian ancestry who were victims of the genocide perpetrated by the governments of the Ottoman Empire from 1915 to 1923, prior to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, and in their memory this date is commemorated by all Americans and their friends throughout the world.

That is it. No talk about reparations. No talk about claims. No talk about territorial dismemberment. But if that would satisfy some who oppose the resolution a clear distancing from those points can certainly be added. We can make certain that nothing in this resolution shall deal with any claims or any reparations or any dismemberment or anything else that someone might think of that would be negative in any respect to present day Turkey. And that would have our support.

And then, finally, argument No. 4, the one that we hear most about—well, the genocide did not really happen. It never happened. This was a civil war. It did not really kill any Armenians. Or there was bloodshed on both sides.

I heard that from the President himself, President Ozal.

A lot of people say, well, let history judge those things. I hear it all the time, let history be the judge. Let history judge what happened. How long do we wait for history to make a judgment about what happened from 1915 to 1923? It has been almost 75 years, and it seems to me that it is about time that history did judge.

We decided there was a genocide in Germany even before its last potential victims were liberated. We decided there was a genocide in Cambodia even as the genocide was taking place. And it is high time we acknowledge a genocide which occurred in the Ottoman Empire, before the fact of its occurrence is lost to history.

The Holocaust Memorial Council, which some of us have been privileged to serve on as members of the board, which is as close to an authoritative source on this subject as you can find, has recognized and decided to include the Armenian genocide in the Holocaust Memorial Museum. the overwhelming weight of documentary evidence of this period supports the fact that there was a genocide, even though that term was not used in 1915-23. It was coined in 1946.

To give my colleagues who have not focused on this issue an opportunity to do so, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a statement that I referred to earlier today by an Armenian Assembly spokesman. It contains the best brief summary of the evidence on this issue that I have seen.

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

FIGHTING DENIAL OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

(By Van Z. Krikorian, Director, Government and Legal Affairs, The Armenian Assembly of America)

In the spring, you heard a speech from a Turkish Embassy official contending that the Armenians did not suffer a genocide between 1915 and 1923. That contention is patently false. But, Turkey's and its agents' insistence on vigorously pursuing it poses a frightening threat to all people who believe in democracy and human rights. Make no mistake, those who are denying the Armenian genocide today are paving the way for those who deny other genocides and for those who will undoubtedly plan future episodes of race extermination. I am sure you are aware that Hitler publicly laid the foundation for the Holocaust by referring to "the extermination of the Armenians" starting, at least, in 1931 and most forcefully in 1939 when he commanded his military to show no mercy by asking: "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?"

Those who deny the Armenian Genocide are removing the underpinnings of all human progress by pretending that nothing exists which, for whatever reason, they do not want to exist. This approach is often viewed as politically expedient. But, in the end, it only aborts the cause of civilization.

This is why I am especially glad to address you this afternoon and to publicly challenge the arguments of the deniers. I am also glad to know that the Holocaust Memorial Council has publicly and unequivocally committed to include the Armenian genocide in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, a decision which rebukes the deniers and promotes historical integrity.

Today, I plan to discuss some of the reasons why the Armenian genocide is properly classified as a genocide and then refute some of the more popular arguments offered by the Turkish government and other deniers.

First of all, what does the term genocide mean? Literally, it means the killing of a race. An attorney and Holocaust survivor, Rafael Lemkin, coined the term in 1944 and then dedicated himself to creating and promoting the United Nations Genocide Convention. Before, during, and after coining the term, Lemkin used the Armenian case as a definitive example of genocide. In Lemkin's view, it would be impossible to question whether the Armenians suffered a genocide, because the term was created to be a synonym with the Armenian experience.

Similarly, the United Nations legislative history of the Genocide Convention is clear that the Armenian case is an example of genocide, a position from which the United Nations has not moved. In the United States, the legislative history of ratifying the Genocide Convention and the implementing legislation is equally clear that the Armenian case is synonymous with the term genocide. These legislative histories, of course, merely reflect the overwhelming evidence of the Armenian genocide. Yet, the deniers argue that the Armenian case somehow does not fit the definition of genocide.

The Genocide Convention provides:

Genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group;

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

No one realistically questions whether Ottoman Turkey engaged in the specific acts enumerated in this definition. That would be absurd because the Armenian population of over two million was unquestionably reduced to under 100,000, and those people did not simply disappear—they were killed, forcibly converted to Islam, and, in small numbers, escaped.

What the deniers question is whether the government committed the acts with the intent to destroy the Armenian presence in their homeland of three thousand years. This contention is shamefully absurd.

I cannot go over all the admissions and evidence establishing beyond any doubt that the government planned and implemented a campaign of race extermination, but the archives of the United States and almost every European country (including the Central Powers, Turkey's allies) are overflowing with this evidence. Today, I would like to call your attention to the following pieces of evidence: (1) a December 1914 authenticated blueprint for genocide issued by the ruling Committee of Union and Progress Party which can be found in the British archives; (2) the post World War I, Turkish trials and convictions (based on substantial, irrefutable testimonial and documentary evidence) of the government officials responsible for ordering and implementing the extermination of the Armenians; (3) a November 8, 1920 order for the military to exterminate the Armenians living in Russia; (4) and the acknowledgment of the Armenian genocide by the founder of modern Turkey, Kemal Ataturk.

The December 1914 order reads as follows:

(1) Profiting by Articles 3 and 4 of Committee Union and Progress, close all Armenian Societies, and arrest all who worked against Government at any time among them and send them into the provinces such as Bagdad or Mosul, and wipe them out either on the road or there.

(2) Collect arms.

(3) Excite Moslem opinion by suitable and special means, in places as Van, Erzeroum, Adana, where as a point of fact the Armenians have already won the hatred of the Moslems, provoke organized massacres as the Russians did at Baku.

(4) Leave all executive to the people in provinces such as Erzeroum, Van, Mamuret ul Aziz, and Bitlis, and use Military disciplinary forces (i.e. Gendarmerie) ostensibly to stop massacres, while on the contrary in places as Adana, Sivas, Broussa, Ismidt and Smyrna actively help the Moslems with military force.

(5) Apply measures to exterminate all males under 50, priests and teachers, leave girls and children to be Islamized.

(6) Carry away the families of all who succeed in escaping and apply measures to cut them off from all connection with their native place.

(7) On the ground that Armenian officials may be spies, expel and drive them out absolutely from every Government department or post.

(8) Kill off in an appropriate manner all Armenians in the Army—this to be left to the military to do.

(9) All action to begin everywhere simultaneously and thus leave no time for preparation of defensive measures.

(10) Pay attention to the strictly confidential nature of these instructions, which may not go beyond two or three persons.

In fact, these orders basically describe the actual pattern of the genocide. Of course, during implementation, the ruling party issued additional orders on massacring Armenians (I will share another with you shortly) as well as orders to punish those Turks who showed mercy to the Armenians.

The post-war trials are also dispositive not only for their indictments and verdicts, but also for the overwhelming evidence used to secure the verdicts. Specifically, both central and provincial government officials were tried and convicted for the "massacre and destruction of the Armenians." Besides a major trial in Istanbul, moreover, local trials for the same crimes, which have yet not been widely publicized, also took place. (Parenthetically, I would add here that these trials were cited as precedent for the Nuremberg trials following World War II.)

Next, I would like to share a November 8, 1920 central government order, quoted from a Turkish source. This order commanded General Kazim Karabekir to essentially continue the job of exterminating the Armenians after World War I by wiping out the Russian-Armenian population:

By virtue of the provisions of the Sevres Treaty Armenia will be enabled to cut off

Turkey from the East. Together with Greece she will impede Turkey's general growth. Further, being situated in the midst of a great Islamic periphery, she will never voluntarily relinquish her assigned role of a despotic gendarme, and will never try to integrate her destiny with the general conditions of Turkey and Islam.

Consequently, it is indispensable that Armenia be eliminated politically and physically [siyaseten ve maddenten ortadan kaldirmak].

Since the attainment of this objective is subject to [the limitations of] our power and the general political situation, it is necessary to be adaptive in the implementation of the decision mentioned above [tevfiki icraat]. Our withdrawal from Armenia as part of a peace settlement is out of the question. Rather, you will resort to a modus operandi intended to deceive the Armenians [Ermenileri igfal] and fool the Europeans by an appearance of peacelovingness. In reality, however, [fakat hakikatde] the purpose of all this is to achieve by stages the objective [stated above] . . . [I]t is required that vague and gentle-sounding words [mubhem ve mulayim] be employed both in the framing and in the application of the peace settlement, while constantly maintaining an appearance of peacelovingness towards the Armenians.

[t]hese instructions reflect the real intent [makasidi hakikiyesi] of the Cabinet. They are to be treated as secret, and are meant only for your eyes.

Again, documents like these as well as direct admissions of guilt by the government officials are literally everywhere.

Recognizing that indisputable fact, Kemal Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey, did not hesitate to condemn the responsible Ottoman government for its actions. In an interview published August 1, 1926 in the Los Angeles Examiner, he said that all those responsible "should have been made to account for the lives of millions of our Christian subjects who were ruthlessly driven en masse from their homes and massacred." Today, the Turkish government has called the authenticity of this quote into question. Yet this 1926 statement was not an isolated event. In 1918, Ataturk called for the execution of the genocide's perpetrators. In 1919, as recorded by a presumably unimpeachable source, future Turkish prime minister Rauf Orbay, Ataturk acknowledged the government's massacres "of 800,000 Armenians" and "decried the extermination of the Armenians." In a 1920 speech, Attaturk explicitly condemned the massacres as "scandalous." Again, this type of documentation is indisputable and overwhelming, but we still face those who act as if it does not exist. When such denials are funded from a country as important as Turkey, we face the prospects of the Nazi operating principle: "a lie told 1,000 times becomes the truth."

Accordingly, I would next like to refute the predominant arguments used by the deniers today. Let me start with one that the embassy official who spoke here in the spring touted as dispositive—"It was not a systematic effort to kill all Armenians [because] no harm was done to the Armenian communities living outside the war zone—in Istanbul, the Ottoman capital, for example." Initially, I would note that this argument is as fallacious as saying that Jews did not suffer a genocide because they were relatively safe in Rome and Bulgaria. But, more importantly, the factual assertion is not true.

Armenians certainly were exterminated in Istanbul and every other part of Turkey, and it was clearly systematic. For example, on December 7, 1915 German Ambassador Metternich informed Berlin that the government had wiped 30,000 Armenians out of Istanbul and that "gradually a clean sweep will be made of the remaining 80,000 Armenian inhabitants of the Ottoman capital." Indeed, the government massacred or tried to massacre all Armenians from European Turkey by first shipping them over the Bosporus and then killing them. One example is the eradication of the Armenians from the European town of Rodosto. In fact, Armenians and their friends commemorate the genocide on the anniversary of April 24, 1915 because on that date the government gave the clearest signal of systematic race extermination. It arrested and killed hundreds of unquestionably innocent Armenian community leaders (including legislators, clergy, educators, and attorneys) in Istanbul.

Another argument which the deniers forward is that Armenians died of natural causes (famine, cholera, diseases), not government ordered massacres. Putting aside all the direct evidence of the genocide, this argument is ridiculous. It would be the first time, that I know of, in which famine and disease moved from town to town across an entire country removing all but less than 100,000 Armenians from over 2,000,000, and leaving the Turkish Moslem population as the sole survivors. Frankly, such a "selective disease" argument has no historical or scientific credibility, and those who make the argument must not expect their audience to reflect on its merits very deeply.

But, then the deniers argue that there was also a great civil war in which Armenians took up arms against Turks. In that supposed war, great, mutual killings occurred. Never mind that the government had disarmed all the Armenians, the government drafted all the able-bodied Armenian men into labor battalions of the army where they were massacred, and contemporaneous reports do not reference any civil war. In fact, in a newly published book, "The Slaughterhouse Province," we can read American counsul Davis's official, eyewitness report from the interior of Turkey of the disarming of the Armenians and the lack of any real resistance. He reports that after the massacres of Armenians in the Province of Harput (ultimately over 100,000), the government could "find only four or five instances where any Turks had been killed or even injured by Armenians and less than a dozen instances of any resistance by Armenians." In other isolated areas, of course, Armenians fought back against Turks. But, these were either minor incidents; self-defense; or because Armenians were Russian citizens, drafted into the Russian army, and were a part of the Allied war effort fighting Ottoman Turkey. As Ambassador Morgenthau reported as early as July 1915, moreover, allegations of rebellion were only "a pretext" for "a campaign of race extermination."

Nevertheless, some people still claim that the massive Armenian deaths resulted from the legitimate quashing of a rebellion. This "pretext" or "legitimate basis" denial argument is probably the most dangerous. If it is accepted (regardless of its inaccuracy), it sanctions the murder of an entire nation based on the prodemocracy cries of only a few groups. Civilization will not progress if a justification claim can be made in defense of genocide. Otherwise, the Nazis and every subsequent perpetrator would build the defense in as the crime was committed. During the Armenian genocide, the government attempted exactly such a defense, and it was rejected as both inaccurate and immoral by the international community as well as the succeeding Turkish government. There is no reason why it should be accepted now.

A more slippery denial argument on the "mutual killings" theme involves the amount of Turks and Moslems who also died in the war. I call this argument slippery because its proponents slide between "Turkish" and "Moslem" deaths. For example, some point to "two million Turkish deaths during the war" as a reason not to sympathize with Armenians. Yet this two million figure includes the 1.5 million Turkish-Armenians killed, the over 300,000 Turkish army casualties, and the tens of thousands of Turkish-Greeks and Arabs put to death at the same time.

Another strand of this argument points to "hundreds of thousands of Moslem deaths"—again implying that the genocide was really an Armenian-Turkish war. Yet in calculating the "Moslem" figures, these people not only include the Turkish war casualties and the massacres of tens of thousands of Arabs in Turkey, but also the Moslems who died fighting with the Allies against the Turks in the Middle East—that is Moslems which the Turks themselves killed.

A third strand of this "numbers game" argument applies artificial formulas to the nineteenth century populations, plugs in some theoretical conditions, and concludes with ridiculous population and mortality figures which bear no relation to reality. This argument falls on its face because it completely ignores the direct, factual evidence of the genocide. Its proponents are as off base as those who recently claimed in the newspaper "Sieg" that only 150,000–200,000 Jews died under Nazi rule and those deaths came during the "German-Jewish war."

Another denial theme is that commemorating or recognizing the Armenian genocide promotes terrorism. Initially, let me say that we unequivocally condemn all terrorism, including Armenian terrorist attacks on innocent Turks. But, the threat of terrorism does not justify rewriting history to deny Ottoman Turkey's crimes against humanity. More importantly, and again the deniers conveniently fail to mention this fact, Armenian terrorism is a moot point. In a March 1989 report, even the State Department had to acknowledge that there has not been an Armenian terrorist attack in three or four years and Armenian terrorist groups have withered away. This cessation of terrorism is attributed to lack of mainstream Armenian community support and to the growing international rejection of Turkey's denial campaign. For example, in 1985 the United Nations Subcommittee on Human Rights, after years of study, overwhelmingly recognized the Armenian genocide as an indisputable historical fact, and in 1987 the European Parliament conditioned Turkey's acceptance to the European Community on recognizing the Armenian genocide.

The following denial argument is particular to deniers in the United States. They point out that in 1985 sixty-nine scholars signed an advertisement questioning the accuracy of a Congressional resolution commemorating the Armenian genocide and therefore "there was no Armenian genocide" or "the issue should be left to historians"—an argument from authorities so to

speak. Following the advertisement, we contacted these sixty-nine people. We found that some did not authorize the use of their names on the advertisement and some said they were misled about the text and apologized. Many explicitly recognize the Armenian genocide as a fact. But, most importantly, we found that only four of the sixty-nine actually focus their work on the time span of 1915-1923. All of these individuals are subsidized by the Republic of Turkey, and none has credibility on the Armenian genocide issue. Thus, when deniers make claims like a majority of United States experts question the Armenian genocide, they are simply not telling the truth. Among those sociologists, attorneys, historians, psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and others who seriously study genocide, there is no question that the Armenians suffered a genocide, by any definition. There is also no question among the credible genocide scholars that failure to memoralize and condemn past genocides facilitates future genocides.

Before leaving this "scholars" issue, however, I would like to make clear that some of those people who signed the 1985 advertisement and continue to question the Armenian genocide really have little choice. These people are Turkish or Ottoman historians. If they do not assume the current government's line, they will be cut off from resources necessary for their life's work. Even Turkish sources confirm that cooperation with the government pays dividends while criticism exacts a high price.

The next denial argument is one of the more interesting. This argument contends that a judgment on the Armenian genocide must be reserved until the Republic of Turkey opens its archives of the period. The argument is interesting because Armenians sought free access to the Ottoman archives for years. Then the irrelevance of these archives became obvious. For instance, Turkey does not even own all of the relevant archives from the period. After the War, the government sold hundreds of thousands of its records to the Bulgarians as scrap paper. Other parts of the archives exist in Jerusalem, the Soviet Union, the Middle East, and Europe. In addition, after World War I, Turkish officials readily acknowledged that the files on Armenian massacres were removed and destroyed. In fact, the documentation in archives around the world contains more direct evidence of the genocide than we can possibly digest. (The United States archives contain approximately 25,000 pages for the period 1915-1918 alone, including captured German records, which fully document the genocide.) So, while the Turkish held archives may be interesting, there are only a very minor contribution to the history of the genocide.

Moreover, Turks themselves acknowledge that military and foreign service officials have been reviewing the records for years to remove whatever incriminating evidence may still exist and that the government is using the archives strictly for public relations purposes. This year, the government, in various ways, has announced that the archives on Armenian issues are open. Yet, they fail to publicize that the wrong archives are open or the restrictions which prevent any incriminating documents from coming to light. For example, in January, they announced that the archives are open, but they did not open the relevant World War I years. Recently, they announced that the Council of Ministers files were open for the war years, but they did not open the records of the party apparatus or other agencies which actually controlled the genocidal operations. (Scholars have found that the genocide was implemented through a two track system of orders—one set ordering "deportations" and another set ordering the translation of "deport the Armenians" to "massacre the Armenians.") Read these continued announcements on the opening of the archives carefully; you will find that there is always a caveat such as "all previously catalogued archives are open" or that a researcher may see only fifteen pages at a time and a government official has the right to screen the documents first. The Turkish government continues to use the archives as a delaying tactic. As *Cumhuriyet* a Turkish newspaper reported in January 1989:

Endless and empty statements have been made over the years concerning the opening of the Ottoman archives, and it is creating a disturbance among those who follow this topic closely. For the last 8 years, every 6 months a statement is made regarding the opening of the Ottoman archives. That these don't come true indicates that Turkey is pursuing a policy of distraction.

At this point, the Ottoman archives held by Turkey are worthless. This explains why only Turcophiles and the uninitiated place any weight on them. It also explains why the archives' administrators publicly complain that serious scholars have not come to review what has been released.

The last denial argument I would like to touch on is a "character" argument—that is, "Turks are hospitable, good people" and good people would not do what the Armenians allege happened under Ottoman reign. Let me say that the character of the Turkish people is not at issue here. Turkish hospitality is well known, and many Turks proved their sense of humanity during the genocide by protecting individual Armenians. That does not change what the government did to the Armenians from 1915 to 1923, the fact that the racist ideology of Pan-Turkism (Turkey only for Turks) was and still is prevalent, or that the government continues to have a poor human rights record and severely discriminates against Armenians in Turkey today.

You should also know that the 1915-1923 Armenian genocide was not an isolated event. From 1894 to 1896, Sultan Abdul Hamid openly and proudly ordered the massacre of hundreds of thousands of Armenians, ostensibly to send the Armenians a message about their place in Turkish society. Lord Kinross gave the following example of the atrocities in this period:

[The Massacre's] objective, based on the convenient consideration that Armenians were now tentatively starting to question their inferior status, was the ruthless reduction, with a view to elimination of the Armenian Christians, and the expropriation of their lands for the Moslem Turks. Each operation, between the bugle calls, followed a similar pattern. First the Turkish troops came into a town for the purpose of massacre; then came the Kurdish irregulars and tribesmen for the purpose of plunder. Finally came the holocaust, by fire and destruction, which spread, with the pursuit of the fugitives and mopping-up operations, throughout the lands and villages of the surrounding province. This murderous winter of 1895 thus saw the decimation of much of the Armenian population and the devastation of their property in some twenty districts of eastern Turkey. Often the massacres were timed for a Friday, when the Moslems were in their mosques . . . Cruelest and most ruinous of all were the massacres at Urfa, where the Armenian Christians numbered a third of the population . . . When the bugle blast ended the day's operations, some three thousand refugees poured into the cathedral, hoping for sanctuary. But the next morning—a Sunday—a fanatic mob swarmed into the church in an orgy of slaughter, rifling its shrines with cries of 'Call upon Christ to prove Himself a greater prophet than Mohammed.' Then they amassed a large pile of straw matting, which they spread over the litter of corpses and set alight with thirty cans of petroleum. The woodwork of the gallery where a crowd of women and children crouched, wailing with terror, caught fire, and all perished in the flames. Punctiliously at three-thirty in the afternoon the bugle blew once more, and the Moslem officials proceeded around the Armenian quarter to proclaim that the massacres were over . . . the total casualties in the town, including those slaughtered in the cathedral, amounted to eight thousand dead.

Similar accounts of massive Armenian massacres during this 1894-1896 period abound. In 1909, for similar reasons, the government set another prelude to the 1915-1923 genocide. Then, it ordered and carried out massacres in Adana which killed 30,000 Armenians.

Today, as I have noted, the Turkish government is engaged in an all out effort to deny the Armenian genocide. In addition to its efforts in the United States, it is eradicating the physical evidence of any Armenian existence in Turkey. At the beginning of this century Armenians had two thousand churches in Turkey. Now, under two hundred are standing. As for the rest, the government has: destroyed them; converted them to mosques, warehouses, cinemas, and other uses; or allowed them to be plundered and destroyed. In Armenian schools, Armenians are forbidden to teach history and geography, those subjects can only be taught by Turkish officials. As a final example, Turkey strictly forbids open discussion of Armenian history or any other matters which do not comply with government policy. In March of this year, the Independent Magazine reported that:

In early December 1986 Hilda Hulya Potuoglu was arrested by the Turkish Security Police and charged with making propaganda with intent to destroy or weaken national feelings. The prosecutor of the Istanbul State Security deemed her offense as meriting severe punishment and asked for between a seven-and-a-half and a 15-year jail sentence.

Potuoglu's crime was to edit the Turkish edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica. In this was included a footnote which read as follows: During the Crusades the mountainous regions of Cilicia were under the hegemony of the Armenian Cilician kingdom. . . .

The Encyclopedia Britannica was not the first publication to offend. In 1981 the authorities seized Ankara 50, a guidebook to Ankara produced by the British Institute of Archaeology. The book, when published in 1973, had been passed by the military censor. By 1981, however, times had changed. It was noticed that the book featured a map naming the Roman provinces of Asia Minor including—with perfect historical accuracy—the province of Armenia. The guidebook quickly joined the index of forbidden books along with other such politically dubious publications, The Times Atlas of World History and the National Geographic Atlas of the World.

This is the type of action that the Turkish government and those in the United States who deny the Armenian genocide are promoting—the sacrifice of truth and integrity on the altar of perceived political expedience. This is why I am especially glad to have had this time with you today, to publicly expose exactly what we are all up against in fighting denial of the Armenian genocide. Thank you.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, the debate has now begun. On Thursday, at some time mutually agreeable to myself, Senator BYRD, and Senator MITCHELL, we will have a cloture vote. We will decide whether we are going to get to the resolution itself. Right now we are only on the motion to proceed to the resolution.

The Senate can vote with Goliath and all its lobbyists and all its muscle and all its influence. Or it can vote with David, and with the truth. I know we can expect intense, but high-level debate, because I know the participants on both sides of this issue. And, in my view, if we stick to the facts, if we go back and look at the records—we cannot look at some of the records because the Turks will not make them available. They keep saying, oh, everything is open. But let someone try to find them. They are not available.

But, it seems to me, this is something that ought to take a little time in the U.S. Senate. I have not read the story, but I heard about a story that appeared in the Washington Post just this weekend, how this place is becoming sort of immaterial—Congress. We do not debate any issues anymore. We shrink from all the hard issues. I am just speaking generally now.

When we have a hard question, we appoint a commission. Maybe it is Social Security. Maybe it is on the pay raise. Maybe it is on what do we do in Central America. So we have the Scowcroft Commission or we have the Social Security Commission of 1983 or we have the Quadrennial Commission to set our pay—because we do not want to make those difficult choices.

It would seem to me this is an appropriate time for the U.S. Senate to underscore the importance of this institution and to indicate that we are prepared to take a look back, 75 years. And, yes, let history be the judge.

I must say in all fairness, that is the best argument we have, because we cannot win the lobbying war. There is nobody in Armenia that has any money to send over here for lobbyists. There is nobody in that government who can call anybody in Missouri or some other State to say, oh, oh, you better get your Senators. If they vote for this, you may lose a contract. And, as far as I know, there are no big time lobbyists from Armenia out here in the cloakroom, waiting for somebody to come out.

I might add, a couple of those were all for the convention when we ratified the Genocide Convention. They were urging me to move ahead. Genocide is genocide, whether it happens, whoever it may happen to, whatever race.

Having said that, let me just add one other thing—I am advised by my good friend from West Virginia that there is not any compromise possible. But in an effort to reach some compromise, I have been working with the administration. It is not easy for the President of the United States to oppose the pending resolution, but he does.

They are opposed to the resolution in its present form. They have said so and, as I have indicated in my statement, they have said so not only in writing, but they have also said so by State Department calls to Senators and by Defense Department calls to Senators in an effort to kill this resolution before it ever got out of committee.

I have discussed this with Chief of Staff John Sununu and General Scowcroft. We have had a number of meetings. I was in California recently and met with Carl Samuelsan, who is a very close friend of Governor Deukmejian, and we had a conference call with Governor Deukmejian and Congressman PASHAYAN to try to find some language that would recognize the tragedy without being "offensive" to anyone. It is hard to do.

It is hard to do, but I am prepared to say now that if we have a chance to proceed to this resolution that I am prepared to offer language different than I have just read a few moments ago. Let me read for the record what that language would be—the operative language, so it will be clear:

That April 24, 1990, is designated as Armenian Martyrs Day, commemorating the 75th anniversary of the systematic destruction of the Armenian people in the period from 1915 to 1923.

Congress calls on the people of the United States to join the millions of Armenians and other people around the world who commemorate every April 24 as the anniversary of the Armenian genocide, a day of remembrance of the 1½ million Armenian people who were the victims of the government of the Ottoman empire of that period prior to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey.

That is essentially what it would be. What it says, and let me underscore so people understand, it calls upon the people of the United States to join the millions of Armenians and other people around the world who commemorate every April 24 as the anniversary of the Armenian genocide; as opposed to the language that I previously read—in other words, in resolution 1 there is an effect of finding of genocide, and the resolution I am proposing be offered as a substitute at the appropriate time, perhaps with a couple of minor changes, it would indicate we join those who commemorate April 24 as the anniversary of the Armenian genocide. This is a rather substantial difference.

I hope those who oppose the present resolution would have an opportunity to read this new language carefully. It has been drafted as a concurrent resolution. I am advised that I cannot amend a joint resolution with a concurrent resolution, but that I can amend the joint resolution, I can offer a substitute, I have been advised by the Parliamentarian.

So, Mr. President, I thank the distinguished majority leader for making it possible to debate this issue. April 24 is not far away. If we are to succeed, we need to do it as quickly as we can, to send the resolution on to the House. I believe we will succeed. I would hope that we will present the facts in a way that will not offend anyone; that we will be able to present facts. We will have a series of charts tomorrow that ought to spell it out fairly clearly.

Our purpose is not to offend anyone on either side, regardless of how strongly they may feel, but it seems to me that if we will argue, as the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON] did in the committee, if we will make the case based on history and based on the facts—and he has a lot of evidence that he will be discussing—then we will make the right judgment.

I also want to thank my friend from Michigan, Senator LEVIN, who has been very helpful in this effort. I hope the three of us and others can persuade our colleagues that it is time we let history be judged. We have waited long enough.

Mr. BYRD addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes Senator BYRD.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I have reluctantly opposed the request to proceed to the consideration of the resolution. I say that I have reluctantly opposed the request to proceed because I believe that Senator DOLE's resolution is motivated by good intentions.

I am sorry to be put in this position by my own conscience and my own faith in what I believe to be the facts. I am sorry to be put in the position of opposing the resolution. I am sorry to be put in the position of opposing my friend, Mr. DOLE, in this matter. As I have assured him, and I assure him again, there is nothing personal about my opposition to this resolution, about my opposition to his position. There is also nothing partisan.

I know that the distinguished Republican leader believes every word that he says. I know that he feels strongly about the resolution. The personal emotions that he has to have, I, too, would have if I had walked the same path as Senator DOLE walked during World War II.

I can understand his deeply held feelings. He has deep convictions

about the matter. So I do not come to the floor with that kind of attachment—which is a very personal one with Senator DOLE—to the cause that I support. I come with equal convictions, however, that this resolution should not be adopted.

The Republican leader has referred to lobbyists.

I have talked with the Turkish Ambassador, but I invited him to come to see me. I talked with President Ozal 2 or 3 weeks ago when he was in Washington, and I asked him if there was any way that we could change the language of this resolution that would make it acceptable to Turkey. I would have been willing to have changed the language. But he indicated very strongly that all political parties in Turkey are united and that they would be opposed to any change; they would be opposed to this resolution; they would be opposed to any effort to water it down, because it would still be offensive to them.

The distinguished Republican leader talked about the administration's making calls and lobbying. The administration has not called me. I called the administration. I called the President. I called Secretary Baker. I called Assistant Secretary Eagleburger. I called General Scowcroft. Some of these parties I have called more than once. I have called them. They have not called me. They have not lobbied me. I have lobbied them. My problem is, I have not been able to get the administration to come out in the open and say where it stands. That is what it ought to do. It should come out in the open and say where it stands.

As to lobbyists, I do not know any Turkish lobbyists. I do not ask any individual what his history is, national origin is, or anything like that. If there are a dozen Turkish constituents in West Virginia, I cannot name one of them. So I have no Turkish constituents. Perhaps that is where the Turks have made a mistake. If there were a larger Turkish constituency, the vote might be different on the outcome of this debate. We do not have many Turkish immigrants in this country, and perhaps we should have more.

I have explained my contacts with the Turkish Ambassador, my contacts with President Ozal, my contacts with the President, with the Secretary of State, with the Assistant Secretary of State, and the President's security adviser.

This resolution condemns tragic antidemocratic events occurring early in this century, a previous era, not part of the political heritage of the present Government of Turkey. There is a new generation in Turkey. There is a new Government in Turkey.

My good friend, the distinguished Republican leader, said that there were no companies in Soviet Armenia. Turkey is a democracy. Soviet Armenia is not. United States companies can do business with Turkey. It is a democracy.

And so what happened—and some terrible things did undoubtedly happen—was not a part of the heritage of the present Government of Turkey, not part of the personal experience of the present leaders of that Government, not part of the personal experience of the bulk of Turkey's population. I had hoped that the Senate would not come to this point of even debating whether to proceed to consider this resolution because this well-meaning commentary—this resolution, as far as Senator DOLE is concerned and those Senators who have cosponsored it, is well intentioned—this commentary on a piece of Turkish history that occurred seven decades ago has a good chance of producing some pernicious results.

My friend has said that history should make a judgment. Mr. President, historians should make the judgment, historians and scholars, and not politicians on the floor of the Senate, as to what happened or did not happen. Historians will not be lobbied by either side. There apparently is a pretty influential constituency on the Armenian side in this country. That may be why the administration does not come out in the open and say where it stands, Mr. President.

I do not believe that the floor of the the Senate is the appropriate place to make a determination about a matter that ought to be researched, evaluated, and decided by historians and by scholars. I hope that this issue could be left to historians to decide.

I do not want anyone to misunderstand my opposition to the motion to proceed to the consideration of the resolution. I have not read the records, but I have reason to believe, and so would acknowledge, that during the time period covered by the resolution some terrible things happened. Atrocities took place. Hundreds of thousands of Armenians were killed in Turkey. I suppose that Turkey lost some people as well. I am deeply sympathetic to the suffering endured by the Armenians during this time period. But I do not know whether what happened to the Armenians constitutes a genocide. That term is a serious label that has been strictly defined in the Genocide Convention for which the implementing legislation was passed while I was the majority leader. The Republican leader was the majority leader in 1986 when the Genocide Convention was approved. The implementing legislation, however, was passed in 1988 when I was majority leader. So we both take pride. I was a supporter of the effort by Mr. DOLE when he was majority leader and he was a supporter of the effort when I was majority leader.

To term a series of events that happened three-quarters of a century ago as genocide is something that should not be done without great care. Labeling a series of events a genocide is not something the Senate should undertake without serious study, deliberation, and careful examination of the evidence. I believe that until that kind of careful examination of all pertinent documents has been done by trained historians, the Senate should not address this issue.

I believe that the situation has been altered significantly in the last year. My friend, the Republican leader, said that he will have documents which he will make available, that other Senators will make available, but that the Turks will not make the records available.

But in the last year the Government of the Republic of Turkey has opened the Ottoman Archives spanning the World War I era. Prior to the new law, all archival materials dated after May 1914 were closed to scholars. Today, all cataloged materials dating through 1939 are open and available.

On June 23, 1989, the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Turkey signed into law new regulations affecting the Turkish State Archives. This law greatly simplifies the procedures by which foreign and Turkish scholars obtain permission to conduct research in the State Archives. Whereas it used to take an average of 6 to 10 months to gain permission to conduct research in the archives, I am advised now a scholar can apply for permission and quickly begin work.

Among the categories of cataloged documents now available are the records of the deliberations and decisions of the Ottoman Council of Ministers, which comprise 224 bound and cataloged volumes covering the years 1885 to 1922. Now, for the first time, all the deliberations and actions of the Council of Ministers for the period of the First World War are available to scholars. This obviously includes all decisions relating to the relocation of the Ottoman Armenians during the war.

In addition, a large number of registers specifically devoted to the non-Muslim peoples of the Ottoman Empire, the so-called church registers and registers concerning the non-Muslim peoples are also open and available to researchers. As well, dozens of other classifications in the Prime Minister's Archives, containing thousands of documents with relevance to the Armenian population during the First World War, were automatically openend to scholars in conjunction with the new law.

I think it is important to note here that since the new regulations went into effect, no scholar who has applied for permission to work on the newly

opened records has been denied. That is the advice that I have had.

So there is new information freely available which could help historians make a determination about this matter. But I understand that the issue at hand is not whether historians have or should make a determination about this matter, but whether the Senate should. I believe the scales upon which we shall weigh that determination are tipped by the strategic importance of one of the America's most valuable allies—Turkey.

There are those who say we ought to do what is right. I believe in doing what is right also, Mr. President, I do not think it is right to make a snap judgment, to make a political judgment of something of this kind. In the first place, not one of us, not one of 100 Senators, is really in a position to know the facts. I am not. And I think that this is too serious a question to be resolved by people who do not know the facts, including myself.

I am deeply concerned that if the Senate were to pass it will unwittingly slap the face of a very important NATO ally. Turky's role in NATO is the key to preventing the Soviet Union's Black Sea fleet from transiting the Bosphorus into the Mediterranean. Turkey also has the longest border of any NATO country with the Soviet Union, a 300-mile land border and a 900-mile sea border. This totals roughly 33 percent of the NATO frontier with the Warsaw Pact countries. Turkey's armed forces, which total roughly 650,000, are the largest European NATO force. The army is larger than the ground forces of West Germany, and greater than the British, Greek, Canadian, Dutch, Danish, and Portuguese forces combined.

I am concerned that if the Senate were to adopt this resolution, we could jeopardize the upcoming round of base rights negotiations.

My friend, Mr. DOLE, has indicated that the Turks have made threats in the past and nothing happened. He also, of course, indicated that something might really happen in this instance. I have not heard of any threats, but the passage of the resolution could result in further limitations on United States access to important Turkish military facilities, including key facilities used to monitor Soviet troop movements and arms control agreements. As my friend, Mr. DOLE, referred to NATO, we do not know how long NATO will be around. But the arms control agreements will be around. Whether NATO is around or not, there are arms control agreements that will be around and they are in our own security interests and in the security interests of NATO and other countries of the free world. They will need to be monitored.

On March 17, 1987, the United States and Turkey signed two Side Letters to a new Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement, called the DECA Agreement. The previous DECA was renewed in 1980; the 1987 Side Letters extended the DECA until December 18, 1990. We must negotiate a new agreement this year.

Unlike in some other countries, the United States does not have its own bases in Turkey, except for the United States Logistics Group headquarters [TUSLOG] in Ankara. Instead, the United States has access to a variety of Turkish and NATO military installations.

The most important facilities are covered by the Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement. These include a major air base in Incirlik in southern Turkey, three major monitoring facilities at Sinop on the Black Sea, at Pirinclik near Diyarbakir in eastern Turkey, and at Belbasi outside Ankara, and a naval fuel depot—providing fuel and ammunition storage for the 6th Fleet—at Izkenderun in southern Turkey near Adana. Also covered by the DECA is a Coast Guard long-range aid to navigation [LORAN C] radio navigation site at Kargaburun.

The United States also has other facilities in Turkey not covered by the DECA, including several Army and Air Force installations to store nuclear weapons. The United States also is establishing collocated operating bases to pre-position wartime materials. The Joint United States Military Mission for Aid to Turkey [JUSMMAT], which coordinates United States military assistance to Turkey, is located in Ankara, and is attached to the Turkish General Staff. In addition, the United States has access to a variety of NATO facilities, including the Eastern Mediterranean headquarters at Izmir for Land Forces, Southeast, and for the 6th Allied Tactical Air Force. Near Izmir, there is also a Turkish air base at Cigli, which provides support for United States personnel assigned to NATO.

The last time the Armenian resolution was an issue, in 1987, Turkey refused to ratify the DECA Side Letters and canceled a trip to the United States by then-President Evren. It took nearly a year to repair the damage caused by mere introduction of that resolution to get the relationship back on track and to gain ratification of the two Side Letters. Then last October, Turkey restricted United States access to military facilities in Turkey in response to the Judiciary Committee's reporting of the resolution. Concerns about what might happen if this resolution were to be approved by the Senate should not be dismissed as idle threats. Turkey has demonstrated that it cares deeply about this matter and that it has and will act in response to action taken on the resolution.

It is a very innocuous resolution on its face. As far as I am concerned, I suppose I would have no problem with the resolution, because I see it through different eyes than do the Turks. But to them it is indeed a serious matter. I am not offened by the language, but to them the language is offensive. That is what we have to pay attention to. How will they react?

This resolution is not intended as a slap at Turkey, but its passage may have serious repercussions in Turkey and serious ramifications for United States-Turkey relations and for NATO. Do we really want to jeopardize all this by adopting this resolution? Do we really want to risk losing our access to bases on NATO's southern flank? Do we really want to impair our ability to monitor Soviet troop movements? Do we really want to impede our ability to verify arms control agreements? I certainly do not—and I do not think any Member of this Chamber would want to do so either. I do not believe that those who are cosponsoring the resolution believe that will happen. Unfortunately, that is exactly what could happen if the Senate approved this resolution.

I know that one could say that Turkey has interests, as well, and they will not do this or that because they have their own interests at stake. Well, it is a chancy business.

This resolution may appear on the surface to be a simple commemorative resolution. But it is not. This resolution raises many thorny defense and foreign policy issues. It is not simple, it is not straightforward. It is intensely controversial, and I believe, not a matter on which this body ought to be taking a stance, certainly not without extensive examination, hearings, debate, and considered analysis of all available evidence. That has not yet taken place. There have been no committee hearings on this issue.

What is at stake here is a matter of labeling a country—modern Turkey—guilty of the crime of genocide. Genocide is not just a label, it is a determination of criminal action, a criminal action for which there is criminal liability. Why are we doing that? What useful purpose can this resolution serve at this late date? Any country against which the allegation of genocide has been lodged, ought in all fairness, to be accorded the right to a factual investigation into all allegations before such a determination is made. After all, how long did the Senate spend investigating the matter of the impeachment of Judge Claiborne, Judge Hastings, and Judge Nixon? Those investigations consumed months and months and months of the Senate's time in hearings, testimony, investigations, to say nothing of the time spent on the Senate floor in the trials themselves. Yet with no

more than a half hour of debate in the Judiciary Committee, with not a single hearing, with not one whit of investigation—factual investigation—the Senate is prepared to consider determining whether Turkey is guilty of the crime of genocide 60 to 75 years ago.

Do we really want to put ourselves in that position?

I am deeply concerned about the potential impact that an approval of this resolution could have on the troubling instability and ethnic conflict in the Caucasus and Balkan regions. The recent turmoil in Azerbaijan, which forced Mr. Gorbachev to send in troops to bring order back to the area, is deeply disturbing. It is clear that Mr. Gorbachev's laudable perestroika and glasnost policies have shaken the Soviet Union to its very foundations. As people have become more free to speak their minds, they have also become more free to vent their animosities against other ethnic groups.

They have not been satisfied merely to speak their minds, they have erupted into violence—ethnic group against ethnic group—rent asunder, and no longer held together by an inviolate Communist Party. Even their mutual dislike for their Russian and Communist overlords has been insufficient to prevent the outbreak of serious ethnic violence. Just last week, that same kind of violence broke out in a new area of the Soviet Union—Muslims against Christians in the Central Asian Republic of Tajikistan. Then late last week, rioting between Muslims and Armenians broke out in yet another Soviet Republic—this time Uzbekistan.

In the Balkans, a review of what has happened in Bulgaria is instructive about the depth of ethnic animosities. In Bulgaria, the Communist leadership for many years had pursued a policy of forced assimilation of its ethnic Turkish minority. The Bulgarian Government forced its Turkish citizens to change their Turkish names to Bulgarian ones. It killed, wounded, and arrested hundreds of ethnic Turks who protested this new policy. Using both force and coercion, the Bulgarian Government removed ethnic Turks from their own villages and resettled them into areas with small Turkish populations.

The Government also prohibited the study of the Turkish language in schools. It banned the use of the Turkish language in public. It made the receipt and reading of Turkish publications a punishable act. It jammed the reception of Trukish radio and television programs. It severely curtailed the right of its own Turkish citizens to practice their religion and closed mosques and barred the importation of copies of the Koran.

None of these acts was enough. Last year, the Bulgarian Government, which previously had prevented its Turkish citizens from emigrating, reversed course, and expelled them across the border into Turkey. Not just a few—hundreds of thousands of them.

My point here is not to relate the sad tale of what the ethnic Turkish Bulgarians have suffered, but to demonstrate that when the Bulgarian Communists were overthrown and the new Government repudiated all the abhorrent policies against the ethnic Turks, the Bulgarian people turned out in massive demonstrations against the new Government. The people, it seems, supported those abhorrent policies against the ethnic Turks. The people thought it was just fine to assimilate forcibly a despised ethnic minority and when that was not enough, thought it was great to expel them.

This indeed, is a sad commentary on the inability of different peoples to live together in harmony. And it is not just in Bulgaria where ethnic groups are having trouble living together—it is happening in Yugoslavia, where Serbs and Croatians cannot live together in peace, where Serbs and Albanians are fighting each other. In Rumania, ethnic Rumanians cannot seem to live in peace with their ethnic Hungarian minority. This resolution asks Senators to vote on controversial historical events over which the Turkish Government today and a new generation there have no control, just as we today have no control over what happened then.

This resolution asks the U.S. Senate to endorse a particular view of these events and to take sides in a historical debate. The effect of our judgment could well be to damage the stability of democracy in Turkey and to damage United States relations with Turkey. Our actions on the Senate floor could fan the flames of the politics of yesteryear in the tinderbox known as the Balkans and in the Caucasus at a singularly inappropriate time when old ethnic passions have ignited.

The Balkan region is fraught with ethnic tensions—just as the Caucasus is fraught with ethnic tension. Senate approval of this resolution would only fan the flames.

Why do we want to take a chance on doing that? Why do that? Why take that chance?

What possible good can this resolution do?

It can do harm.

It can fan the flames and provide further fuel for people who cannot live together in harmony, for people who resort to violence in their disputes with their neighbors.

Senate approval of this resolution would offend a trusted and loyal ally—an ally that fought with us in the Korean war, an ally that protects NATO's southern flank, an ally that provides access to a variety of important military facilities, an ally that alone can block the exit of Soviet ships from the Black Sea.

I do not believe, Mr. President, that a determination by the Senate of this matter is appropriate.

It should not be 100 Senators who without a hearing, without an investigation, without determining the facts, without looking at the records firsthand, without going to the archives, make a judgment of this kind.

I have a very fond feeling for the Republican leader. He knows of my affection for him as an individual. I admire him as a patriotic American who answered his country's call and paid a price. I recognize his sincerity in this matter. I want to do nothing that would impair our relationship, nothing.

He has a duty to speak what he believes; I have a duty to try to do what I can to prevent what I see as something which could impair the alliance between the United States and Turkey, could impair that fledgling democracy, and could spill over into the already boiling kettle in the Caucasus and in the Balkans.

I have already said that what happened to the Armenians was tragic and was terrible. I am in deep sympathy with what generations of Armenians have experienced as a result of tragic and brutal events. I do not have any close friends who are Turks. I cannot even say I have one friend who is a Turk. Undoubtedly, there must be a few Turkish Americans over the hill country of West Virginia. My favorite doctor is an Armenian. My wife's favorite doctor is an Armenian doctor. He is a patriotic, loyal, dedicated American. So, I do not like to be put in the position I am in, but I do not believe that this resolution is in the best interests of the United States.

And again I say that I do not speak in derogation of the authors of the resolution. They believe just as firmly that the resolution is appropriate and necessary as I do that it is not. I do not believe that the Senate can or should attempt to make a determination on whether what happened constitutes a genocide.

The U.S. Senate should not become the vehicle for reopening old wounds and igniting smoldering hatreds. No Member of the Senate body wants that.

Mr. President, I join with the distinguished Republican leader who has made reference to the terrible happenings that have recently fallen upon Soviet Armenia, the earthquake and the victims of that tragedy.

I will support as quickly as will any other Senator any effort to bring relief to suffering peoples anywhere. But this resolution does not do that. It has nothing to do with the Armenian

earthquake. It has nothing to do with the lives that were lost there. It is well intentioned, but I hope that the Senate will not proceed to the consideration of the resolution. This is not the time, this is not the place, and these are not the circumstances that make consideration of the resolution itself a necessity.

It is difficult, Mr. President, to argue against the resoluton. This is a country that is noted for its Constitution and the constitutional guarantees concerning human rights, but there is a greater document than the Constitution and that document is the Book that my mother read. And in that Holy Bible we are told—and I shall paraphrase—that "He that putteth his hand to the plow and looketh back is not fit for the Kingdom of God."

What I am saying is we should not put our hand to the plow here and look back into the dim past. We could be doing a people a wrong and we can as well be participating in something here that could bring more suffering on peoples in that old Middle Eastern region and in the southeastern part of the Soviet Union.

I can understand how today's generation of Turks do not want to see the label of genocide applied to their grandparents concerning events which occurred at a time when Ataturk was a commander in the Turkish military.

The Turks are to be greatly admired. They do not ask for much. We do not give them much. I have already indicated the strength of the Turkish forces that are the resources of NATO. They have been fighting the people of the North for centuries. Turkey is a valuable ally and its position is important to Israel and to other countries in the Middle East. Turkey borders on Iran and Iraq, Syria, and the Soviet Union. I hope we will consider all of these things carefully as we come to vote on cloture the day after tomorrow.

Again I say to my friend, the Republican leader, I respect him. He is fighting for what he believes in. He is conscientious. He is dedicated. I wish the administration were just as dedicated and conscientious and outgoing and right out on top of the table as is the distinguished Republican leader.

The Republican leader decries lobbyists. I join him in that, to a certain extent. I also decry political commitments that are made in the heat of campaigns that are not in the best interests of the United States. And what is to be more regretted is that when one begins to see the world as it really is after the campaign is over, and is bound to see that a campaign commitment was wrong, a mistake, he does not face facts as they are in the real world and simply say, "What I thought in the campaign was what I thought in the campaign, but now I no longer see through a glass darkly. It is a mistake to proceed in this way. I cannot continue to honor a wrong commitment.

Perhaps, may I say to the distinguished Republican leader, if there could ever be campaign financing reform legislation, meaningful legislation, some of us would not get into these situations in campaigns, where Senators go around the country and people in the administration go around the country and hold out their hats and tin cups and beg for contributions and make campaign promises that are not in the best interests of the country.

The Senator from Michigan has been very patient and I thank him for waiting. I will certainly apologize for speaking at length but I am going to listen to what he has to say.

I am sorry that he is on the other side of the matter. I hope that others will come to speak. I do not like to carry all the burden myself but I am capable of speaking at considerable length when I believe in something as I do this. I may speak slowly, but that allows me to speak longer. And sometimes it is important to speak slowly and think before one speaks.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GRAHAM). The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I listened with great interest to my friend from West Virginia, as I did to the Republican leader. They spoke, both of them, with their usual eloquence and integrity. The President pro tempore and I are, indeed, on different sides on this issue. I, too, regret that. But that happens at times and his beliefs are held with great sincerity, as are those of the Senator from Kansas and myself and the Senator from Illinois. I think we all understand how those differences do arise from time to time in this body.

Mr. President, I will be brief, given the hour. I have cosponsored, and indeed support, the resolution to designate April 24 as a National Day of Remembrance of the 75th Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide.

There is an overwhelming body of historical documentation and eyewitness accounts that prove that the appalling events of the Armenian genocide occurred during the time of the Ottoman Empire, in which as many as 1.5 million Armenians died during the years 1915 to 1923. The resolution emphasizes, as we all must, that the events in question occurred prior to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. This resolution does not reach any judgment on the Government of Turkey, on the current Republic of Turkey. The events at issue from 1915 to 1923 occurred during the Ottoman Empire.

Again, according to the words of the resolution, "prior to the establishment" of the modern Republic of Turkey.

The Republic of Turkey is, indeed, a valued and important friend of the United States. However, our important mutual security interests with our NATO ally and our close friendship with and respect for the Turkish poeple are not reasons to rewrite history or to ignore history. To deny this history is to deny the terrible loss of innocent lives and to ignore the assistance which was extended by the United States to Armenia at that time.

Mr. President, we must never forget. If we do forget I am afraid, as some have said, we are going to be doomed to repeat history. That is the reason why we acknowledge events, acknowledge tragedies. So that we can attempt in some small way to avoid the repetition of those tragedies.

There was a widespread, systematic massacre of Armenians between the years 1915 and 1923.

In Aprils past, survivors of Armenian genocide have traveled to Washington for commemoration and to pay tribute to the memory of the victims who perished. I have spoken with surviviors. I have seen their faces. And I have heard what I believe, and most historians believe, is the truth.

There are many, many painful, contemporaneous eyewitness accounts that document the horrors. Accounts of the systematic slaughter were reported by not just survivors but journalists, government officials, and missionaries and travelers from many nations. There was a systematic intentional effort to eliminate Armenians as a people.

The American Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Henry Morgenthau, telegraphed the following to the United States Secretary of State on July 16, 1915. The Ambassador telegraphed the following message:

> Deportation of an excesses against peaceful Armenians is increasing and from harrowing reports of eyewitnesses it appears that a campaign of race extermination is in progress under pretext of reprisal against rebellion.

Ambassador Morgenthau wrote a book which a number of us have read and many of us have. One of the paragraphs in that book is as follows:

> When the Turkish authorities gave the orders for these deportations, they were merely giving the death warrant to a whole race; they understood this well and in their conversations with me, they made no particular attempt to conceal the fact.
>
> I am confident that the whole history of the human race contains no such horrible episode as this. The great massacres and persecutions of the past seem almost insignificant when compared to the sufferings of the Armenian race in 1915.

That was in the book of the American Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire.

Mr. President, he wrote about events that occurred in the years 1915 to 1923. At that time he may have been accurate in his characterization that in the whole history of the human race, mankind had not seen such horror. But as we know, genocidal horror revisited mankind after Ambassador Morgenthau wrote. Mankind did not learn, did not comprehend, did not recoil in unified horror. And I believe that, at least in part, because mankind did not respond to the genocide of the Armenians in the years 1915 to 1923, genocide reoccurred.

Elie Wiesel, a commanding presence with the moral authority of history, stated in this building, in our rotunda, in April of 1981 the following:

Before the planning of the final solution, had Hitler asked who remembers the Armenians?

Elie Wiesel went on to say:

He was right. Nobody remembered them as no one remembered the Jews. Rejected by everyone, they felt expelled from history.

It has been said, and said accurately, that at the time of the First World War, many, many thousands of Turks and many, many thousands of others also died. They did. It is important to respect history and it is important to remember. We should remember and honor the innocent victims of all sides that fell to the cruelties of the great war, both those who died as the result of the violent turmoil of battle, and those who perished because of starvation, disease, and deprivation.

We should acknowledge the suffering of innocent Turks, and innocent people of whatever nationality or religion who died during this time. But, Mr. President, that is not the point.

It is our intention and the intention of this resolution to honor the memory of, so that mankind will not forget, the Armenians who were massacred by the Ottoman Empire. Massacred because, and only because, they were Armenian.

In an interview published in the Los Angeles Examiner on August 1, 1926, Ataturk himself acknowledged the crimes of the earlier government. He called the former government murderers, and vowed that they would not overthrow the Republic of Turkey, in the words of Ataturk, that earlier government "should have been made to account for the lives of millions of our subjects who were ruthlessly driven, en masse, from their homes and massacred. * * *"

There is much more from other authorities, from Ambassador Morgenthau and others, that could and will be made part of the RECORD, which document specific incidents and horrors.

We have Lord Bryce, in the House of Lords in London in October 1915, reporting to the House of Lords about the atrocities. That horrible policy, Lord Bryce said, has been carried out thoroughly by the present Turkish Government, the policy being a policy of the extermination of the Armenian people. Lord Bryce said that on behalf of these pathetic survivors of a fine race that other nations, including America, should come to their aid. According to the New York Times of October 7, Lord Bryce appealed to the conscience of neutrals. What he believed, he said, is there are some crimes even now in the convulsion of a great world war that the public opinion of the world will not tolerate. The House of Lords responded.

The Senate of the United States in May 1920 adopted a resolution referring to testimony at hearings of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations "Clearly establishing the truth of the reported massacres and other atrocities from which the Armenian people have suffered." That was Senate Resolution 359, May 11, 1920.

Arnold Toynbee, the League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and others have given us both eyewitness and historical reports of the Armenian genocide in 1915 to 1923. It is appropriate that we remember that genocide. If it had been remembered earlier in this country, I believe other genocides may have been avoided. That is the reason for remembering and that is the reason for not forgetting these events. If we ignore history, it is more likely that that history will be repeated.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. SIMON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I rise in support of this resolution. I want to particularly pay tribute to my colleague, Senator DOLE, for standing up on this. There are not very many Armenians in Kansas, and to the credit of the minority leader and his wife, they visited Soviet Armenia right after the earthquake there. I appreciate his persistence on this in the face of considerable opposition.

I regret I had to be away from the floor when the President pro tempore spoke. I have, as he knows, a very high regard for him. While I differ with him on this particular resolution, I wanted to hear what he had to say, and I will read it in the RECORD tomorrow. I know we say these things very easily, "we will read them in the RECORD," but I will read it in the RECORD.

There is one other general observation that goes beyond this resolution, Mr. President, and that is the need for communication between religious groups. What you have here with the Armenians and, in this case, the Turks—and in Azerbaijan you have the same problem—what you have with the Jewish community and Moslems, you have had groups because of their heritage finding themselves in conflict. We need greater communication between religious groups, whether it is Christian, Moslem, Moslem-Jewish, Northern Ireland, Catholic, Protestants, whatever. The last reason we ought to be killing each other is in the name of religion, and yet that, unfortunately, has taken place.

One of the things I have observed, Mr. President, is that there is no comprehensive study on this whole problem. I was able to get ahold of a book, "A Historical Survey of the Armenian Case," written by Kersam Aharonian. I am not sure I am pronouncing that name correctly. But we have sufficient evidence we know that a massacre took place. It is one of the tragedies of history. It is not simply the documented evidence—I talked just this past week with an old gentleman who relayed to me what had happened to his family when he was 10 years old—a brutal experience that will be part of his memory the rest of his life.

What we are talking about is not a criticism of the Government of Turkey today, and I would like to make that abundantly clear. What we are talking about is a recognition of a slaughter that took place some decades ago, but we should not pretend that it did not take place.

Frankly, my colleagues who say we do not want to offend Turkey, therefore, we should not do this—I understand that though I disagree with that particular argument. Those who say we are not sure whether genocide occurred, that I do not understand when the evidence is just so overwhelming that it has occurred. The question is not whether genocide has occurred, whether this massacre occurred; the question is, Do we remember it? Do we learn from it? And my hope, obviously, is that we will.

When people say it is not in the United States interest to do this because of the strategic location of Turkey, the fundamental interest of the United States is and always will be human rights. When we fail to stand up for human rights as we should, then we are not acting in the best interest of this country.

For those who say we do not want to revive all these things of the past, if we are on friendly terms with other countries, we ought to have candor, and if the Turkish Parliament wants to adopt a resolution saying that we have in this country over the years mistreated our native Americans, the American Indians, they have a perfect right to do that, and it is a valid criticism. If they want to criticize what we did to the Japanese Americans in 1942, it is a valid criticism of what happened.

I think we ought to follow the example of the European Parliament which adopted a resolution similar to the one that we are being asked to adopt here.

I have to say I thought this was originally going to be one of these things that passed without any problems at all, but all of a sudden after it was introduced, we ended up with—I have had leaders of major defense industries contact me, high officials in the administration. It has escalated beyond anything I anticipated. But the fundamental question is should we do anything?

I would like to quote from a Presidential candidate by the name of George Bush. He said:

The United States must acknowledge the attempted genocide of the Armenian people in the last years of the Ottoman Empire based on the testimony of survivors, scholars, and indeed our own representatives at the time, if we are to ensure that such horrors are not repeated. The American people, our Government, and certainly the Bush administration will never allow political pressures to prevent our denunciation of crimes against humanity. I would join Congress in commemorating the victims of that period.

I do not know what happened between that statement and where we are today, but clearly a different signal is coming from the White House today. I hope that there can be a gentle reminder to those in authority what was said during the campaign, and I think we would be wise to live up to that.

Let me just quote from a few American leaders. President Reagan, April 22, 1981:

Like the genocide of the Armenians before it, and the genocide of the Cambodians which followed it, and like too many other such persecutions of too many other peoples, the lessons of the Holocaust must never be forgot.

President Jimmy Carter, May 16, 1978:

It is generally not known in the world that in the years preceding 1916 there was a concerted effort made to eliminate all the Armenian people, probably one of the greatest tragedies that ever befell any group and there weren't any Nuremberg trials.

Herbert Hoover wrote in his memoirs:

The association of Mount Ararat and Noah, the staunch Christians who were massacred periodically by the Mohammedan Turks, and the Sunday School collections over 50 years for alleviating their miseries—all cumulate to impress the name Armenia on the front of the American mind.

Warren G. Harding, 1921:

If it is believed that a warship can be sent to an Armenian port on the Mediterranean I should have very little hesitancy in making such a suggestion on behalf of these stricken people. Surely there must be some way in which to utter the admonition of the five great powers to restrain the hands of assassins in that unfortunate land.

What President Harding said, "Surely there must be some way in which to utter the admonition," is what we are attempting to do. Let us not repeat history is what we are saying.

There are other quotes I could give you from the other Presidents over the years.

Let me repeat one quote that Senator LEVIN gave us from Elie Wiesel, who has been such a leader in behalf of remembering the Holocaust. On April 30, 1981, he said:

Before the planning of the final solution, Hitler asked, "Who remembers the Armenians?" He was right. No one remembered them, as no one remembered the Jews. Rejected by everyone, they felt expelled from history.

And then finally two other quotes, one from some Moslem leaders written to the Gov. Gen. Reshid Pasha in the Province of Kastemuni, or maybe it is a city. I confess I am not sure. Listen to what these Moslem leaders said. This comes from a trial in 1919:

We have learned that the Armenians, men, women and children, of our surrounding provinces, have been led as animals to the slaughter house and have been murdered. We do not want the same thing to take place in our district because we fear divine anger. A government of violence and illegality cannot long endure. We do not want such "crimes" to be committed in our province.

This is a group of Moslem leaders. To their credit, they issued that statement.

Listen to what the Commander of the Turkish 3d Army Gen. Mahmoud Kiamil Pasha said. In a decree he issued he said:

Kiamil decreed: "All Moslems are prohibited from saving a single Armenian. If a Moslem dares do so, he will be hanged in the shadow of his own house, which will be burned down."

That is grim language. That is part of history——

The reason we are doing this and the reason why the remembrance of the Holocaust is so important for the Jews, the reason it is so important that we remember what happened in this country as recently as 1942 when we took 130,000 Japanese Americans away from the west coast with no justification whatsoever. The reason we remember these things is so that we do not repeat them.

I think it is important that we adopt this resolution. I know the Turkish Government feels very strongly about that. I know there are a lot of people in this administration who feel very strongly that we should not do this. This is not a reflection on the current Government of Turkey. It is a recitation of what has happened in history long before modern Turkey. It is a signal from this country to people in Azerbaijan, to people everywhere, we are not going to forget the Armenians, and it is a signal to others of whatever background that we do not want to tolerate the abuse, the slaying, the torture of innocent people. I think, by all means, we should adopt this resolution.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, I rise in support of the resolution and hope that this body will do what it should do, which is not just consider it but pass it.

Before I go further, it is only fair to give commendation to those who have earned it, to the primary author of this resolution, Senator DOLE, the distinguished Republican leader, and to those with whom he has worked and whom he properly noted, Congressman CHARLES PASHAYAN of California, himself the proud son of Armenian Americans, the Governor of our State, George Deukmejian, also of Armenian heritage. To these gentlemen, there is not a question because in their personal lives for too many years they have had recounted, from relatives, from friends, the horrors of the time that we seek to commemorate with this resolution. There seems to be two points which cause some of my colleagues to hesitate. Indeed some have removed their names from this resolution earlier because of qualms which they had. One of the points has to do with whether or not this genocide ever occurred, whether or not it took place in the history of 1915; and the second point, of course, which has been addressed by those who support and oppose the resolution, is the propriety of a resolution that might cause a valued and distinguished ally to take umbrage.

Mr. President, let me address both of those points in order. To begin with, there can be no doubt, none whatever, that this tragedy occurred any more than there can be any doubt that the terrible, unforgettable act of inhumanity which marked the Second World War, the Holocaust against Jews perpetrated by Hitler and Nazi Germany, actually took place.

Mr. President, the documentation of this is so extensive it seems to me beyond comprehension that anyone could reasonably doubt it actually occurred.

This volume alone contains some of the records from United States Archives relating to this instance, documentation that this tragedy actually occurred in the dimensions in which it did occur—1½ million people, men, women and children, innocent of any crime slaughtered because by accident of birth they were Armenian in a regime that determined to exterminate them. This evidence, Mr. President, is so overwhelming that it begins even before the event itself took place.

In April 1915, the Ottoman regime issued a proclamation requiring that all Armenians be deported to distant "vilayets" or provinces, most of them within eastern Turkey. The deportation of these Armenian men, women and children began, but instead of simply being an act of deportation, what occurred was merciless slaughter

of these innocents, and subsequent memoranda that have been filed with the U.S. Department of State by missionaries, by businessmen, by diplomatic personnel, by educators, now available for review at the United States Archives, indicate that 600,000 Armenians alone died in the deportation carried out between April and December of the first year of that terrible several years of genocide that commenced in 1915. Six hundred thousand taken from their villages for deportation never reached their ultimate destinations.

One of those who documents this fact was the American consul posted to one of the major deportation provinces of eastern Turkey. Leslie A. Davis notes in a number of written reports sent to Washington that were never acknowledged in the public debate on the Armenian genocide until today that Americans living in the region labeled that area as the "slaughterhouse vilayet."

In a December 30, 1915, dispatch to the U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman empire, the Honorable Henry Morgenthau, Leslie Davis wrote that:

> The term "slaughterhouse vilayet" * * * has been fully justified by what I have learned and actually seen since September. It appears * * * that men, women and children were massacred about 5 hours' distance from here. In fact, it is almost certain that with the exception of a very small number * * * all who have left here have been massacred before reaching the borders of the vilayet.

We have this information because Leslie Davis recorded it in a typewritten manuscript of 132 pages, one that he sent to his superiors upon his return to the United States after 3 years of consular duty during which he witnessed countless numbers of murders and forced deportations.

Susan Blair, a researcher and author, subsequently reproduced the Davis report in her 1989 book entitled "The Slaughterhouse Province."

These, Mr. President, are the consular dispatches that were sent by Leslie Davis in 1915, the 132 pages of typewritten manuscript. Susan Blair, in her book, points out that Leslie Davis offered a unique perspective on Armenian genocide because as a diplomat representing a neutral nation he was able to personally visit massacre sites and was able to see, to quote her, "the bodies of murdered Armenians whom he had previously seen alive."

So we have the personal verification, on his own personal knowledge of the victims, of an American diplomat.

Despite these dramatic occurrences, Mr. Davis is certainly not one who held any brief for the victims. Indeed by his own admission he held little respect for the Armenian people or their culture. So this eyewitness was not one who was sympathetic. He was certainly not a propagandist, certainly not employed to tell this story, at least not by the victims whose tragedy he recorded.

In order, Mr. President, that my colleages may have the opportunity to review the Davis account before we fully dispose of this resolution, I ask unanimous consent that a copy of it appear in the RECORD.

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

APPENDIX A—CONSULAR DISPATCHES

(By Leslie A. Davis 1915)

AMERICAN CONSULATE,
MAMOURET-UL-AZIZ (HARPUT),
June 30, 1915.

Hon. HENRY MORGENTHAU,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople.

SIR: I have the honor to report to the Embassy about one of the severest measures ever taken by any government and one of the greatest tragedies in all history. If the Embassy had not already learned about it from other sources, my telegrams of June 27th and 28th and my brief dispatch of June 29th will have brought the matter to the attention of the Embassy.

The attention of the Embassy has been called, in previous dispatches from this Consulate, to the very critical situation here. My dispatches of April 19th, May 5th and June 2nd (file No. 840.1) referred to the general conditions and the fears of the people that a massacre was being planned. I have reported in frequent dispatches the hostile attitude of the local authorities during the last few months toward the American missionaries and the complete interruption of all work in the American schools (File No. 360) In my dispatch of June 12th (File No. 300) I spoke of the actual danger in which the American missionaries in this part of Turkey are now placed and in my cipher dispatch of June 24th (File No. 300/840.1/703) I gave some further details of what has been happening here.

As stated in some of the above mentioned dispatches, a revolutionary movement on the part of some of the Armenians was discovered and severe measures were taken to check it. These were undertaken in a wholesale matter, little distinction being made between people who were entirely innocent and those who were suspected of being participants in the movement. Practically every male Armenian of any consequence at all here has been arrested and put in prison. A great many of them were subjected to the most cruel tortures under which some of them died. Several hundred of the leading Armenians were sent away at night and it seems to be clearly established that most, if not all, of them were killed. Last week there were well founded rumors of a threatened massacre. I think there is very little doubt that one was planned.

Another method was found, however, to destroy the Armenian race. This is no less than the deportation of the entire Armenian population, not only from this Vilayet, but, I understand, from all six Vilayets comprising Armenia. There are said to be about sixty thousand Armenians in this Vilayet and about a million in the six Vilayets. All of these are to be sent into exile; an undertaking greater probably, than anything of the kind in all history. For several days last week there were rumors of this but it seemed incredible.

On Saturday, June 28th, it was publicly announced that all Armenians and Syrians were to leave after five days. The town of Mamouret-ul-Aziz and the city of Harput were divided into districts and notice was given at each house of the day when the occupants must leave. Two days are given for Mamouret-ul-Aziz, July 1st and third. Three days are given for Harput, July 4th, 5th and 6th. In these two towns, supposed to contain a population of about 40,000, there are probably not less than 15,000 or 18,000 Armenians, or at least three thousand families. There are as many more in the neighbouring villages and these are to leave a few days later.

The full meaning of such an order can scarcely be imagined by those who are not familiar with the peculiar conditions of this isolated region. A massacre, however horrible the word may sound, would be humane in comparison with it. In a massacre many escape but a wholesale deportation of this kind in this country means a lingering and perhaps even more dreadful death for nearly every one. I do not believe it possible for one in hundred a survive, perhaps not one in thousand.

The alleged destination of those sent from here is Urfa, but I know very well this does not mean the city of Urfa. It may mean the Mesopotamia plain to the southeast of that city, a region almost uninhabitable for man or beast. Whatever the destination may be, the journey from here in that direction at this season of the year is very difficult for one who has made careful preparations and travels by wagon. It is for the most part over an extremely hot plain in which there is very little water or vegetation. There are places where there is no water at all during an entire day's journey by wagon. A crowd of women and children on foot will, of course, require several days to traverse the same distance. They cannot go from here to Urfa in less than fifteen or twenty days. There are only two towns and two or three small villages on this route. It would be impossible to find in these villages food for more than twenty or thirty people and there will be days and days when neither food nor water can be obtained. People on foot cannot carry enough food and water on their backs to last them between towns. Under the most favorable conditions the journey is a very fatiguing one (I am speaking from experience, as I traversed that route twice last summer on my attempted trip to America and my return to Harpout). For people traveling as these Armenians who are going into exile will be obliged to travel it is certain death for by far the greater part of them.

It must be borne in mind that wagons and horses are practically unavailable. There are probably not more than twenty-five wagons that can be found for the five or six thousand families who are leaving from this immediate locality. There are several hundred ox-carts and quite a good many small donkeys, while some people are planning to take a cow on which to carry a little food and a blanket or two. This represents every available means of transportation in this region at the present time. There are not nearly enough animals of any kind to enable each family to have one and it is obvious that nearly every one will have to travel on foot. A few of the more fortunate families will have an animal or two on which the women and children can take turns riding, but there will be many cases where a mother with a babe in arms and several small children, and no husband, will have no animal at all.

The fate of these people can readily be imagined. The method is perhaps a little more cultured than a massacre but it will be far more effective and thorough. It is quite probable that many of them will be robbed and murdered en route as the roads are now filled with bands of pillaging Kurds. I asked the Vali the other day what measures were being taken for the protection of these people. He replied that there would be plenty of gendarmes with them so as to avoid a repetition of the fate which had befallen the prisoners who had been sent away from here before, and added that they had met some Kurds who had treated them rather unpleasantly. There is little doubt that these Kurds had been engaged to dispose of them. Many think, and it is by no means improbable, that the same fate is being prepared for those who are now leaving. It is quite possible that the men may be killed, the more attractive women carried off as slaves, and the other women and children left to perish in the desert. In any case, it is quite certain that almost all will die in one way or another before they ever reach their destination.

One thing that increases the doubt about their safe arrival anywhere is that quite a good many people who have been deported from Erzurum and Erzincan have been expected here, but with the exception of one small party from the latter place, none have arrived as yet, while there have been many rumors that these parties have been attacked and killed by Kurds. Money has been sent here from different ones but no one of them has ever appeared to claim it.

Another bad omen is that Vali has refused permission for any of the Americans to accompany the parties leaving here. Some of the missionaries decided that they would like to go with them in order to be of assistance to those who might need help. On Sunday, the 27th, I called on the Vali about this and other matters. This request he refused absolutely saying it could not be granted but that after the people reached their destination the Americans might then join them if they wished. As probably very few, if any, of them will ever reach their destination this was a safe offer. If it were intended to give these people a safe-conduct to any place there would probably be no objection to the Americans accompanying them. On the other hand, as the roads are decidedly unsafe now, it may be that the Vali did not want to take the responsibility of allowing the Americans to risk their lives in this way. Or, perhaps, the Vali's suggestion that the Americans might join these people later was an intimation that the missionaries also may be invited to leave in the near future.

In my telegrams of June 27th and 28th and in a telegram from Mr. Riggs to Mr. Peet on the 28th we spoke of the need for relief at the destination and I suggested asking aid from America. To what extent it may be possible to aid these people and how it can be done is a problem. There is great danger that they may nearly all be killed or allowed to perish en route. If they arrive anywhere it is still doubtful if they will be within communication. My opinon is that the few who survive the journey will be taken to some remote part of the Mesopotamian plain many days' journey from Urfa or any other town. Should they be within reach of Urfa relief might be arranged through the American Mission in that town or through our Consulate at Aleppo. In any case, there is going to be terrible suffering and great need to help among those who survive the journey. Those who were formerly rich and the poor will alike be destitute. If any possible measures can be taken for their relief I feel that now is the time to begin.

It is impossible for me to give any adequate idea of the panic in this locality that has resulted from the announcement of this order of expulsion. The people have been given four or six days to dispose of everything they have and leave. For the merchants to wind up their affairs in that short time is difficult. It is also difficult for householders to dispose of their household and personal effects. The result has been a panic such as has never been known here or in few other places. Every one who is obliged to leave is trying to get together a little money to take on the journey. The Turks are, of course, taking advantage of the situation to get things at practically nothing. Robbery and looting were never undertaken in a more wholesale manner. Turkish men and Turkish women are entering the houses of all the Armenians and taking things at almost any price. As nearly half the population are leaving they have to take what they can get. This is rarely more than five or ten per cent, of the value. All the furniture in a house, costing originally one or two hundred pounds will be sold for ten or fifteen pounds. Rugs that cost five or ten pounds are sold for fifty or seventy-five piasters. The people are glad to get anything at all for their merchandise or effects. The streets are full of camels carrying off the loot and of rich Turks and Turkish women dressed in their finest gowns, who are making a holiday of the occasion. The scene reminds one of a lot of hungry vultures hovering over the remains of those who have fallen by the way. A more disgusting sight than that which is taking place here now can scarcely be imagined.

The difficulty for people to get ready to leave at such short notice was so great that on Tuesday six of us, comprising practically the entire foreign male population of the town, called on the Vali unofficially to enquire if it would be possible to have a greater length of time given the people before leaving. He received us very courteously but said that was impossible. We did succeed, however, in having a clear understanding that we could help the people in certain ways. The Vali said that there was no objection to our buying things from them or having them leave their money in our care. The Kaimakam has interfered in carrying out this purpose, but on the whole we have been able to do quite a good deal. The Missionaries have also tried to furnish the people with medicine and other useful articles for their journey and some of the poorer and needier ones have been given cash.

During the last three days crowds of people have visited the Consulate and the American Mission for help of some kind. Many have wanted financial assistance, while others have wanted to leave things in our care. They have brought money, documents, jewelry, furniture, and many other things. I have taken documents, and some money, while the missionaries have taken much more than I have. Some have left money to be paid in any case to relatives in America, but most have left it on condition that if nothing is heard from them in four or six months it is then to be sent to their relatives. I have never seen a more pathetic or tragic scene. All feel that they are going to certain death and they certainly have good reason to feel that way. Their confidence in the American missionaries and in the Consulate is touching. Some of them don't even want to count the money they are leaving. They hand over the savings of a lifetime with the simple request that if they are not heard from after a few months to send their money if possible to their relatives.

All real estate belonging to Armenians will be confiscated by the Government. Many people will be unable to dispose of their personal property and will probably walk out leaving their houses and stores with all their contents. Those who have made fortunes will lose everything. Some will, of course, take a moderate amount of money with them, but all fear being robbed and very few will dare take much money with them. For those who are feeble and have no money at all, it is a question what will become of them. The Government has offered to furnish donkeys for them, but charges an enormous price per day for every donkey. A man who starts out with only one or two liras will find after a few days that all his money is gone and will be absolutely stranded.

The effect industrially and commercially of the expulsion of the Armenians from this region is going to be to throw it back in the middle ages. It is officially stated that ninety per cent of the trade and of the business carried on through the banks is that of Armenians. Business of all kind will now be destroyed beyond the possibility of it being restored. In some trades there will be no mechanics or workmen at all. It is difficult to understand how those Turks who have had any taste of civilisation at all will be able to live unless exceptions are made and there does not seem to be any indication of that. There will be no banks, no Christian schools, no Christian churches. With one stroke the country is set back two, three [sic] hundred years. The same will be true of Diyarbakir and of all other parts of this consular district.

There is no doubt in my mind that all the American Missionaries will be obliged to leave. It will not surprise me at all if they are ordered to go but whether they are expelled or not there will be nothing for them to do here. The labors of the missionaries at Harput, which have continued during more than sixty years, have come to an end and I see no way in which they will be able to continue their work here.

With the destruction of all business and the departure of the Missionaries, there will be no object in maintaining a consultate either here or at Diyarbakir or in any other part of this region. There is great danger that I may lose at this time two indispensable employees, both of whom have been with the Consulate for more than ten years, but they are both Armenians, I have asked the Vali to allow them to remain, but the only promise he would give me was that they would not be obliged to go with the first lot. He said they could remain here for a few days and in the meantime he would ask for instructions from Constantinople about them. In my telegram of June 28th, I asked the Embassy to request exemption for them, but I do not believe my telegram ever reached the Embassy.

In my telegram of June 27th, I asked the Embassy to wire me also if it would be possible to secure exemption for the naturalized American citizens who are here. I spoke to the Valie about this at once but he has been very evasive. I hope to receive some reply from the Embassy in time, if it is going to be possible to do anything to save any of these

people and their children. There is one class of citizens who are certainly entitled to protection. There are women whose husbands are naturalized American citizens and are now in America, while they have returned here for a short time to visit relatives. There are several of these and nearly all of them have children with them who were born in America. I shall certainly do everything possible to save these.

Tomorrow the exodus of one-half of the population of this region commences. Were the people not so entirely subdued I should expect to see some stirring scenes. As it is, I can hardly think it possible that the authorities will succeed in sending everyone into exile, but as yet there does not seem to be any sign of their relenting or of their granting many exemptions.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant,

(Signed) LESLIE A. DAVIS,
Consul.

Source: Leslie A. Davis at Harput to Henry Morgenthau, American Embassy, Constantinople, June 30, 1915, enclosed in Hoffman Philip [Charge d'Affaires] at Constantinople to Secretary of State, February 17, 1916, N.A., D.S., R.G. 59, Dec. File No. 967.4016/269

AMERICAN CONSULATE,
MAMOURET-UL-AZIZ (HARPUT), TURKEY,
July 11, 1915.

Hon. HENRY H. MORGENTHAU,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople.

SIR: I have the honor to supplement my report of June 30th (File No. 840.1) in regard to the expulsion of the Armenians from this region, as follows:

On July 1st a great many people left and on July 3rd several thousands more started from here. Others left on subsequent days. There is no way of obtaining figures but many thousand have already left. The departure of those living at Harput was postponed, however, and many women and children were allowed to remain temporarily. People began to hope that the worst was over and that those who remain might be left alone. Now it has just been announced by the public crier that on Tuesday, July 13th, every Armenian without exception, must go.

If it were simply a matter of being obligated to leave here to go somewhere else it would not be so bad, but everyone knows it is a case of going to one's death. If there was any doubt about it, it has been removed by the arrival of a number of parties, aggregating several thousand people, from Erzurum and Erzinggan [sic]. The first ones arrived a day or two after my last report was written. I have visited their encampment a number of times and talked with some of the people. A more pitiable sight cannot be imagined. They were almost without exception ragged, filthy, hungry and sick. That is not surprising in view of the fact they have been on the road for nearly two months with no change of clothing, no chance to wash, no shelter and little to eat. The Government has been giving them some scanty rations here. I watched them one time when their food was brought. Wild animals could not be worse. They rushed upon the guards who carried the food and the guards beat them back with clubs hitting hard enough to kill them sometimes. To watch them one could hardly believe that these people were human beings.

As one walks through the camp mothers offer their children and beg one to take them. In fact, the Turks have been taking their choice of these children and girls for slaves, or worse. In fact, they have even had their doctors there to examine the more likely girls and thus secure the best ones.

There are very few men among them, as most of them have been killed on the road. All tell the same story of having been attacked and robbed by the Kurds. Most of them were attacked over and over again and a great many of them, especially the men, were killed. Women and children were also killed. Many died, of course, from sickness and exhaustion on the way and there have been deaths each day that they have been here. Several different parties have arrived and after remaining a day or two have been pushed on with no apparent destination. Those who have reached here are only a small portion, however, of those who started. By continuing to drive these people on in this way it will be possible to dispose of all of them in a comparatively short time. Among those with whom I have talked were three sisters. They had been educated at Constantinople and spoke excellent English. They said their family was the richest in Erzurum and numbered twenty-five when they left but there were now only fourteen survivors. The other eleven, including the husband of one of them and their old grandmother had been butchered before their eyes by the Kurds. The oldest male survivor of the family was eight years of age. When they left Erzurum they had money, horses and personal effects but they had been robbed of everything, including even their clothing. They said some of them had been left absolutely naked and others with only a single garment. When they reached a village their gendarmes obtained clothes for them from some of the native women. Another girl with whom I talked is the daughter of the Protestant pastor of Erzurum. She said evey member of her family with her had been killed and she was left entirely alone. These and some others are a few survivors of the better class of people who have been exiled. They are being detained in an abandoned schoolhouse just outside of the town and no one is allowed to enter it. They said they practically are in prison, although they were allowed to visit a spring just outside the building. It was there that I happened to see them. All the others are camped in a large open field with no protection at all from the sun.

The condition of these people indicates clearly the fate of those who have left and are about to leave from here. I believe nothing has been heard from any of them as yet and probably very little will be heard. The system that is being followed seems to be to have bands of Kurds awaiting them on the road to kill the men especially and incidentally some of the others. The entire movement seems to be the most thoroughly organized and effective massacre this country has ever seen.

Not many men have been spared, however, to accompany those who are being sent into exile, for a more prompt and sure method has been used to dispose of them. Several thousand Armenian men have been arrested during the past few weeks. These have been put in prison and each time that several hundred had been gathered up in that way they were sent away during the night. The first lot was sent away during the night of June 23rd. Among them were some of the professors in the American college and other prominent Armenians, including the Prelate of the Armenian Gregorian Church of Harput. There have been frequent rumors that all of these were killed and there is little doubt that they were. All Armenian soldiers have likewise been sent away in the same manner. They have been arrested and confined in a building at one end of the town.

No distinction has been made between those who had paid their military exemption tax and those who had not. Their money was accepted and then they were arrested and sent off with the others. It was said that they were to go somewhere to work on the roads but no one has heard from them and that is undoubtedly false.

The fate of all the others has been pretty well established by reliable reports of a similar occurrence on Wednesday, July 7th. On Monday many men were arrested both at Harput and Mezreh and put in prison. At daybreak Tuesday morning they were taken out and made to march towards an almost uninhabited mountain. There were about eight hundred in all and they were tied together in groups of fourteen each. That afternoon they arrived in a small Kurdish village where they were kept over night in the mosque and other buildings. During all this time they were without food or water. All their money and much of their clothing had been taken from them. On Wednesday morning they were taken to a valley a few hours' distant where they were all made to sit down. Then the gendarmes began shooting them until they had killed nearly all of them. Some who had not been killed by bullets were then disposed of with knives and bayonets. A few succeeded in breaking the rope with which they were tied to their companions and running away, but most of these were pursued and killed. A few succeeded in getting away, probably not more than two or three. Among those who were killed was the Treasurer of the American College. Many other estimable men were among the number. No charge of any kind had ever been made against any of these men. They were simply arrested and killed as part of the general plan to dispose of the Armenian race.

Last night several hundred more men, including both men arrested by the civil authorities and those enrolled as soldiers, were taken in a different direction and murdered in a similar manner. It is said this happened at a place not two hours' distance from here. I shall ride out that way some day when things become a little quieter and try to verify it for myself.

The same thing has been done systematically in the villages.

A few weeks ago about three hundred men were gathered together at Itchme and Haboosi, two villages four and five hours' distant from here, and then taken up into the mountains and massacred. This seems to be fully established. Many women from those villages have been here since and told about it. There have been rumors of similar occurrences in other places.

There seems to be a definite plan to dispose of all Armenian men, but after the departure of the families during the first few days of the enforcement of the order it was announced that women and children with no men in the family might remain here for the present and many hoped that the worst was over. The American missionaries began considering plans to aid the women and children who would be left here with no means of support. It was thought that perhaps an orphanage could be opened to care for some of the children especially those who had been born in America and then brought here by their parents and also

those who belonged to parents who had been connected in some way with the American Mission and schools. There would be plenty of opportunity, although there might not be sufficient means, to care for children who reached here with the exiles from other Vilayets and whose parents had died on the way. I went to see the Vali about this matter yesterday and was met with a flat refusal. He said we could aid these people if we wished to do so, but the Government was establishing orphanages for the children and we could not undertake any work of that nature. An hour after I left the Vali the announcemnt was made that all the Armenians remaining here, including women and children must leave on July 13th.

The evident plan of the Government is to give no opportunity for any educational or religious work to be done here by foreign missionaries. Some Armenian women will be taken as Moslem wives and some children will be brought up as Moslems, but none of them will be allowed to come under foreign influences. The country is to be purely Moslem and nothing else. Some of the missionaries think they would like to remain here and try to work among Moslems. I not only think it would be very dangerous for them to undertake it but do not believe they will be allowed to do anything among [sic] that line. I shall not be surprised, as I have said before, if all the American missionaries are ordered to leave here in the near future. If they are not, they will be so effectually prevented from doing any kind of work that it will be entirely useless for them to remain here. Furthermore, they will be annoyed in many ways by the local officials. I do not think for a moment that they will be allowed to open any of the schools again and it's quite probable that the hospital may be ordered closed. It is very probable as that both the school and the hospital buildings may be seized by the Government. It seems certain that there will not be any work for them to do here and that they will not be permitted to do any work.

Under the circumstances, I think the only wise and safe thing for them to do is to consider the matter of leaving here, temporarily at least, as soon as it may be possible. I realize that it is a serious matter for them to abandon their work, but the present situation is serious too and I fully believe there is nothing else for them to do. It would probably not be best for all of them to leave together, but I am going to advise that some of them leave as soon as it may be safe to go. In the meantime I earnestly recommend that the Embassy bring to the attention of Mr. Peet and the board the possible necessity of all of them leaving here.

I do not think that any of them should go now. In fact, some of them have been quite firmly of the opinion that some one should go at once for the purpose of trying to raise a relief fund for these unfortunate people. To go now would be almost certain death, with bands of Kurds awaiting travelers on every road. I asked the Vali, however, if it would be all right for one or two of the Americans to leave here now to go to Constantinople and then to America and he said very plainly that it would not be safe. He said that no matter how much a guard he gave them it would be dangerous for them to travel at the present moment and advised waiting a few weeks. This confirms the general fear as to the fate of those who are sent away from here. It also indicated that perhaps the authorities do not wish any real harm to befall the Americans. On the other hand, the Vali intimated that possibly the Americans might not be permitted to leave here. Some of them think that we know too much about what is happening in the interior of Turkey and the authorities do not intend [sic] to let any Americans leave here alive to tell about it. I do not think that, but I do think the life of every American here is in danger and that the danger is increasing. If all of the missionaries can get away safely I shall feel greatly relieved. It is not only that the present situation is very critical, but they are constantly doing things that are more or less imprudent. The entire colony may suffer for the imprudence of one person. It is quite natural that they should sympathize with the people among whom they have been working and want to aid and protect them, but there is great danger of carrying their zeal too far and getting into trouble themselves.

With reference to the need of funds for the relief of these exiles, which I mentioned in my telegrams of June 27th and 28th and my dispatch of June 30th I am inclined to believe that there will be no occasion for raising funds. It looks as though there were not going to be any people who can be helped. All who are sent away will probably be killed or die on the road within the next few months and the women and children who are left will probably have to become Moslems.

My attention has just been called to the fact that the post office at Mamouret-ul-Aziz has refused to pay out money to the Americans that has been sent them from Erzurum and Erzincan for the exiles who have come here. It is probable that the Government will confiscate this money. I do not know whether the Embassy would care to take any measures about this or not. The money is addressed to the Americans, but it is intended for the Armenian exiles.

Embassy's telegrams Nos. 19 and 20 have been received. I have seen the Vali about the naturalized American citizens and their children and about the consular staff. He said he had received no instructions about them, as I telegraphed this morning. I have now just received word that the consular staff and two or three women whose husbands are in America may stay here for the present. There seems to be nothing very definite about any of it. I shall be very glad to have these women leave as soon as it is reasonably safe for them to go. I hope it can be arranged for the employees of the Consulate, however, to remain here permanently, or at least as long as there may be a Consulate. It would be impossible to find any one to take their place.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) LESLIE A. DAVIS,
Consul.

Source: Leslie A. Davis at Harput to Henry Morgenthau, American Embassy, Constantinople, July 11, 1915, enclosed in Morgenthau to Secretary of State, August 10, 1915, N.A., D.S., R.G. 59, Dec. File No. 867.4016/122

AMERICAN CONSULATE,
HARPUT, *July 24, 1915.*

Hon. HENRY MORGENTHAU,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople.

Sir: I have the honor to further supplement my reports of June 30th and July 11th (File No. 840.1) in regard to the expulsion of the Armenians from this region, or to speak more correctly, the wholesale massacre of these Armenians, as follows:

Any doubt that may have been expressed in previous reports as to the Government's intention in sending away the Armenians have [sic] been removed and any hope that may have been expressed as to the possibility of some of them surviving has been destroyed. It has been no secret that the plan was to destroy the Armenian race as a race, but the methods used have been more cold-blooded and barbarous, if not more effective, than I had at first supposed. It was apparent that very few would ever survive the journey from here to Urfa or to any other place at this season of the year. As a matter of fact, it has been quite unnecessary to consider the difficulties of such a journey. It seems to be fully established now that practically all who have been sent away from here have been deliberately shot or otherwise killed within one or two days after their departure. This work has not all been done by bands of Kurds but has for the most part been that of the gendarmes who accompanied the people from here or of companies of armed "çetes" (convicts) who have been released from prison for the purpose of murdering the Armenian exiles.

It has been repeatedly reported, and I think there is no doubt about the truth of these reports, that not a single man who has been sent away has been spared. Many of the women and children have been deliberately killed at the same time. A few of the more attractive women have been carried off to adorn the harems of some of the Kurdish chieftains and of some of the gendarmes. Some of the older women and children have been allowed to wander along, accompanied by gendarmes, with the certainty that all of them will soon perish from hunger, sickness and exhaustion.

I do not believe there has ever been a massacre in the history of the world so general and thorough as that which is now being perpetrated in this region or that a more fiendish, diabolical scheme has ever been conceived by the mind of man. What [sic] the order is officially and nominally to exile the Armenians from these Vilayets may mislead the outside world for a time, but the measure is nothing but a massacre of the most atrocious nature. It would be that even if all the people had been allowed to perish on the road [sic]. As the greater part of them, however, have been actually murdered and as there is no doubt that this was done by order of the Government, there can be no pretense that the measure is anything else but a general massacre.

Fully 12,000 or 15,000 Armenians have now been sent away from the town of Mamouret-ul-Aziz and the city of Harput. Possibly 1,000 or 1,500 remain with permission or through bribery or in hiding. Many thousand have also gone from the neighboring villages. In all, probably a third of the population of this region is gone. The most remarkable feature of the situation is the helplessness of the Armenians and the total lack of resistance on their part. With two or three insignificant exceptions, there has not been a blow struck by any of them. I have been told that two or three gendarmes have been killed in the villages but probably not a half a dozen in all. It did not seem possible that such an order could be carried out without more or less violence. One would think that some would have chosen death here, knowing that it awaited them a few hours after their departure, and many talked that way, but when the time has come all have started without making any resistance. This has been due partially, of course, to the lack of spirit in the Armenian

race, but it is due very largely also to the clever way in which the scheme has been carried out.

Everything was apparently planned months ago. First a few who were said to have been involved in a revolutionary plot were arrested. Some bombs were found and further arrests were made. Those who were arrested were subjected to terrible tortures and were made to confess to much that was probably not true and to accuse many who were entirely innocent. Orders were given that all arms of every kind must be surrendered to the authorities. People were tortured until they confessed that they had a gun or revolver or something when they actually had none at all. Then they would pay some Turk a fabulous price for some kind of a weapon which they might surrender to the police. Liberal promises were made that if everybody would surrender their weapons there would be no further trouble. The towns and villages were surrounded by gendarmes and nearly every man caught. They were then systematically beaten and tortured, the greater of them without any accusation whatever having been against them. The result was that quite a number of weapons and some bombs were collected by the police. How many of the bombs may have been planted by the police themselves and how many weapons were obtaind by innocent people for the purpose of having something to surrender to the police we shall probably never know. It is certain, however, that many of the people who surrendered some kind of a weapon were never engaged in any revolutionary plot and that there was not even so much evidence against many who were tortured as [sic] the production of a weapon. At the same time this search was being made practically all the leading men among the Armenians were arrested. The authorities insisted most earnestly that all who were thus arrested were involved in the plot against the Government and that none were unjustly arrested. As all proceedings were in private it is impossible, of course, for others to know the truth of such statements, or at least to disprove them, but in the light of subsequent developments it would take a great amount of imagination to believe them. Many hundred of the prominent men were thus cast into prison. They were then sent away and there seems to be no doubt that they were all murdered a few hours' distance from here. Several thousand Armenian soldiers were also arrested and sent away ostensibly to work on the roads somewhere. As far as I know, nothing has ever been heard from any of them and it is known that some of them were shot. There is no doubt that all the others met the same fate.

Then, when practically all the Armenian men had been gotten out of the way and every weapon surrendered or found by the police, it was announced that all Armenians must be deported. Effective resistance to such an order was impossible. The whole scheme was planned so cleverly that the police and gendarmes are able to carry it out with no risk at all to themselves. A few thousand men have thus been able to dispose of 15,000 or 20,000 Armenians from this immediate locality. It appears that the same system has been followed in other parts of this Vilayet and in other Vilayets. It is impossible to say how many Armenians have been killed but it is estimated that the number is not far from a million.

An incident that has proved the fate of those who have left is the death of the bishop or Archbishop, I believe, Mgr. Israelian, of the local Armenian Catholic Church. His departure was postponed for one or two weeks on the grounds that the roads were not safe. Finally, about ten days ago he was given a safe-conduct by the Vali, who had always pretended to be very friendly to him. He left with about forty others, all of whom had been given safe conducts. There had never been any suspicion of any of them and it was thought the Government intended to give them a safe journey. They were given a special guard of gendarmes and all precautions were apparently taken for their safety. Wagons were furnished them. They left here towards evening on July 14th and arrived the next day at Kazim Khan, about eight or nine hours' distance from here. There they met a large number of gendarmes. They were told that they could not travel that road and would have to return and go in the opposite direction. Their wagons were turned around and they came back for about half an hour. Then their gendarmes tied their hands together and led them a short distance from the road. Some of them had prayerbooks and knelt in prayer. These were kicked out of their hands amid curses of the gendarmes and all but three of the party were shot and killed. Among them was Mlle. Marguerite Gamat, a French citizen whom I mentioned in my telegram of December 10th and despatch of December 31st to the Embassy. The three who were saved were attractive women and they were all taken to become Moslem wives. One succeeded in getting free. It was from her that I have obtained the above information. It was likewise one of the survivors who gave me from his own lips the details of the shooting of the eight hundred mentioned on page 5 of my report of July 11th. The exact number is now said to have been 979. Both of these incidents are so thoroughly established that I do not think there is a particle of doubt about them. There have been several survivors of the 979 who have told about that. Evidence of both has also been furnished by the gendarmes themselves.

Another incident that was reported to me the other day was that some of the people who were sent from here were actually burned alive in a cave between here and Diarbakir. This was told me by a gendarme who was with them and who expressed himself as being very strongly opposed to the barbarous treatment the Armenians were receiving.

The shooting and killing of people a few hours after their departure from here is barbarous and shows that the real intention of the Government is not to exile them but to kill them. Yet, on the whole, I am inclined to believe that the sooner they are disposed of the more merciful it is. A lingering but certain death after weeks or months of wandering is worse. After the departure of the parties that arrived here from Erzurum and Erzincan a few hundred of those who were too sick or feeble to continue with the others were left here to die. Their camp is a scene from the Inferno. Greater misery could not be imagined. It was bad enough before when there were several thousand all in a most wretched condition. Now, when only the worst of them are left behind, the scene beguiles all description. The dead and dying are everywhere. Two or three small children may be seen weeping over the dead body of their mother, tugging at her as she lies on the ground with matted hair and staring eyes; other small children almost or quite naked and covered with filth lying curled up on the ground dead or in convulsions; other women and children so emaciated that the profile of the face has the exact appearance of a skull; one small boy wearing part of a shirt and a ragged stocking on one foot was actually only a skeleton; other small children with bloated bodies lying in the sun; very rarely a man, but mostly women and children, all in the last stages of their misery waiting for death to come to their relief. I presume a little food is brought to these people, but most of them are too far gone to need food. Each day there are many deaths and these will continue until all are gone. Dead bodies are to be seen there at any time. These are often left lying in the sun too long, with the result that the air is made fetid with the stench from them and from the human filth that is all around. They are finally disposed of by the gendarmes digging one huge hole right in the midst of the encampment and throwing them all in together.

One sees dead bodies now in all direction and on every road, not only a distance but even on the outskirts of the town itself. People coming from neighboring villages report as many as ten or twelve bodies lying by the roadside in an hour's journey. One man who has succeeded in getting here alive from Sivas says he saw not less than five hundred bodies on that road. The whole country is one vast charnel house, or, more correctly speaking, slaughterhouse.

The fate of those who have been killed or died is sad, but perhaps that of those who have been spared is even worse. Some of the women have been brought right back here. Among these is one pretty girl of thirteen years whose father was one of the most prominent men and had one of the best homes in this region. He has been killed. She was separated from her mother and small brothers and does not know what has become of them. Now at her age she is to marry one of the most brutal petty officers around here and they are to live in her father's house!

I have written strongly about the situation and proceedings here because it is impossible to write about them at all and not do so. It is not that I am in any way a champion of the Armenian race. It is not a race one can admire or among whom I should choose to live. But, whatever the faults of the Armenian people may be and however conclusive may be the proof that some of them have been involved in a revolutionary plot, the punishment inflicted upon these people is so severe, the tragedy is so terrible, that one cannot contemplate it and certainly cannot live in the midst of it without being stirred to the depths of one's nature. When one sees men and women seventy or even eighty years old, lame, blind and sick, innocent women and children and helpless babies sent away to be killed or die and actually sees them dead or dying all around, it is impossible to conceive of any justification that can be urged for a measure so severe.

Yet the local authorities are now apparently trying to find some way of justifying what they have done. The Chief of Police called on me on July 16th and requested me to write the Embassy about the shooting of two or three gendarmes in a neighboring village by some Armenians. I had heard that something of that kind had happened but do not know any of the details of it and have no personal knowledge of the matter. I said I should be quite willing to call the attention of the Embassy to the matter if he wished and suggested that he write me a letter which I would transmit to the Embassy. He agreed to do so.

On July 23rd, after having made my official calls, three of us met together and considered the possibility of taking some step in the name of humanity to have these horrors stopped. We were Mr. Ehmann (a German missionary), Mr. Picciotto (an Austrian, the "Sous-Directeur" of the local branch of the Imperial Ottoman Bank) and myself. We decided to call on the Vali informally and ask him unofficially if the few Armenians who were left here could not be spared. He received us most cordially. We explained our errand and asked him if he would not be willing to send a telegram to Constantinople asking for orders permitting those Armenians who had been left here to that time to remain, suggesting that we should also like to send a mutual telegram to the American, German and Austrian Embassies asking them to take any measures that might be possible to have such orders issued. The Vali has all along expressed his regret at the necessity of taking such measures as he has recently been obliged to do and has pretended to be very much touched by the suffering of the people. He apparently consented at once to our plan and said he should be very glad if such orders could be obtained. Then he imposed a condition, viz., that each of us write a letter to the Vilayet asking to have those remaining here spared, so that he could use these letters as the basis for making a demand on the central authorities. He added that he should like to have as many details in the letters as possible, so that it would appear that all those who were guilty of anything had been sent away and all those who remained were innocent. It was quite evident that His Excellency wanted to have it appear by implication that all who had been sent away were guilty. He said he would have the Chief of Police call on me that evening to explain the matter more fully.

We all met at the Consulate and the Chief of Police called as arranged. He was not at all interested in having a letter from Mr. Ehmann or Mr. Picciotto but insisted strongly that I write a letter to the Vilayet, calling attention to the shooting of some gendarmes by Armenians and to the fact that those Armenians who were guilty of having been engaged in a revolutionary plot had been punished, together with their families and people connected with them, while those who now remained were only innocent women and children. I was to incorporate a similar clause in my telegram, to the effect that the guilty Armenians having been punished and only the innocent ones remaining, it was desired to have the latter spared. I replied that I was absolutely unable to make any statement in regard to who were guilty and who were innocent, that perhaps innocent ones had been punished and guilty ones remained unpunished, that I had no means of knowing which were which, and that it was impossible for me to make a statement of fact in a letter addressed to the Vilayet either in regard to the shooting of any gendarmes or in regard to the guilt or innocence of any particular people. I said further that it was quite irregular for me to address the Vilayet at all in such a matter or to send any telegram about it, that any such action on my part was purely unofficial and on the ground of humanity, and that in any case the most I could do was to make a simple request. He argued and argued and argued that I make some kind of a statement, even though it might be very little. I don't know that I ever saw a more persistent man in my life. He remained until half past one in the morning trying to make me give the Vilayet a statement of some kind. He said orders has already been issued for more severe measures than ever on the morrow, but he might delay their enforcement a little if I would make a statement for him. I told him I should be glad to say anything I could, but I couldn't make any statement about matters foreign to my duties in a letter addressed to the Vilayet and couldn't make statements of any kind unless I knew the facts. We finally left the matter until morning to think it over, as he wasn't willing to abandon his idea.

The next morning I sent word to the Chief of Police that as our request was intended to be made on the occasion of the anniversary of the Constitution and as that day had now passed it might be well to drop the matter. He would not take that for an answer, however, so in the afternoon I called to see him. I told him I couldn't very well write a letter to the Vilayet such as he wished, but, as I had promised before, I should be very glad to call the attention of the Embassy to any matters he might wish to write me about. He decided he would rather tell me than write me (I had been rather surprised that he had ever agreed to write his request), so I shall probably have a call from him soon with such requests as he is able to think of in this connection. I see no harm in writing the Embassy in that way, it being understood that I am simply communicating such matters as I have been requested to communicate and that I am not responsible for the truth of anything that I do not know about personally. The Chief of Police will undoubtedly insist that I report as facts within my personal knowledge such matters as he may tell me about. That, of course, I cannot do, although I fear he will be very persistent in urging something of that kind.

I am inclined to doubt the wisdom of having gone to the Vali at all in regard to the situation. It was not within the line of my duties and for a consul might be construed as an improper interference in local affairs. The situation is so extraodinary and terrible, however, and I have had so much pressure brought to bear upon me from the beginning by both Americans and Armenians to try to do something to help the people that it has been difficult to sit still without making some effort in a friendly way on their behalf. Yet, as the Embassy has made no reply to my telegrams Nos. 15 and 16, of June 27th and 28th respectively, in which I suggested that the Embassy do something, if possible, to have the enforcement of the order of deportation adjourned and spoke of the probable need of funds for the relief of those who were to be deported, I assume that the Embassy did not approve of my suggestions. I do not know that the original telegrams ever reached the Embassy but my confirmation copies mailed on June 29th must have arrived. My own conviction is that interference of any kind either here or elsewhere is both hopeless and unwise under present conditions, but it is a very trying position to be unable to do anything to relieve so much suffering.

In this connection, I shall be very glad to have any instructions or suggestions the Embassy may care to give in regard to the proper policy to pursue and I shall appreciate having the Embassy criticize me freely for any errors I may have made in the past. It is often exceedingly difficult to know what one ought to do and I feel the need of advice.

Referring to Embassy's telegram No. 21, of July 12th, in regard to naturalized American citizens and the consular staff, I think there is no doubt that instructions have been received by the local authorities. They may have come after I saw the Vali on July 10th. Beginning with the following day there seemed to be a decided change of attitude towards these citizens and they were given permission to stay. In view of the fact that very few had papers in good order and that some who had such papers had forfeited all claim to protection as Americans by having alleged on their return to Turkey that they were Ottoman subjects and concealed the fact of their American citizenship, it would probably be found on investigation that most if not all of these had no strict rights. As I understand also that the Turkish Government does not recognize expatriation, it would probably be quite difficult, especially under present conditions, to insist too strongly upon such rights. As it is, I have been able to save a few people and have been glad to be able to do even that little good. Even that has been far from easy, for notwithstanding the papers that had been given them by the authorities permitting them to remain some of them have been driven out of their homes by the gendarmes and their houses sealed up. The gendarmes refused to pay any attention to their papers. Several of these families have come to the Consulate and I am keeping them here temporarily. As soon as it is possible I shall try to find some houses near the Consulate where they can live until it is possible to leave here in safety.

At the present time it is not possible to travel, for it would mean almost certain death in spite of any assurances the Government might give. The killing of the Catholic bishop shows that a safe-conduct is of no value as this time. Even if the Government wanted to give any one a safe journey I don't think it could do so. The roads are filled with bands of Kurds and "cetes" who have been turned loose on travelers and it is a matter of little importance to them whom they rob and kill. I understand that many Turks have been killed while traveling. It seems as though there is a great danger of these people getting beyond all control and overrunning the country. It is now far from safe even in town and any trips outside of the town are attended with considerable risk.

With reference to Embassy's inquiry in telegram No. 21, of July 12th, as to why I telegraph in French, I have to say that about a month or so ago the director of the telegraph office sent me word that he had again received orders that telegrams in English could not be accepted. I subsequently called his attention to the fact that the Embassy telegraphed me in English and then I called his attention to Embassy's inquiry about the matter in the above mentioned telegram. He said he would accept telegrams in English, but as none of them understood English at the telegraph office there might be delay in sending them sometimes in case they had to look outside for someone to censor them. However, I shall try to send them in English and can probably explain their meaning sufficiently so that there will be no delay in their leaving here.

As the danger of being cut off from communication with the Embassy seems to be past for the present, I shall not continue sending telegrams, as I suggested in my dispatch of June 12th (File No. 300), unless there is occasion to do so. I have no doubt that the occasions when they will be necessary will be frequent enough.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant,

(Signed) LESLIE A. DAVIS.
Consul.

SOURCE: Leslie A. Davis at Harput to Henry Morgenthau, American Embassy, Constantinople, July 24, 1915, enclosed in Hoffman Philip [Charge d'Affaires] at Constantinople to Secretary of State, February 17, 1916, N.A., D.S., R.G. 59, Dec. File No. 867.4016/269.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
AMERICAN CONSULATE,
Mamouret-ul-Aziz (Harput), Turkey,
September 6, 1915.

Hon. HENRY MORGENTHAU,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose herewith a receipt bearing the Embassy seal for communication from this Consulate sent to the Embassy double registered through the Mamouret-ul-Aziz post office on July 4th under the registry number 912. It was on July 4th that I mailed despatch of June 30th in an envelope addressed to the Embassy and the receipt given for it at this post office bore the number 912.

There is some mystery about this despatch. It was enclosed in a smaller envelope addressed to the Consulate-General to deliver to the Embassy. Both the Embassy and the Consulate-General have informed me that no such despatch has ever been received, yet it is clear that the envelope containing it must have been received by someone who had access to the Embassy seal.

The despatch contained a report of fifteen pages about the expulsion of the Armenians from this region and as there have been frequent rumors that my letters to the Embassy were intercepted I have never been quite sure that my letters would go all right. There was a most peculiar combination of circumstances in this case. In the first place, Embassy's inquiry in its Telegram No. 24, of July 27th, about the date of my last despatch naturally caused me to think that some thing was missing. I did not quite understand the inquiry, however, as the date of my last despatch, which happened to be July 24th, was to recent to explain anything and there was no way to tell what other date the Embasy might have had in mind. I answered Embassy's inquiry by giving the dates of all despatches that had not been acknowledged at that time. Embassy replied by saying that one of my dispatches subsequent to June 29th had been received.

I then recalled that on July 5th an employee of the Mamouret-ul-Aziz post office brought to the Consulate the envelope containing my despatch of June 30th which, as stated above, had been placed in the post office on July 4th and registry receipt No. 912 given for it, saying it had not been examined by the Vali and must be submitted to him before it could be mailed. I explained that, although he examined all the other letters which I sent sealed, it was permitted to send sealed letters to the Embassy without showing them to the Vali I then went to the post office myself and saw the director. I asked him why this letter had to be shown the Vali when there was permission to send them direct to the Embassy sealed and I had been doing so every few days for the last year. He said the employees had made a mistake and that the letter was all right.

A few days after the receipt of Embassy's telegram of July 27th a certain official said he had actually seen one of my letters to the Embassy which had been opened. On August 9th I sent my telegram No. 26 asking again if my despatch of June 30th had been received. On receiving Embassy's telegram No. 28, of August 11th, saying it had not, I sent my telegram No. 28 on August 14th, in which I said I had been informed that the local authorities had opened and read my recent despatches to the Embassy. I also telegraphed the Consulate—General asking if the despatch of June 30th had been received and the answer said it had not come. In answer to Embassy's telegram No. 29 asking me to wire numbers and dates of recent despatches I sent my telegram No. 30 on August 17th giving the dates of mailing and numbers of Mamouret-ul-Aziz post office receipts. The first one in the list was July 4th receipt No. 912, this being the one containing my despatch of June 30th. Then when Embassy replied by telegram No. 32 saying it could not check my mailing list I answered by my telegram No. 34 giving more fully the date of each despatch with the date of each despatch with the date of mailing and number of the receipt for it.

On the same day, August 23rd, I wrote the Vali asking him to have the letter traced. Then the enclosed and receipt came in an envelope from the Embassy containing a confirmation copy of a telegram. I have received no answer from the Vali as yet and have heard nothing further from the Embassy.

In view of all the circumstances—the refusal of the employee of the post office to send the letter before it had been examined by the Vali, the assertion of one of the local officials that he had seen one of my letters to the Embassy that had been opened (and he still insists that is so), the inquiry from the Embassy about the date of my last despatch, and the telegrams from both the Embassy and the Consulate—General saying it was natural to think this letter had been intercepted; and, notwithstanding the enclosed receipt bearing the Embassy seal, it is apparent that something had happened to the letter. Is it possible that letter never arrived and the Embassy seal was fraudulently impressed upon the receipt by some one?

I shall appreciate it if the Embassy will investigate the matter and inform me. In case the despatch has been lost I can make a copy of it and forward to the Embassy.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) LESLIE A. DAVIS,
Consul.

SOURCE: Leslie A. Davis at Harput to Henry Morgenthau, American Embassy, Constantinople, Sept. 6, 1915, N.A., D.S., R.G. 59, Dec. File No. 867.4016/210b.

COPY FOR DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
AMERICAN CONSULATE,
MAMOURET-UL-AZIZ (HARPUT), TURKEY.
September 7, 1915.

Hon. HENRY MORGENTHAU,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople.

SIR: I have the honor to continue my reports of June 30th, July 11th, July 24th and August 23rd (File No. 840.1) in regard to the expulsion and massacre of the Armenians, as follows:

The short report of August 23rd was written at the request of the Chief of Police and is based on data which he furnished me. The circumstances which led to my writing it were explained quite fully in my report of July 24th, on pages 9 to 13. The Chief of Police sent me a memorandum of the incidents mentioned therein and I then wrote the report. I showed it to the Vali before sending it and he expressed himself as being much pleased that I was sending a report of these matters. Some of them I know about personally and I have no doubt that all the statements are entirely correct, as I have been assured by the Chief of Police. I can see no harm whatever in reporting these matters to the Embassy and it seems to me that the Vali and the Chief of Police attach too great importance to my doing so. I certainly have no desire to pose as a champion of the Armenian race or to defend any Armenian revolutionists. Hence, in reporting about general conditions I desire to do so with impartiality and gladly mention any incidents that may tend to justify the Government in the measures it has been taking. At the same time, most of the incidents mentioned in my report of August 23rd seem so trivial and insignificant in comparison with the enormous tragedy that is being enacted in this region that it is difficult to see how they can be considered to be any justification for it.

With the exception of this short report submitted on August 23rd, I have not written the Embassy about the Armenian question since my report of July 24th. One reason why I have not written during this time was the apparent uncertainty of my letters reaching the Embassy, as I indicated in my despatch of yesterday regarding my despatch of June 30th. Whether these fears were well founded or not, there is a decided mystery about that letter.

Another reason is that during the last six or seven weeks it has been comparatively quiet here. After the expulsion of the greater part of the Armenian population during the first two or three weeks of July, subsequent deportations have naturally been on a small scale and have occurred at longer intervals. As stated in my report of July 24th, fully 12,000 or 15,000 Armenians have been sent away from the two cities of Harput and Mamouret-ul-Aziz at that time and many thousand more had been sent away from the neighboring villages. Only a small number remained, nearly all of whom were women and children. It was thought, in view of statements made by the Vali, that perhaps these few remaining women and children would be spared. Practically all the men had been sent away and there is little doubt that they were killed, almost without exception.

The deportation had not ended, however, and it is by no means certain that it has ended yet. During the last week of July and the first part of August large numbers of women and children were rounded up both here and in the villages. They were sent away under guard and there have been persistent reports that they were killed as the men had been. This is not at all improbable and I am inclined to believe that at least part of them were deliberately murdered. Recently a large number of Armenian children who had been kept in a Turkish orphanage have been sent away—for what reason except to be killed or to die on the road it is difficult to see. Thus the work of exiling and killing the Armenians has been continuing all summer and it is impossible to foresee the end.

I should estimate that at least three-fourths of the Armenians in this region have now gone. A great many of those who remain have been and still are in hiding. A few are now getting the benefit of the order exempting Catholics and Protestants from deportation, but most of these were sent away before the order was received, or, at least, before it was announced. Those who

were fortunate enough to keep in hiding until the order came are now coming out in the open. Only a few days before that, however, a large number of Protestants were sent away and are said to be in the vicinity of Malatia. I have given the Vali a list of eighty-four names and requested that, if possible, they be brought back here, but I have no idea whether he will do anything about it or not. In addition to Protestants and Catholics there are a few indispensable artisans and workmen, such as bakers and shoemakers, who have been left here. The American citizens constitute another very small number. The workers and inmates of the American schools and hospital have also left, although the authorities have continued to deny that any orders have been received from Constantinople about them. As long as they leave these people alone it does not seem best to press the inquiry too far, although they would all be more comfortable to have positive assurance from the local authorities that they are to remain. It seems probable that orders have been received in spite of these denials, just as they were finally received in regard to the naturalized American citizens, although the authorities never expressly admitted it.

By far the greater part of the Armenians who remain, however, are here because they have been successful in keeping in hiding. It is impossible to tell yet how many there may be but there are a great many in this class. Some are hiding in Harput and Mamouret-ul-Aziz, others in the villages and recently a number of men who have been concealed in various places have been going to the Dersim and taking refuge among the Kurds. Their number is naturally limited, but I understand that there has been quite a movement of this kind with fixed prices for protection. Many people, mostly women, have been kept in Turkish houses, especially in the villages that are partly Turkish and partly Armenian. The purely Armenian villages have been pretty thoroughly cleaned out, but hundreds of women have found shelter with their Turkish neighbors in the villages containing both races.

Bribery has, of course, been carried on to a very great extent among officials both high and low. Among the chief offenders in this respect has been the Kaimakam of Harput who is said to have taken many thousand pounds for protecting people. As an instance of how he protected them, one woman I know paid him fifty liras for permitting her and her children to remain. After taking the money he told her she had better not try to stay in Harput while they were sending people away but had better come down to Mamouret-ul-Aziz and hide for awhile. She came to the American hospital and remainded for a few days. Then the hospital was searched by the police and she came down to the Consulate with all her six children. I had previously asked the Chief of police as a favor that she and her children be allowed to remain and he had given his consent. So I kept her at the Consulate for awhile until it was possible to make other arrangements. She has not been able to return to Harput and received very little value for the fifty liras paid the Kaimakam. My efforts on her behalf were worth much more than all he did for money. The Kaimakam carried on the business of taking bribes so systematically and openly that it became known to everybody. Two or three weeks ago he was removed and was subsequently arrested and imprisoned where he has remained ever since. I understand that his house has also been kept under guard since his arrest. I do not know the circumstances that led to his arrest, whether he had not divided his profits with other officials, or what other reason there may have been, but it is a good thing that he is out of office. In addition to the bribery of officials the Turks who have kept Armenians in their houses have almost invariably demanded exorbitant sums for doing so. In very many instances they have kept them for awhile and after getting all their money have turned them out to seek some other shelter. As that has usually been impossible in such cases many of these poeple have finally been exiled after all.

Referring to the arrival at the Consulate of the woman mentioned on the preceding page, who came here from the American Hospital and for whom I had asked permission that she should be exempted from deportation, the way in which she and some others came here one night was most imprudent. The police had learned that there were many Armenians at the American Hospital who were not sick and they paid it a visit one afternoon. The result was not very serious, in view of the large number of people who had taken refuge there. Only about a dozen men were taken away, while all the women and children were left alone. Among those at the Hospital were this woman and her children and one of the professors of the American College. I had received permission for both of these people and their families to remain and had told Dr. Atkinson if there should be any trouble at the Hospital to tell the police that these people were under the protection of the Consulate. The police were told this and passed them by. That evening just after dark my protégés were piloted down to the Consulate together with several others. There were about twenty people who came piling in on me, with blankets and bundles and all their worldly goods. On their way down here they had been stopped by a policeman who asked where they were going, and they had all said they were coming to the American Consulate. They had also been obliged to pass an assembly of Moslems who were holding a meeting in the open air. I sent away at once those who had no permission to remain here, but the coming of so many people in a body naturally attracted a great deal of attention, with the result that it was quickly reported all over town that there were a "thousand" Armenians hiding in the American Consulate. This happened at one of the most tense and critical moments this summer, when it was important to be above suspicion. Fortunately, the incident didn't amount to anything but it was a most thoughtless and imprudent act on the part of the Americans at the Hospital to send people down here in that way.

I have, as a matter of fact, been keeping about thirty or forty people at the Consulate, but they are all people who had permission to remain and whom I could explain, if necessary, like the wives and children of naturalized American citizens and the families of the employees of the Consulate. The arresting and deporting was carried on so vigorously that even those who were supposed to be exempted from deportation were seized and sent off so quickly that no one was safe. Hence, it seemed more purdent for some of those whom I was trying to protect to remain at the Consulate. As the garden of the Consulate is very large it has not been so very difficult to keep people here in summer. I have recently found two or three houses in the neighborhood in which I have placed some of them.

It has been quite difficult, of course, to prevent outsiders from crowding in the American Hospital and it has not been easy to drive them away knowing that they would probably be killed. Considering the number of people who came there on one pretense or another, Dr. Atkinson has had very little trouble on that account. The American missionaries at Harput have had no outsiders but have had about fifty teachers and orphans in their Girls' School and about a dozen servants. As stated above, the authorities have denied continually that any order had been received to exempt them from deportation, but it seems probable they did receive orders of some kind, as no effort has been made to send away any of these persons.

On the whole, the Americans here have had comparatively little trouble during the past two months and have been able to do some good. I have been informed, however, that there was a plot, in which a prominent official was involved, to attack the Americans at Harput one night with a view to robbing them of the money that had been deposited with them by the Armenians who were being sent away. It was known that they had received considerable sums of money and it is not improbable that there were those who coveted it. Neither is it impossible that there may have been such a plot, but I do not know it as a fact. My informer said the official who was involved in it finally decided it would not be wise to undertake it and persuaded the others to abandon the idea.

Whether it is true that there was such a plot or not, the death of Mr. Knapp at Diarbekir (which I reported to the Embassy by telegraph on August 19th and in a despatch dated August 31st) occurred under very suspicious circumstances. Furthermore, there is little doubt that the life of Dr. Smith was in actual danger at Diarbekir and even his deportation from there is not reassuring. There is enough to convince most people that the lives of the Americans are not safe there and if they are obliged to remain it is highly probable there will be other lives lost.

I have just been handed Mr. Peet's circular letter of August 19th to the stations of the American Board in Turkey. It is quite evident that his views of the situation are different from mine. I have no desire to insist unduly upon my own views or to oppose his plans, but after all that has happened there during the last six months, I am unable to see how he can hope to see the American schools open here this fall or how he can say that the return of the instructors who have been sent away can probably be secured or how he can feel that ample protection is assured to all Americans. Mr. Riggs has reported conditions to him most carefully in frequent letters and I have written many lengthy despatches to the Embassy about the situation, but in view of the slight attention that has been paid to our communications, as far as we can see here, and the result as indicated in the above mentioned letter from Mr. Peet, it would seem that little importance has been attached to them.

The situation in regard to the American schools was well summarized in Mr. Riggs' letter of July 19th to Mr. Peet, copy of which was sent the Embassy. He calls attention to the fact that two-thirds of the girl pupils and six-sevenths of the boys have been taken away to death, exile or Moslem homes; that four of the seven professors have been murdered on the road in general

massacres; that two of the others are in hiding and that only one (the professor of music) is available; that seven of the twelve male instructors are thought to have been killed on the road, that two were then sick in the hospital, that one is in hiding, and that only two are available; that one had been taken to a Turkish harem, that three had not been heard from, that four had started out as exiles, and that ten only were available; that seven of the eight buildings belong to the American schools were in the hands of the Government, and that only one was left. Part of this remaining building has since been occupied for a hopsital. Thus, three/fourths of the pupils, one-half of the instructors, including all the prinicipal professors, and all except part of one building are now gone. Aside from all other considerations, it is difficult to see how educational work can be carried on under these circumstances and how it can be considered advisable to attempt to open the schools at the present time. The only work that it seems possible to consider at all is orphanage work and the American missionaries have been forebidden to engage in that. The policy that is being pursued openly here in regard to women and children is to compel them to become Moslems. Whatever assurances may be given at Constantinople about the work of American institutions in general, it seems clear that Christian educational work will either not be permitted at all in this region or will be so hampered that it will be useless to attempt to carry it on, unless there should be a radical change in the political situation.

With reference to the directions in Mr. Peet's letter that a request should be made for the return of those instructors in the American schools who have been sent away. I shall, of course, take no steps about that unless instructed to do so by the Embassy. In searching the records of this office for instructions upon such points, I find that this Consulate was instructed by the Legation at Constantinople in 1903, in the case of one of the professors of the American College who was then under arrest and who has now been arrested and murdered, to confine its efforts to the use of good offices and not to interfere officially. As I have received no instructions to the contrary and as the professors and instructors in the American schools were arrested and tortured and sent away and killed before word was received that they should remain in their places, all that I was able to do was to inform the Embassy about the matter, which I did promptly. To ask for their return would be useless, unless it is desired to require the local authorities to explain what has become of them. I don't think they can show that any of these people were guilty of any crime. They were among the first to be sent away because of their position.

With reference to the assurance that ample protection will be given to all Americans in Turkey, the facts do not seem to bear it out. The deportation of Dr. Smith and the probable danger to his life, the suspicious circumstances in connection with the death of Mr. Knapp, the rumors of plots against the Americans at Harput, the fact that Mrs. Barnum's death was undoubtedly hastened by the present situation, and, quite possibly, the deaths of others about which I have not yet been able to obtain the details,—all seem to show that life and health are not secure in the interior of Turkey at the present time. In view of the limited amount of work that can be done by the missionaries now and probably for a long time to come, and the possible dangers and contingencies that may arise at any time, it seems to me more prudent for those who can leave to do so.

Speaking in general of assurances, which are given so freely at Constantinople, and having in mind our experiences here during the past six months, the following passage in a despatch written by one of my predecessors seems of sufficient interest to quote:

"I promptly presented the matter to H.E., the Vali, who assured me that absolutely no orders in this connection had reached him. He telegraphed at once to Constantinople, requesting the transmission of the authorization announced to Your Excellency.

"In the course of our interview, he stated that it was a most deplorable and unfortunate habit of the Ministries at Constantinople to assure the Foreign Embassies that certain orders had been despatched to provincial authorities, altho neither had the instructions been sent, nor were pains taken to forward them promptly after making such statements.

"He had frequently suffered from this exasperating habit, and he advised insisting in all cases upon the date and number of the despatch forwarded with the authorization, as well as the statement whether it was sent as a telegram or letter."

It might be well if the dates and numbers of such despatches could be obtained now and furnished me by the Embassy in each case.

The general conditions in this region are frightful. Aside from the lack of security, it seems as though a pestilence was inevitable. The large number of dead bodies that are lying everywhere, even in the outskirts of the town, the filth from the bands of exiles that have passed through here at different times, and the almost total lack of sanitary measures, are all conducive to that. Men in the employ of the Government now go along the principal roads and bury the dead bodies they find, but the graves they dig are so shallow that the bodies are often partly exposed.

In my previous despatches I have mentioned the camp just outside of the town where the exiles from Erzeroum [sic] and Erzingan stopped for a while. A more suitable place was found for those who arrived later. It is a large cemetery almost in the town itself and enclosed by a high wall. Here bands of exiles who have been passing through have been kept at several different times, while after they left the sick and feeble were left to die and be buried. The scene described on pages 7 and 8 of my despatch of July 24th has been duplicated over and over again in this cemetery. The more recent arrivals of exiles have been kept in an Armenian village about five miles distant, from which everyone had been sent away.

One noticeable feature of the movement has been that lately men have arrived with the parties of exiles, whereas all the men who had started with the first parties had been killed after they had reached this Vilayet. This may be called the "Slaughterhouse Vilayet" of Turkey, for it appears that exiles from all directions have come this far safely only to be massacred in some part of this Vilayet. I have, of course, not seen the actual killing myself, but there can be no doubt about those who have been killed in this Vilayet before arriving here and there is practically no doubt about the killing of the men and of many of the women and children who have left here. It has been corroborated too many times by survivors who have escaped and returned here and by the gendarmes themselves who have done the work. Among the later parties arriving here are people from Zara, in the Sivas Vilayet, and from Trebizond, Ordou, Kherassoun, and another very large party numbering several thousands from Erzeroum [sic]. All with whom I have talked speak of having received much better treatment in the other Vilayets than here. I have been informed that on leaving here the men were in each case separated from the women and children, the significance of which is apparent.

Naturally, with this wholesale massacre being perpetrated almost in front of our eyes, the country is not considered very safe. I have been warned repeatedly by friendly officials and policemen not to take long walks or rides and to always have someone with me. They all speak of the Kurds who are on the roads and are very savage. There are plenty of Kurds, it is true, who are out for plunder. One interesting member of this race visited the Consulate awhile ago with what he thought was a $100.00 bill and asked me what I could give him for it. It proved to be only an advertisement resembling in appearance an American bill. When I asked him where he had obtained it he said at first that some one had given it to him for $100.00 in America and he thought it was good money, but on being questioned a little further he said he had found it in the pocket of a Giaour whom he had killed. Such are the people one is likely to meet here these days.

I have not given up my horseback rides entirely, however, although I have usually taken someone with me. The other day I rode out to two Armenian villages from which almost every inhabitant had been sent away. A short distance out of town two men were digging a few hundred feet off the road. I rode over to see what there might be there. They were digging a grave for a women who lay stretched out on the ground dead. Near her were two other women dying. Besides these there were two other women and one child. They said they wanted to be left there to die instead of being driven on any further. We had some bread with us which we had brought along for any starving person we might meet and we gave them some of it. The men, of course, were Government employees. Such scenes are to be met with almost anywhere probably in the interior of Turkey at the present time. Here a dead women, there a dead baby, occasionally a dead animal. Aside from the dead and the dying and from the gendarmes and Kurds one meets no one on the roads. The country is isolation complete.

The two villages that I visited are almost entirely deserted. Each had two or three thousand inhabitants. One was the home of my stable-boy. There were just two families that had been left there. He is at the Consulate with his family, having been spared because he is one of my servants. His house in the village is occupied by gendarmes. As there are no Turkish inhabitants of this village, these gendarmes and the two Armenian families above mentioned are the only people there now. Probably there are some who have hidden in other villages and may return if conditions become quiet, but there cannot be many such. The village is almost as dead and deserted as Pompeii. The other one to which we went is not much better. There are perhaps half a dozen families there. We found also three feeble, blind old men whose families had all gone and they

had been left behind. One was eighty-five years old. He had thirty children and grandchildren, two of whom are in America and every one of the other twenty-eight had been sent to exile and death. All of these old men and their families are Protestants and are well known to the American missionaries. The missionaries have now brought the men from the village and are taking care of them. This village like the other was nothing but ruin and desolation.

There are villages, however, where there are a great many Armenian women left, principally those in which there were both Turkish and Armenian inhabitants. Many women have been kept in Turkish houses in these villages and have thus escaped deportation. During the last few days a large number of women have come to this Consulate for me to write to relatives in America to send them money and almost every one of them has asked for sufficient money to enable them to come to America when it may be possible to travel. I am trying to help them by writing their relatives as requested but they are coming so fast now that it is quite a task. Very many are going to the missionaries for the same purpose. All this indicates the destitute condition in which these people now find themselves and how they all feel that it will be impossible for them to continue to live here.

Word has recently been received from a few individuals who have reached Aleppo. It is to be noted that they are all women. Apparently no men arrived there.

It is going to be a serious problem for the few women and children who remain here to obtain food and clothing this winter. That is something the missionaries will probably consider and they will doubtless be able to render much aid to the people.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) LESLIE A. DAVIS,
Consul.

SOURCE: Leslie A. Davis at Harput to Henry Morgenthau, American Embassy, Constantinople, Sept. 7, 1915, N.A., D.S., R.G. 59, Dec. File No. 867.4016/210b.

AMERICAN CONSULATE,
MAMOUTER-UL-AZIZ (HARPUT), TURKEY,
December 30, 1915.

Hon. HENRY MORGENTHAU,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople.

SIR: I have the honor to continue my reports of June 30th, July 11th, July 24th, August 23rd and September 7th (file No. 840.1) about the deportation and massacre of the Armenians in this region, as follows:

The last four months have been full of uncertainty and anxiety for every one. There has been no security for any of the few Armenians who were left here after the deportations of July and August, whether they had been allowed to remain because of their being Protestants, Catholics, American citizens, or for other reasons, and no assurance worth listening to that the Armenian question is ended. The town crier has announced once or twice by order of the Vali that no more Armenians would be sent away and that all could come out without fear, but the falsity of such announcements was shown a few weeks later by the wholesale arrest and deportation of those who had ventured out in reliance upon them. The ruse worked so well that it will probably be repeated and, no matter how many times this may occur, I have no doubt that others will be caught in the same way as long as any remain. There seems to be as much reason to apprehend a further arrest and deportation now of the few Armenians who remain here as there has been at any time during the last six months. No one knows what the next move may be or when it may be made. No one knows whether the few who have escaped thus far will be spared in the end or whether those who are perpetrating this crime, the most awful, probably, that has ever been committed against any race of people, will continue until the last Armenian in the country has been killed.

The predictions made and fears expressed in my early reports upon this subject have been for the most part all too fully realized. As two of them (Nos. 62 of June 30th and 71 of July 24th) were apparently lost in the mails or intercepted by the authorities, I am sending copies of these reports in accompanying despatch No. 172 of yesterday. It will be noticed that they are not reports that were intended to be read by Turkish officials, but I presume that is what has happened to them. The receipt of my reports of July 11th, August 23rd and September 7th has been acknowledged.

In the latter I spoke of the fact on page 4 [p. 169] that a large number of Protestants had been sent away a few days before the order had been received exempting Protestants from deportation. They were said to be near Malatia when the order came and I worked very hard to have them brought back here but without success. A few did succeed in coming back without having been given permission by the authorities. The way in which they did it was by paying Kurds large sums of money, often fifty or a hundred Turkish liras, to bring them here at night. These were mostly women, of course, as nearly all the men had been sent away earlier in the summer. The police hunted down and caught many of those who had returned in this way. They were again sent away and their fate can readily be imagined.

One of the most remarkable incidents in the terrible tragedy that is being enacted has been the sale by the Government at public auction of great quantities of second-hand clothing that had been taken from the backs of the deported Armenians who were killed. Many bundles of such clothing were brought in town and the sale continued in the market-place for many days. I am told that the same thing took place in the other towns of this Vilayet. I saw it going on here myself. One can hardly imagine anything so sordid or *grewsome [sic]. Another act of barbarism still more frightful, which has been related to me by survivors of the massacres, is that the gendarmes sold them in groups of fifty or a hundred to the Kurds who were to kill them and could have whatever they could find on them. As most of the persons deported were thoroughly searched and robbed by the gendarmes the Kurds seldom obtained more than a few old clothes from the persons whom they killed. Thus the so-called "deportation" of the Armenians has been carried on!

Another matter that should be mentioned in speaking of the present situation is the partial destruction of the Christian churches in the surrounding villages. All the churches in this region are, of course, in the possession of the Turks.

On Sunday, September 26th, the Vali had an announcement made that no more Armenians would be deported. For several weeks afterwards everything appeared to be quiet and many Armenians who had been in hiding up to that time ventured to come out. Some became Moslems thinking they would then be in no further danger. Suddenly in the middle of the afternoon on Thursday, November 4th, the day being a fair one when many people were in the streets and market-place, the police began to arrest all the Armenians and Syrians they could find. Many were caught in the streets; houses known to contain Armenians were visited and the occupants dragged out of them including the family of one of my cavasses; the American hospital was surrounded while some of the police entered it and arrested a number found there; a policeman was stationed in front of this Consulate to prevent any one from entering it to seek refuge here; among those arrested and taken to the prison were some of the American citizens whom I had been protecting and a number of other persons for whom I had obtained permission that they could remain. In two or three hours the police gathered together at the prison fully five hundred people from this town. I spent that afternoon and evening and all the next day in going around looking up the different ones whom I had been trying to protect, to see which ones were all right and which ones had been arrested and in visiting the Commander, who was then acting Vali, and the Chief of Police to obtain the liberation of those who had been arrested. The scene that evening, when I visited the Chief of Police a second time with the list of persons arrested whom I wanted released, was one never to be forgotten. Opposite his office was this crowd of prisoners, every one of whom was in danger of death and expecting it but hoping that some one would save them. They were called out of the crowd one by one and brought into the office where I sat with the Chief of Police and the Commander of the Gendarmes. All but one for whom I asked were released. The one exception was a young man who had been a teacher in the Turkish school and was a friend of my clerk. During the summer I had obtained permission for him to remain and had kept him at the Consulate for several months. He had decided, however, to accept Mohammedanism and had left the Consulate a few weeks prior to that time, against the advice of most of us. Then he tried to get back his position in the school and to collect the arrears of his salary. He and two other young men who had also accepted Mohammedanism and tried to collect some money from the Government were taken out of the prison a day or two later and killed a short distance out of town. I have been told on good authority that the principal reason why these young men were not released was because they had tried to collect money from the Government. Human life is cheap here and public officials have an effective method of saving the moneys of the State!

All the Syrians and a large number of the Armenians from this town who were arrested on November 4th were finally released in one way or another. The following day a wholesale arrest of Armenians occurred at Harput but most of them were released. The villages did not fare so well. From many of them the entire Armenian population had already been sent away and killed, as I have previously reported (see my despatch of September 7th, page 17, File No. 840.1, and my despatch of October 9th, page 2, file No. 310). In others, however, quite a number of women and children had been left. Many hundred of these were arrested and brought here on Friday and Saturday, November 5th and 6th. I saw one group of several hundred as they were being driven in here like cattle

by a few gendarmes. They had come from a village some distance away and were already exhausted: mothers were carrying their children; one woman was carrying another woman on her back; the old, the lame, the blind, were staggering along dazed and stupefied and if they dropped behind were prodded by the gendames and made to go on. I saw them taken in front of the office of the Chief of Police where orders were given about them and they were sent away. Probably one or two thousand persons were sent away at this time and I have learned their fate from a few survivors who succeeded in getting back here alive. It appears that soon after leaving the town they were separated into small groups and taken in different directions; that those in several of the groups, and undoubtedly those in others also, were led into secluded valleys and then bayoneted by the gendarmes; that after they were killed brush was heaped on their bodies and the gendarmes attempted to burn them. A few are said to have gotten as far as Diarbakir but no word has been received from any of them since that, as far as I have been able to learn, and there is little doubt that practically all were finally killed. It is to be noted that few, if any, of the village people who were deported either at this time or before ever arrived safely at their alleged destination. The few who are known to have arrived anywhere are mostly people from the towns who had some means and were probably able to purchase their lives from the gendarmes who accompanied them but apparently all those from the villages were massacred. In the case of many of the large villages no word has been received from a single person and who was deported from them.

The term of "Slaughterhouse Vilayet" which I applied to this Vilayet is my last report upon this subject (that of September 7th) has been fully justified by what I have learned and actually seen since that time. It appears that all those in the parties mentioned on page 15 of that report, men, women and children, were massacred about five hours distance from here. In fact, it is almost certain that, with the exception of a very small number of those who were deported during the first few days of July, all who have left here have been massacred before reaching the borders of the Vilayet. It is somewhat difficult to understand the plan by which people were brought all the way here from Trebizond, Urdu, Kherassou, Zara, Erzurum and Erzincan, only to be butchered in this Vilayet. During the second week of September several hundred Armenians who had taken grain to Mush for the Government returned here with their ox-carts. Nearly all of them were then put in prison and a few days later were sent out and killed. During the last two months quite a number of Armenian soldiers have been brought back in groups of two or three hundred from Erzurum. They have arrived in a most pitiable state due to their exposure on the way at this season of the year and the privations they had suffered. After all they had endured and after having been brought this far it appears that nearly all of them were killed a few hours after leaving here. A few have escaped and have related how the gendarmes tied them together a short distance out of town. The significance of that was apparent and some resisted. Their dead bodies may be seen alongside of the road. The rest of them are said to have been taken a little farther and killed in the mountains. One of the sad sights of this town now is to see companies of these soldiers being brought here every little while when we know that they are to be butchered like animals. We are all wondering why this Vilayet is chosen as the slaughterhouse.

A striking feature of the present situation in this vicinity is the large number of immigrants who have arrived from the direction of Van, Mush and Bitlis. Many of the Armenian villages that were entirely depopulated during the summer are now filled with these Moslem immigrants. It is thought by some that one reason for destroying the Armenians was to make room for them. At any rate, there seems to be enough of them to fill the vacant places. As they appear to be a very poor class of people, it remains to be seen what the effect will be industrially of this change in the population of this region.

Of nearly a hundred thousand Armenians who were in this Vilayet a year ago, there are probably not more than four thousand left. It has been reported recently that not more than five per cent of the Armenians were to be left. It is doubtful if that many remain now. There are probably more in proportion in the two towns of Mamouretul-Aziz and Harput than elsewhere because many have come from the villages in which no Armenians now remain or can live and have sought shelter here. It is estimated that between one-third and one and one-half of the entire existing Armenian population of this Vilayet is now in these two towns and in two or three of the neighboring villages, but the persons above mentioned who have recently come here form a considerable portion of this number. The children in the German orphanage, some four or five hundred in number, form another large element in the remaining population. There are said to be a great many Armenians hiding among the Kurds in the Dersim but it is impossible to estimate the number with any accuracy. There may be five hundred or there may be a thousand in all. In other parts of the Vilayet there are very few and in many of the towns and villages none at all except a few women who have accepted Mohammedanism and are living with Turks.

In my brief despatch No. 170 of yesterday I spoke of the pressure that is being brought on nearly all the Armenian women here, including wives of naturalized Ottomans, to embrace the Moslem faith. As directed in Embassy's Instruction of November 30th, I endeavor to dissuade them from taking this step. A very large number of women have come to me about this matter during the last few weeks. They say they are threatened with deportation, which means almost certain death, if they refuse. It is by no means improbable that this will actually be the result of such a refusal in many cases. I shall do everything possible, of course, to save from either fate all women who are in any way entitled to American protection.

One of the disappointments in the present terrible situation and one of the saddest commentaries on American missionary work among the Armenians is their lack of religious and moral principles and the general baseness of the race. During all that has happened during the past year I have not heard of a single act of heroism or of self-sacrifice and the noble acts, if any, have been very few. On the contrary mothers have given their daugthers to the lowest and vilest Turks to save their own lives; to change their religion is a matter of little importance to most of the people; lying and trickery and an inordinate love of money are besetting sins of almost all, even while they stand in the very shadow of death. On one occasion, when the students of the American theological seminary were arrested, nearly every one of them lied about one thing or another to save himself. Absolute truthfulness is almost unknown among the members of this race. Money is sought at any price, even at the risk of their lives, as in the case of the young man [already mentioned in] this despatch whom I had saved from death and tried to help for several months by keeping him in the Consulate. Every trick and device are resorted to by those who are not in need as well as by those who are to obtain money and often by depriving others of it who are in much greater need. From every point of view the race is one that cannot be admired, although it is one to be pitied.

The present is the time to consider its needs and not its merits. The thousand or two Armenians in this immediate vicinity are for the most part entirely destitute and dependent upon charity. Many are awaiting remittances from America while many others have no relatives there or elsewhere to help them. Practically all who remain here are women and children and a few of them have the means with which to buy bread or any way of earning it. Relief work is being carried on by both the German and the American missionaries but it is not enough to meet the needs at the present time. I shall be very glad to assist in such work as far as I can, as I have been doing with the funds already sent by the Embassy for that purpose and shall do with such additional funds as the Embassy may be able to send.

The important thing is to keep people alive for the present and then to assist them to leave the country as soon as it may be possible. There is no way of knowing however, what further measures may be taken against the few survivors who remain here and the difficulty under present conditions of saving any in case of emergency from the cut-throats of this region is perhaps greater than can be easily realized by those who are living in more civilized places. The only effective way I have found, as I have previously explained, has been to keep people in the Consulate itself and naturally the number who can be saved in that way is limited.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your obedient servant,

(signed) LESLIE A. DAVIS,
Consul.

In cipher.

I intend to supplement these reports on the deportation and massacre of the Armenians with an account of two trips which now made to a lake about 5 hours distant from here where I saw the dead bodies of fully 10 thousand persons, many of whom had been recently killed, and to illustrate it with photographs which I took of them alive in camps. It would not be prudent to send such a report now.

SOURCE: Leslie A. Davis at Harput to Henry Morgenthau, American Embassy, Constantinople, Dec. 30, 1915, enclosed in Hoffman Philip [Chargé d'Affaires] at Constantinople to Secretary of State, February 17, 1916, N.A., D.S., R.G. 59, Dec. File No. 867.4016/269.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, higher American officials than Leslie Davis, with no political ax to grind, no personal motive to cite the Armenian genocide other than their own observation or their interpretation of the

facts that were available to them, have agreed with his account and with numerous others that a systematic extermination took place.

Indeed Davis' immediate superior, Ambassador Morgenthau, concluded in a July 1915 telegram sent to the Secretary of State that "A campaign of race extermination" against "peaceful Armenians" had begun "under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion." And President and Chief Justice William Howard Taft wrote in 1920 that the Serbians and the Armenians shouldered more wartime suffering than any other noncombatants.

President Wilson, deliberating on the growing body of accounts of genocide produced by Davis and by others, instructed his Secretary of State in 1919 to negotiate with Congress about the possibility of sending United States troops to Armenia.

In our own day, with the benefit of historical analysis, members of both parties have not hesitated to voice the truth about this tragedy.

Earlier reference was made to a comment of President Bush. In 1981, at a memorial service in observation of the Holocaust, President Reagan invoked "The genocide of the Armenians" in promising that America would never forget the lessons in human hardship learned from two world wars.

In 1978 President Carter stated that the Ottomans made a "concerted effort to eliminate all the Armenian people."

Yet we need not rely exclusively upon the word of our own countrymen, past or present. We need not do so because in the search for confirmation of the Armenian genocide the Ottoman Government itself, ravaged by war and plagued by some sense of remorse, put the main perpetrators of genocide on trial in 1919.

The empire's indictment against its own Ministers of War, of Interior, and of the Navy, states that through any number of oral or clandestine means these officials authorized what in the language of the indicted was termed "an unending chain of massacres, pillage, and abuse."

At it happens, much of the evidence for the trials also originated in formal telegrams that were in fact instructions from the central Government to the deportation provinces.

It is perhaps hypocritical and certainly a harsh judgment of their peers that resulted in the four authorities who actually received the sentences being sentenced to death. There were additionally four others consigned to 15 years of hard labor.

So it should come as no surprise that the founder of the modern Republic of Turkey, someone revered in Turkish history, Kemal Ataturk, explicitly renounced what he termed the "massacres of millions" by the Ottoman regime.

What has ensued since the time of Ataturk is that, like a free and democratic Germany today, a free and democratic Turkey began a new era in its history with a new government with the rejection of the horror previously visited upon its own minority population.

It is for that reason that a distinguished and valued ally, modern-day Turkey, need not feel anything but the same remorse that all observers anywhere would feel because of this tragedy. We do not visit the sins of the fathers upon the sons, but we do say that once again history teaches that man can be inhumane to other men and there is simply no doubt that that tragedy occurred, and that it must never occur again.

That is the lesson, the lesson so often repeated, from the terrible tragedy that began in 1939 and did not end until the end of the Second World War. "Never again," whether Jew or non-Jew, we have said so many times in attempting to keep faith with the specters of the 6 million Jews who perished during World War II.

Well, this is such an act, Mr. President. It is a resolution that takes pains by its language not to cast doubt in any way, nor to cast blame upon modern-day Turkey or upon the Turkish people. It places blame where, in fact, it is due, where historically, by ample documentation, it was earned; that is, by those officials of the Ottoman Empire who were responsible for this slaughter.

I have been one who on this floor, at every opportunity, has voted to support efforts which I conceive to be in the interest of the United States, as well as in the interests of our ally, Turkey, to enhance the strength of that ally as a valued part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization Alliance.

It is in no way inconsistent at this moment to voice concern that we not forget, that we memorialize, as indeed we are required by common decency and enlightened self-interest to do, that there shall be at the very least a day to remembrance for those million and a half innocent souls whose sole crime was to be Armenian under the despotic rule of the Ottoman Empire.

There is no shame for modern-day Turkey, any more than we blame the children and the grandchildren of those in modern Germany who did not, by their hand, inflict this terrible wrong upon their Jewish countrymen. What we do know is that there cannot be the kind of indifference that permitted these things to occur in the first place.

And why, Mr. President, am I deluded in my belief that an expression by the Congress of the United States can make a difference? I do not think I am. I think that we have seen concerted world opinion have an impact upon other repressive regimes. I think that we have seen the attitudes changing in Eastern Europe, and indeed the attitudes of the Soviet Union, resulting in such practical results as increased emigration for dissidents, for Soviet Jews and Soviet Christians seeking to leave the Soviet Union.

I think we have learned that it does matter what Members of Congress feel and say and vote. It is a fact that if we are guilty of indifference, we virtually invite history to repeat itself in all of its worst excesses.

So, Mr. President, I will say that, one, there is no doubt that this tragedy occurred and that it was worthy of the terrible name of genocide. I will say, two, that those responsible are long-dead officials of the Ottoman Empire. I will say, three, that it is one more example in history, and all too recent history, still burned and fresh in the minds of those who themselves were survivors of those deportations and massacres.

It is that recent and that real to them, and it must be, if less to us, nonetheless a fact that we mark with at least a decent observation of a day of remembrance, because if we do not do that, Mr. President, we are guilty of indifference and injustice; and we mock the suffering of those who will have died in vain if in fact they are not at least remembered and honored by this day of remembrance, a single, quiet day devoted to these brave souls who fell under the sword of an oppressor.

And, Mr. President, I say to my colleagues who, understandably, are concerned least they give offense to a valued ally, they need, I think to put things in perspective.

It was not long ago that this body went upon record as endorsing a so-called Genocide Treaty. I remember very well that day just a few short years ago, because I was privileged to cast the crucial 67th vote enabling the Senate to adopt the International Convention Against All Forms of Racial and Cultural Genocide.

Those who cast votes that day felt they had done not just a good, but an important thing. They thought that it was a proud day for the Senate, a day when collectively we very properly condemned the evil motives of men in governments that lead them to the incredible inhumanity that permits the systematic extermination of entire populations for no reason other than that by the accident of birth they were born at the wrong time and the wrong place, and to their oppressor, into the wrong culture.

On that day, we declared that these martyred millions of recent history, those who died in the Armenian genocide of 1915 and the Holocaust of the years of the Second World War, would not have died in vain, that their memories would be etched forever in

history, that they would be kept alive as people whose suffering must serve at least as an indictment to those responsible for their tragic and inhumane treatment, and more important, as a warning to civilized men that we cannot be indifferent, that we cannot look the other way.

Mr. President, what could be more timely than that when in Azerbaijan, once again it is Armenians who are threatened with genocide?

History does repeat itself, Mr. President, if good and decent men do not do what they ought to in order to prevent the excesses of history. It was Edmund Burke, some centuries ago upon the floor of the House of Commons, who said that "all that is necessary for the triumph of evil is that enough good men do nothing."

We are asking in this resolution to do very little. We are asked to do the decent minimum that is required to pay our respect, and more important, to mark this day not just as a day of remembrance, but as a day of dedication that decent men who call themselves civilized will never again permit this to occur.

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

APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, on behalf of the Vice President, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 276d-276g, as amended, appoints the following Senators as members of the Senate Delegation to the Canada-United States Interparliamentary Group during the 101st Congress, second session, to be held in Kiawah Island, SC, February 22-26, 1990: the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. MCCLURE], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GRASSLEY], and the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI].

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum has been suggested and the clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, Senate Joint Resolution 212, which I cosponsored, designates April 24, 1990, as a national day of remembrance of the Armenian genocide.

Opponents of this resolution have argued that we should not make such a designation because Armenians were not the victims of "genocide."

I disagree. At the beginning of World War I, some 2.5 million Armenians lived in the Ottoman Empire. By 1923, 60 percent of this population—an estimated 1.5 million people—died as a result of the policies of the Ottoman rulers.

Regarding the Armenian culture as alien and the Armenian demand for tolerance and freedom as unacceptable, the empire embarked upon a deliberate campaign to eliminate the Armenian people through deportation and death.

The nature and extent of this campaign was well documented by U.S. officials at the time. For example, Henry Morgenthau, our Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, reported that "a campaign of race extermination is in progress under a pretext of reprisal against rebellion."

The United States has reaffirmed on several occasions that the actions taken against the Armenian people constituted "genocide." In fact, as a Presidential candidate, President Bush stated that "The United States must acknowledge the attempted genocide of the Armenian people in the last years of the Ottoman Empire * * * if we are to insure that such horrors are not repeated."

I agree with the President, when he said that if we are to eliminate the evil of genocide from the heart of mankind, the death of more than a million Armenians must be more than a tragic footnote in history.

In commemorating the Armenian genocide, we are not criticizing the modern Turkish Government but rather reaffirming our commitment to human life and dignity by keeping the memory of the Armenian genocide alive.

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

Mr. DOLE. Will the Senator withhold?

Mr. PELL. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Republican leader, Senator DOLE.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I think we have concluded the debate on the motion to proceed. I thank the distinguished Senator from West Virginia for his generous remarks—not for his opposition, but for his candor, as he always is a man of great integrity, and I hope that we can continue along these lines.

I think from our standpoint we need to convince our colleagues, some who were sponsors and became nonsponsors of the resolution, that history does support our position. There is no doubt about it. It would seem to me that based on the statements we have heard from the distinguished Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL]; the distinguished Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN]; the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON]; the distinguished Senator from California [Mr. WILSON], and others who will follow tomorrow, it is our hope to lay the foundation so that we can let history be the judge, and we believe we can make that case and we will continue that tomorrow.

I urge my colleagues who may be trying to make a decision on which way to go, that all we want to do now is to proceed to the resolution—proceed to it. We have the right to have it before the Senate. Then if someone has amendments they can be offered. I have suggested I will offer a substitute which I hope will be less offensive to some. I do not believe the present text should be offensive to anyone, but there are some who are offended and I hope we might be able to resolve some of those problems. In any event, I mentioned earlier the action taken by the European Parliament where their resolution passed in 1987, much stronger than the resolution before us. In fact in one paragraph it says "whereas, the historically proven Armenian genocide has so far neither been the object of political condemnation or received due compensation." They made a finding. We do not do that in our resolution.

I will ask unanimous consent that the entire resolution be printed in the RECORD. I will also ask that the American Bar Association recognition of the Armenian genocide be printed in the RECORD.

The American Bar Association historically protested the Turkish atrocities against Armenians and more recently pointed out the fact of the Armenian genocide. Also the United Nations recognition of Armenian genocide. In 1985 and 1986, after years of study, a U.N. commission recognized the Armenian genocide as historical fact. On August 26, 1985, after 14 years of study and debate, the U.N. Commission on Human Rights voted 14 to 1 with 4 abstensions to reaffirm the Armenian genocide as historical fact. In a March 1979 meeting of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, the United States publicly supported the United Nations recognition of Armenian genocide by advocating recognition of the Armenian genocide in a commission report.

I ask unanimous consent that these be printed in the RECORD.

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

RESOLUTION ON A POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE ARMENIAN QUESTION

The European Parliament, having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr Saby and others on behalf of the Socialist Group on a political solution to the Armenian question (Doc. 2-737/84).

Having regard to the motion for a resolution tabled by Mr. Kolokotronis on the Armenian question and the declaration of 24 April as Armenian Genocide Day (Doc. B 2-360/85),

Having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc. A 2-33/87),

A. Having regard to: The motion for a resolution by Mr. Jaquet and others on the situation of the Armenian people (Doc. 1-782/81),

The motion for a resolution by Mrs. Duport and Mr. Glinne on behalf of the Socialist Group on a political solution to the Armenian question (Doc. 1-735/83), and

The written question by Mrs. Duport on the Armenian question,[1]

The resolution of the Ministers with responsibility for Cultural Affairs, meeting within the Council of 13 November 1986 on the protection of Europe's architectural heritage,[2] including that outside the territory of the Community,

B. Convinced that recognition of the identity of the Armenian people in Turkey as an ethnic, cultural, linquistic and religious minority follows on from recognition of its own history,

C. Whereas the Armenian side regards these events as planned genocide within the meaning of the 1948 UN Charter,

D. Whereas the Turkish State rejects the charge of genocide as unfounded,

E. Whereas, to date, the Turkish Government, by refusing to recognize the genocide of 1915, continues to deprive the Armenian people of the right to their own history,

F. Whereas the historically proven Armenian genocide has so far neither been the object of political condemnation nor received due compensation,

G. Whereas the recognition of the Armenian genocide by Turkey must therefore be viewed as a profoundly humane act of moral rehabilitation towards the Armenians, which can only bring honour to the Turkish Government;

H. Profoundly regretting and condemning the mindless terrorism by groups of Armenians who were responsible between 1973 and 1986 for several attacks causing death or injury to innocent victims and deplored by an overwhelming majority of the Armenian people,

I. Whereas the obdurate stance of every Turkish Government towards the Armenian question has in no way helped to reduce the tension,

1. Believes that the Armenian question and the question of minorities in Turkey must be resituated within the framework of relations between Turkey and the Community; points out that democracy cannot be solidly implanted in a country unless the latter recognizes and enriches its history with its ethnic and cultural diversity;

2. Believes that the tragic events in 1915-1917 involving the Armenians living in the territory of the Ottoman Empire constitute genocide within the meaning of the convention on the prevention and the punishment of the crime of genocide adopted by the UN General Assembly on 9 December 1948; Recognizes, however, that the present Turkey cannot be held responsible for the tragedy experienced by the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire and stresses that neither political nor legal or material claims against present-day Turkey can be derived from the recognition of this historical event as an act of genocide;

3. Calls on the Council to obtain from the present Turkish Government an acknowledgement of the genocide perpetrated against the Armenians in 1915-1917 and promote the establishment of a political dialogue between Turkey and the representatives of the Armenians;

4. Believes that the refusal by the present Turkish Government to acknowledge the genocide against the Armenian people committed by the Young Turk government, its reluctance to apply the principles of international law to its differences of opinion with Greece, the maintenance of Turkish occupation forces in Cyprus and the denial of the existence of the Kurdish question, together with the lack of true parliamentary democracy and the failure to respect individual and collective freedoms, in particular freedom of religion, in that country are insurmountable obstacles to consideration of the possibility of Turkey's accession to the Community;

5. Conscious of those past misfortunes, supports its desire for the development of a specific identity, the securing of its minority rights and the unrestricted exercise of its people's human and civil rights as defined in the European Convention on Human Rights and its five protocols;

6. Calls for fair treatment of the Armenian minority in Turkey as regards their identity, language, religion, culture and school system, and makes an emphatic plea for improvements in the care of monuments and for the maintenance and conservation of the Armenian religious architectural heritage in Turkey and invites the Community to examine how it could make an appropriate contribution;

7. Calls on Turkey in this connection to abide faithfully by the provisions for the protection of the non-Muslim minorities as stipulated in Articles 37 to 45 of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne which, moreover, was signed by most Member States of the Community;

8. Considers that the protection of monuments and the maintenance and conservation of the Armenian religious architectural heritage in Turkey must be regarded as part of a wider policy designed to preserve the cultural heritage of all civilizations which have developed over the centuries on present-day Turkish territory and, in particular, that of the Christian minorities that formed part of the Ottoman Empire;

9. Calls therefore on the Community to extend the Association Agreement with Turkey to the cultural field so that the remains of Christian or other civilizations such as the ancient classical, Hittite, Ottoman, etc., in that country are preserved and made generally accessible;

10. Expresses its concern at the difficulties currently being experienced by the Armenian community in Iran with respect to the Armenian Language and their own education in accordance with the rules of their own religion;

11. Condemns the violation of individual freedoms committed in the Soviet Union against the Armenian population;

12. Condemns strongly any violence and any form of terrorism carried out by isolated groupings unrepresentative of the Armenion people, and calls for reconciliation between Armenians and Turks;

13. Call on the Community Member States to dedicate a day to the memory of the genocide and crimes againsty humanity perpetrated in the 20th century, specifically against the Armenians and Jews;

14. Commits itself to making a substantial contribution to initiatives to encourage negotiations between the Armenian and Turkish peoples;

15. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission, the European Council, the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation, the EEC/Turkey Association Council and the Turkish, Iranian and Soviet Governments and the UN Secretary General;

[1] OJ No. C 216, 16.8.1984, p. 10.
[2] OJ No. C 320, 13.12.1986, p. 1.

THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION'S RECOGNITION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Issue: The American Bar Association historically protected the Turkish atrocities against Armenians, and more recently has pointed out the fact of the Armenian genocide.

POINTS AND AUTHORITIES

1. On February 19, 1988 the ABA submitted the following to the Senate Judiciary Committee in support of the Genocide Convention implementing legislation: As familiar as are the historic examples of genocide against the Armenians and the Jews, genocide is a contemporary crime of shocking magnitude, and we must prepare ourselves to fight it—* * * What is left to do is, somewhat surprisingly, quite simple: The international crime of genocide must be made part of the criminal law of the United States. In a word, we must formally recognize that which even the few opponents of the treaty must surely concede—that in the United States, as in the world, genocide is a crime.—Statement of J. Griffin and J.F. Murphy, ABA, at pp. 4-5.

2. As attorneys applying the legal concept of genocide, the ABA's position carries far more weight than the authorities cited on the other side of the genocide resolution.

UNITED NATIONS RECOGNITION OF THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Issue: In 1985 and 1986 after years of study, the relevant U.N. Commissions recognized the Armenian genocide as an historical fact.

POINTS AND AUTHORITIES

1. On August 26, 1985, fourteen years of study and debate, the U.N. Subcommission on Human Rights voted 14-1 with 4 abstentions to reaffirm the Armenian genocide as an historical fact. U.N. Doc. E/CN.4/Sub.2/1985 SR. 36 (1985). In 1986, the full U.N. Commission on Human Rights adopted that decision.

2. In a March 1979 meeting of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, the United States publicly supported U.N. recognition of the Armenian genocide by advocating recognition of the Armenian Genocide in a Commission report.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, in accordance with my previous indication of the distinguished majority leader and the distinguished President pro tempore, I now send a cloture motion to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of Rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, hereby move to bring to a close debate on the motion to proceed to the consideration of S.J. Res. 212, a joint resolution designating April 24, 1990, as "National Day of Remembrance of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1923."

Bob Dole, Pete Wilson, Dave Durenberger, Rudy Boschwitz, Dan Coats, James M. Jeffords, John Heinz, Larry Pressler, Nancy Landon Kassebaum, Pete Domenici, Jake Garn, Paul Simon, Donald W. Riegle, Carl Levin, Alan Cranston, Ted Kennedy, Alfonse D'Amato.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the President pro tempore, Senator BYRD.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I will not long detain the Senate and I will not impose on the time of the two leaders.

I simply want to say again that the Council of Ministers in Turkey has acted last year to open the State archives. And do you not think, may I ask my colleagues, we ought to take the time and let the scholars examine those archives? Documents might be put in the RECORD by Senators, but is that sufficient evidence for 100 Senators to base their judgment upon a matter of this sensitivity?

Some have already formed an opinion.

But I say we ought to stop, look, and listen, before we take a fateful step here to offend a friend, to offend an ally. When we wanted the Turks to fight by our side in Korea, the Senate did not offer a resolution. No Senator offered a resolution at that time decrying the massacre of Armenians in the period 1915-23. In World War II, when Turkey refused to get involved in the fighting on the side of Germany, there was no resolution offered here at that time that would offend Turkey.

Why do we offer such a resolution now? Why is it offered at this time? Why do we go out of our way to insult a friendly ally? What good is it going to do? We hear the plea that we should stand up for human rights. The Senate, time and time again, has stood for human rights. If there were a massacre of Armenians going on in Turkey today, I would join in decrying that. But we are raking over old ashes. Whatever happened 75 years ago should not have happened. It was wrong. But what good will this resolution do? The archives are open. They were just opened last year. Why not let people who have the credibility to do so, go and spend the time to search the records and let a judgment be made by trained historians?

Here we are about to make a judgment. None of us—not one—is in a position to point the finger at Turkey and say Turkey is guilty of genocide.

I think we can understand how the people of Turkey today regret what may have happened, but they cannot call it back. It was their grandparents. And why would we want to take an action which is sure to offend them?

Again, I say that the resolution is innocuous on its face to me. My feelings are not hurt. I am not a Turk. I do not live in Turkey. I was not born in Turkey. My parents did not come from there. My grandparents did not come from there. It is not offensive to me.

But I am interested in maintaining good relations with an ally, an ally that we have had before, an ally that we will want again. Why will we go out of our way deliberately and offend that ally? Why not let some time pass so that the records can be studied, and let someone else make a judgment. That judgment ought not be made on this floor. That judgment ought not be made by 100 Senators who know very little about what any of us are really talking about. That is my plea.

Again, I have only the utmost respect for those who support the resolution, especially the Republican leader. I have called him my friend too many times in this body not to mean it. But my respect for him does not mean that I should not stand up also for what I, too, think is right, and oppose what I think will be a mistake.

I hope we will not get the resolution up on the floor. There would be amendments offered. Who knows whether it would be improved or made worse. I think the best thing we can do is take down the resolution after a cloture vote or two and get on with something else and avoid making a mistake that we cannot undo.

It is easy today to talk. It will be less easy tomorrow to correct a mistake. We may heap coals upon the very people that we are feeling sorry for. We can exacerbate the tensions, the animosities, the hot feelings in the Balkans, and between the Turks and others.

Yes, pass this resolution, if you will. It would be greatly pleasing to the fundamentalists in Turkey. But the Turks, most of the Turks, want to be pro-West. They want to be aligned with the West. Let us not drive them into the hands of fundamentalists who want to turn them away from the West. We saw what happened in Iran. Let us not do something now that can create problems for Turkey, and in creating problems for Turkey also create problems for Greece, create problems for Israel, and create problems for those who are seeking to bring about reforms in the Soviet Union.

I thank the two leaders.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I will just take 1 additional minute. I think the Senator from West Virginia has touched on an issue that I think some would say, well, that is a fair statement. Certainly, everything the Senator from West Virginia has said has been a fair statement. But let us just take a look at the Ottoman archives.

THE OTTOMAN ARCHIVES

The Ottoman archives from 1915 to 1923 should contain important documents on the Armenian genocide. Usually, archives are opened 50 years after the events, but the Turkish Government historically resisted opening the 1915-23 archives. Today, Turkey claims it has opened the relevant archives, and some of those opposed to the resolution will argue that the Senate should await analysis of these archives before approving the Armenian genocide resolution. This argument is specious because: First, the evidence of the genocide is already overwhelming; second, Turkey does not even own all the relevant Ottoman records—they are scattered in U.S.S.R., Vatican, Jerusalem, France, and England; third, according to Turkish sources, Government officials have—for 50 years—combed through and destroyed damaging records; fourth, Turkey, in fact, has not opened all the relevant archives; only the cataloged or the records of these agencies which were not involved in the genocide—War Ministry, Interior Ministry, and Committee of Union and Progress; fifth, the Turkish Government has been using the archives argument as a delaying tactic for years.

POINTS AND AUTHORITIES

Nothing in the Turkish-held archives will change whether a 2,100,000 Armenian population went down to less than 100,000 between 1915 and 1923.

Nothing in the archives can change the existing verified government orders, admissions, third-party observances, and other documents which conclusively establish a government ordered program to annihilate the Armenians.

Nothing in the Turkish-held archives will change the overwhelming evidence of the genocide in the United States, French, British, German, Soviet, Jerusalem, Austrian, and Vatican archives. Remember the United States archives contain approximately 25,000 pages of the details including captured German war records on the planning and implementation of the genocide between 1915 and 1918 alone.

The postwar trials and convictions of government leaders for the annihilation of the Armenians are dispositive evidence from the period, and their transcripts are already available. The exhibits submitted in those trials, however, have not been released by Turkey.

Prominent Turkish historian Dr. Mete Tuncay has claimed that "experts have been combing the Ottoman archives for the last 4 years, putting aside documents that do not support state ideology." Hurriyet Weekly, January 9, 1989.

Western historians have also pointed out that the Turkish Government has deleted the incriminating evidence. For example, Christopher Walker Insight, February 27, 1989; and David Rowan, William Hale, and Dr. James of University College Oxford London Times, January 4, 1989.

At the postwar trials, cabinet members admitted burning or ordering the burning of orders to massacre Armenians.

Because of the disarray in which the Ottoman records were compiled, ascertaining deletions will be almost impossible; therefore, credible historians have not visited and put little stock in the archives opened.

The June 23, 1989, Turkish law opening the archives does not open the relevant archives even though the Turkish government claims that all archives are open. Only archives to 1894 are purportedly open. The law—No. 89/14269 only makes previously "classified" documents from 1895 to 1939—available—that is those which government officials have gone over in recent years. More importantly, the "classified" or "cataloged" records do not include the relevant War Ministry, Interior Ministry, Committee of Union and Progress, or post-war trial proceedings records. Resolution opponents have claimed that the "Council of Ministers" files contain all the relevant decisions on Armenians, but the post-war trials found that was not true.

Even the Turkish press recognizes that the government has been using the archives as a public relations delaying tactic:

Endless and empty statements that have been made over the years concerning the opening of the Ottoman archives, during these days when the Armenian resolution is introduced to Congress, is creating a disturbance among those who follow this topic closely. For the last 8 years, every 6 months a statement is made regarding the opening of the Ottoman archives. That these don't come true indicates that Turkey is pursuing a policy of distraction. Thus there has been a new statement regarding the opening of the archives in Turkey. At any rate, only the sections up to 1895 will be opened. For example, the purported massacre of 300,000 Armenians during the Zeytun events (Sasoon), takes place during this timeframe. However, historians interested in this topic are concerned with history after 1913. Once again Turkey will find itself in the position of not keeping its word. Cumhuriyet, Ufuk Guldemir, January 6, 1989.

AUTHORITY TO APPOINT A COMMITTEE TO ESCORT HIS EXCELLENCY VACLAV HAVEL

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the majority leader, Mr. MITCHELL.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President of the Senate be authorized to appoint a committee on the part of the Senate to join with a like committee on the part of the House of Representatives to escort His Excellency Vaclav Havel, the President of the Czechosolovak Socialist Republic, into the House Chamber for the joint meeting tomorrow.

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

TIME TO RESOLVE THE STATUS OF THE WESTERN SAHARA

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I serve as chairman of the Subcommittee on Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs of the Foreign Relations Committee, a region that stretches from Morocco to Bangladesh. During the January recess I traveled in the region: stopping first in Morocco. In recent months our attention has been held by the dramatic developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union; unfortunately there has been no comparable change in the persistent problems of North Africa and the Middle East.

One exceptionally persistent problem is that of the conflict in the Western Sahara. It is a war that has lasted 15 years, has cost the participants thousands of lives, and has consumed several billions of dollars of resources. Much of this toll, both human and material, has fallen on the Kingdom of Morocco, a nation with which we have had our longest continuous treaty relationship, dating back to the administration of President Washington, and which has been our closest and most consistent friend in the Arab world.

As part of my visit to Morocco, through the courtesy of the Moroccan Government which provided an aircraft for this purpose, I spent a day traveling to the Western Sahara, visiting the towns of Layoune and Smarra and seeing much of the territory's terrain from the air. The Western Sahara encompasses some 120,000 square miles on the Atlantic coast of Africa. To the north is Morocco; to the east and south are Algeria and Mauritania. The territory's 186,000 people occupy a land that is almost exclusively desert, even the coastal areas, which lack any natural habitation.

The Western Sahara has one significant natural resource, phosphates, of which it holds a sizable percentage of the Earth's total. Following the 1973 oil shocks, the prices of phosphates—which are a substitute for petroleum-based fertilizers—soared and the territory had a brief moment as a valued strategic asset. Since then, however, phosphate prices have collapsed and the Sahara territory has returned to an economically marginal condition.

From 1860 to 1974, the Western Sahara was governed by Spain which, even in the face of U.N. General Assembly resolutions and a newly created insurgent movement, seemed to be determined to make the territory one of the last colonies in Africa. However, on August 20 of that year, General Francisco Franco, until the end a politician canny enough to sense the political winds, announced a referendum on the territory's future. Because of Morocco's claims to the territory, the General Assembly requested an International Court of Justice ruling on the legal status of the territory. Specifically, the Court was asked whether, prior to colonization, the Spanish Sahara had been part of Morocco—to which it might then be returned—or "terra nullius," a no man's land which might then exercise a valid act of self-determination. In October 1975, the Court ruled that the territory had not been terra nullius and had enjoyed an historical connection with Morocco. However, the Court also stated that these connections were not sufficient to deny the Saharouwi—or Saharan—people the right to vote on their own future.

At this point, Morocco's Monarch King Hassan II announced Morocco would peaceably occupy the territory through a "Green March" of 350,000 unarmed citizens. Spain abandoned its referendum plans and instead, via the treaty of Madrid, turned administrative control of the territory over to Morocco and Mauritania. These two nations then partitioned the territory with Morocco holding two-thirds of the land and more than 80 percent of the scattered population.

The Treaty of Madrid was immediately contested by the Polisario, the indigenous liberation organization founded to oppose Spanish rule. More importantly, Morocco's regional rival Algeria moved to support the Polisario materially.

It happens that I was the U.S. Representative to the United Nations at the time of these events. On that occasion the United States sided with Morocco—and, I suppose, with Mauritania. I later set down in writing my view that we were insufficiently attentive to the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. The General Assembly's clear intent in requesting the opinion, so far as I could assess the matter, had been to press Spain into granting independence to the region in the same matter that almost all African colonies had been granted independence. As I recall, at this time only Djibouti, under French dominion, remained under European rule. Briefly, the Court found that "at the time of Spanish colonization * * * [there were] * * * legal ties of allegiance between the Sultan of Morocco and some of the tribes living in the territory of Western Sahara."

However, as I have stated, the Court did not consider these ties to be of sufficient weight to overcome "the principle of self-determination through the free and genuine expression of the will of the peoples of the Territory. * * *" That is to say, the right of the peoples of Western Sahara to form an independent nation. It was in my personal view at the time that in the case of Western Sahara, and also in the case of East Timor, just then become free of Portuguese rule, the United States was rather too complacent in the face

of actions by neighboring states. However, in the case of Western Sahara—not in the case of East Timor—the neighboring state has shown itself more than generous to the peoples involved, fully capable of protecting them, and fully prepared to abide by the outcome of a United Nations referendum. Is that not a principled position, fully defensible in terms of law and equity? I submit to the Senate that it is such, and the position of Morocco ought to not only be supported by the United States, but pressed by the United States. I would recall that we were actively on Morocco's side in 1975 when the rights of the matter were far from clear. Can we be less supportive in the present moment, given the events of the past decade?

On the military front, the Polisario scored early successes against both occupiers and was, by 1979, able to force Mauritania to abandon its portion of the territory. While Morocco then took over the Mauritanian sector, it found itself very hard-pressed. While the absorption of the Western Sahara enjoyed very broad support in Morocco proper—where it was seen as the restoration of historic Moroccan lands—the costs of the war coupled with a series of military setbacks seemed to threaten Moroccan stability and even the monarchy.

Polisario military success was based on an ability to use fast moving transport—mostly landrovers—to stage hit and run attacks on isolated Moroccan outposts. In response to this latter day cavalry attack, Morocco resorted to an even more ancient military device—it built a wall. Or rather a series of walls.

The first earthen wall, or berm, protected the coastal city of Layoune, the administrative capital of the territory and its principal population center. Subsequent walls encompassed other population centers and even larger chunks of real estate. Today the berm runs near the other borders of the territory. While not impenetrable, the wall now effectively keeps the conflict far from any Shararan population centers or economic assets. During my visit to Layoune and the interior town of Smarra, I saw no evidence of the war or, indeed, any particular anxiety about the war.

Estimates of the cost of the war to Morocco range from the Government's claim of $100,000 a day to outside estimates of $1,000,000 a day. Further, these efforts have been accompanied by vast expenditures on economic and social development activities. During my day-long visit, I saw new schools, hospitals, employment training centers, housing, sports facilities, and so on. All such services were, I am told, provided free to the Saharouwi people in the town. The Saharouwis may well be the best provided for populace in all Africa.

Almost a decade ago in 1981, King Hassan II agreed to permit a U.N. supervised referendum on the future of the Sahara. For a number of years, disputes over the nature of the referendum—the wording of the question and the all-important issue of who gets to vote—delayed the holding of a ballot.

These questions have now been resolved. The voters will constitute those Saharouwis registered in the 1974 Spanish census, or about 70,000 people who are still living. Both the enumerated who live in the territory and in the Tindouf—Algeria—refugee camps will be eligible to vote. In total, we might assume an actual electorate of 30,000 to 40,000, with a decision made by 15,000 to 20,000.

While the verification of individuals as those listed in the Spanish census is critical, the overall conduct of this election should not be a costly or complex affair. It has not yet occurred because the U.N. Secretary General has not had the resources to conduct the vote.

One reason for the shortfall of U.N. resources is the extraordinary press of peacekeeping activities—Namibia, Iran-Iraq, Afghanistan. Another is the repeated failure of one country—the United States—to pay its assessed obligations.

For whatever reason, the Sahara War has dragged on too long. It is time to help an old and loyal friend by facilitating an internationally recognized act of self-determination in the Sahara territory.

I also think the international community would be well served by the incorporation of the Western Sahara into Morocco. The last thing we need—the last thing Africa needs—is another impoverished microstate of 180,000. However, this is a decision that is to be made by the Saharouwi people. Morocco has agreed to a vote; the Polisario have agreed to a vote; Algeria has agreed to a vote. Now is the time to hold the referendum on the future of the Sahara and put this issue behind us. Morocco needs to move on and the international community has more pressing challenges, and greater opportunities, with which it must deal.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

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

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

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

WAIVER OF CERTAIN TRADE PROVISIONS WITH RESPECT TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM-96

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

To the Congress of the United States:

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

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

GEORGE BUSH.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 20, 1990.*

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-2340. A communication from the Inspector General of the Department of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, a military whistleblower protection report; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-2341. A communication from the Secretary of State, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to authorize assistance for Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-2342. A communication from the Director of the National Science Foundation, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering"; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The following petitions and memorials were laid before the Senate and were referred or ordered to lie on the table as indicated:

POM-400. A resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Municipal Police Employees' Retirement System, Baton Rouge, LA, urging Congress not to further

mandate Medicare, Social Security, and related programs for State and local employees; to the Committee on Finance.

POM-401. A resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Municipal Police Employees' Retirement System, Baton Rouge, LA, urging Congress not to mandate an excise tax on gain from the sale of assets held by public retirement plans for State and local public employees; to the Committee on Finance.

POM-402. A resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Municipal Police Employees' Retirement System, Baton Rouge, LA, urging Congress to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 relating to exemptions from the early withdrawal tax on pension distributions; to the Committee on Finance.

POM-403. A resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Louisiana School Employees' Retirement System, urging Congress not to further mandate Medicare, Social Security, and related programs for State and local public employees; to the Committee on Finance.

POM-404. A resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Louisiana School Employees' Retirement System, urging Congress to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to taxation of employees' annuities in cases where employee contributions are recoverable in 1 year; to the Committee on Finance.

POM-405. A resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Louisiana School Employees' Retirement System, urging Congress not to mandate an excise tax on gain from the sale of assets held by public retirement plans for State and local public employees; to the Committee on Finance.

POM-406. A resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Municipal Police Employees' Retirement System, Baton Rouge, LA, urging Congress not to further mandate public employees retirement income security protection or security and exchange rules that would affect public plans as institutional investors; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

POM-407. A resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees of the Louisiana School Employees' Retirement System, urging Congress not to further mandate public employees retirement income security protection or security and exchange rules that would affect public plans as institutional investors; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. MOYNIHAN:

S. 2129. A bill to suspend the duty on the personal effects and equipment of participants in the 1993 World University Games; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. WIRTH:

S. 2130. A bill to regulate the dumping of waste by the Rail Passenger Service Corp.; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. HEINZ:

S. 2131. A bill to temporarily suspend the duty on karate pants and belts; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. JOHNSTON:

S. 2132. A bill to suspend for a 3-year period the duty on diamino imid sp; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 2133. A bill to suspend for a 3-year period the duty on c-amines; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 2134. A bill to suspend for a 3-year period the duty on 2-(4-aminophenyl)-6-methylbenzothiazole-7-suflonic acid; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 2135. A bill to suspend for a 3-year period the duty on sethoxydim; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 2136. A bill to suspend for a 3-year period the duty on 3-ethylamino-p-cresol; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 2137. A bill to suspend for a 3-year period the duty on 6-amino-1-naphthol-3-sulflonic acid; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 2138. A bill to suspend for a 3-year period the duty on B-naphthol; to the Committee on Finance.

S. 2139. A bill to suspend for a 3-year period the duty on rosachloride lumps; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. MITCHELL:

S. 2140. A bill to amend provisions of law affecting the use of certain distilled spirits in foreign trade zones; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. DOLE:

S. 2141. A bill to temporarily increase the duty on ethyl tertiary butyl ether; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. ROCKEFELLER:

S. 2142. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on metallurgical fluorospar; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. DOMENICI:

S. 2143. A bill to establish the Organ Mountains National Conservation Area in the State of New Mexico and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

By Mr. BAUCUS (for himself and Mr. CHAFEE):

S. 2144. A bill to provide for the issuance of super savings bonds to increase national savings and reduce Federal debt owed to foreign creditors; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. RIEGLE (for himself and Mr. LEVIN):

S. 2145. A bill to designate the Department of Veterans Affairs medical center in Saginaw, MI, as the "Aleda E. Lutz Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center"; to the Committee on Veterans Affairs.

By Mr. DASCHLE (for himself, Mr. CONRAD, and Mr. BAUCUS):

S. 2146. A bill to clarify the authority of the Small Business Administration to make disaster assistance loans to small businesses in case of disasters determined by the Secretary of Agriculture; to the Committee on Small Business.

By Mr. BOREN (for himself and Mr. COCHRAN):

S. 2147. A bill to provide for certain agricultural trade programs and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

By Mr. McCONNELL (for himself and Mr. BOND):

S. 2148. A bill to deny tax-exempt status to certain politically active organizations that are linked to candidates of Federal office, to require that contributions to separate political organizations that are linked to such candidates be treated as direct contributions to the candidate, to restrict "bundling" practices, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

By Mr. BIDEN (for himself, Mr. ROTH, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. COATS, Mr. KERRY, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. LEVIN, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. SARBANES, and Mr. WILSON):

S.J. Res. 257. Joint resolution to designate March 10, 1990, as "Harriet Tubman Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BRADLEY (for himself, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. BUMPERS, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. DODD, Mr. DIXON, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. SASSER, Mr. KERRY, Mr. PELL, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. MITCHELL, Mr. GLENN, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. EXON, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. FOWLER, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. GORE, Mr. WIRTH, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. BRYAN, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. MCCLURE, Mr. GORTON, Mr. BURNS, Mr. SPECTER, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. WILSON, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. SYMMS, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. WARNER, Mr. COATS, Mr. HATCH, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. HUMPHREY, and Mr. BOSCHWITZ):

S.J. Res. 258. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the last Friday of April 1990 as "National Arbor Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SUBMISSION OF CONCURRENT AND SENATE RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. LUGAR (for himself, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. BOND, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. COATS, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. DOLE, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. GORTON, Mr. MCCLURE, Mr. BOSCHWITZ, Mr. HEINZ, Mr. SPECTER, Mr. WILSON, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mrs. KASSEBAUM, Mr. WARNER, Mr. GARN, Mr. HATCH, Mr. SYMMS, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. ARMSTRONG, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. BRADLEY, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. PELL, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. HEFLIN, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. GLENN, Mr. DODD, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. GORE, Mr. SIMON, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. KERRY, Mr. NUNN, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. ROBB, and Mr. LIEBERMAN):

S. Res. 245. Resolution designating National Employee Health and Fitness Day; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. MOYNIHAN:

S. 2129. A bill to suspend the duty on the personal effects and equipment of participants in the 1993 World University Games; to the Committee on Finance.

SUSPENSION OF DUTY ON PERSONAL EFFECTS AND EQUIPMENT OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE 1993 WORLD UNIVERSITY GAMES

● Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, in the summer of 1993 some 7,000 athletes from most every nation in the

world will arrive in Buffalo for the World University Games. Buffalo was chosen over a dozen American cities to compete with cities in other nations for the honor of hosting the games. Last June Buffalo was awarded this honor. The games have not been held in the United States before, so not many of us know of their stature in the world of international athletics. It is considerable.

I rise to introduce a bill to suspend the duty on the personal effects and equipment of the participants in the 1993 games. This minor change in our tariff schedule would greatly facilitate the arrival of these athletes, and would help the financial situation of those who are making great sacrifices to attend. The same provision has been made for participants in the Los Angeles Olympics and the Goodwill Games.

Mr. President, such a suspension of the applicable duties for this special event would be an appropriate step for us to take. The games will be held in Buffalo, but they are in a very real sense a national event, and one the Federal Government should support. We in Congress passed a resolution affirming our support last year. Let us now take this opportunity to begin to make the games the success they should certainly be.●

By Mr. WIRTH:

S. 2130. A bill to regulate the dumping of waste by the Rail Passenger Service Corp.; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

REGULATION OF DUMPING BY THE RAIL PASSENGER SERVICE CORPORATION

Mr. WIRTH. Mr. President, I have been a longtime supporter of Amtrak and many times have enjoyed riding its trains. But its current practice of disposing human waste directly onto the tracks just cannot be tolerated any longer. Amtrak's response to this problem has been insufficient and inconsistent. We in Colorado try very hard to keep our mountains, canyons, roads, and valleys clean. Amtrak needs to take this matter seriously and they have not. Clearly, congressional action is required.

In response to this problem, today I am introducing legislation to prohibit Amtrak's rather odious practice of dumping untreated human waste from its trains directly onto its rail tracks and stations.

Prior to 1971, all railroads disposed of untreated human waste directly on the railroad right-of-way. However, after a study by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare [HEW], the agency issued regulations under the Public Health Service Act requiring freight and passenger railroads to retrofit their trains to prevent the dumping of waste onto the track bed.

However, in 1976, Congress granted Amtrak an exemption from this requirement and directed that the issue be studied further. HEW reported back that the potential risk of disease was minimal and that given the low amount of passenger train traffic, at the time, and the high cost of retrofitting disposal equipment on cars, Amtrak should remain exempted from the Public Health Service Act. Since then, it has been Amtrak's policy to continue the dumping of untreated human waste directly from its cars, but only in the countryside and provided that trains were traveling faster than 25 miles per hour.

However, Amtrak's policy has not been its practice. In 1987, I contacted Amtrak on behalf of Glenwood Springs, a city in my State. Trains there have been discharging untreated human waste while in the city limits, and even in the local train station. In another instance, 6 months later, railroad workers were sprayed by waste from a passing train. Other complaints were common.

Amtrak assured me that they were taking steps to address this problem and that waste would not be dumped until trains were traveling faster than 35 miles per hour. In addition, onboard personnel were to be instructed not to dispose of waste while within a station, urban, or heavily populated area, or in any areas where crews are working on the right-of-way.

Unfortunately, Mr. President, Amtrak's words appear to be just that: words. Just this past December, a Denver television station filmed a passenger train dumping raw sewage onto the tracks while at a standstill in the Glenwood Springs train station. In addition, it is common to observe trains dumping waste while cruising at speeds less than 35 miles per hour with urban areas.

Mr. President, Amtrak travels through Glenwood Canyon, along the Colorado River. This area is among the most beautiful and scenic in the State. When it rains, the sewage is washed from the tracks and into the waterway. Mr. President, it is time to put a stop to this disgusting and dangerous practice.

The bill I am introducing today would repeal Amtrak's exemption from the Public Health Service Act, and permit the disposal of human waste only at specifically approved facilities. This provision would take effect in 3 years, so that Amtrak has the necessary time to retrofit its cars with appropriate disposal equipment. In addition, the agency would be permitted to levy a service charge, if it so chooses, on its passengers to help pay for compliance with this act.

In the interim, upon enactment of the bill, the Secretary of Transportation would be required to issue regulations prohibiting the dumping of human waste from Amtrak trains while traveling less than 35 miles per hour, within an urban area or within a passenger or freight facility. As an incentive, the Secretary would be authorized to assess civil penalties for noncompliance, up to $25,000 per infraction. This section would give immediate relief to the many municipalities and States which are the victims of Amtrak's current policy.

Mr. President, if airplanes and buses can have sewage tanks, why cannot trains? It is time to put a stop to the careless dumping of sewage along our train tracks and in train stations. Amtrak must have a policy of sensitivity for the environment and public health.

I wish to specially thank residents of Glenwood Springs, Bob Boyle, Mark Welsh, and Fred Clark, as well as the city attorney David Broadwell and the city council of Glenwood Springs for bringing this noxious problem to my attention.

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

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

S. 2130

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

SECTION 1. REPEAL OF PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT EXEMPTION.

(a) REPEAL.—Section 306(i) of the Rail Passenger Service Act (45 U.S.C. 546(i)) is repealed.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—Subsection (a) shall take effect 3 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 2. DISCHARGE OF WASTES.

Title VIII of the Rail Passenger Service Act is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

"SEC. 810. DISCHARGE OF WASTES.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—The corporation shall not discharge human wastes, garbage, waste water, or other polluting materials from trains, except at servicing areas approved by the Commissioner of Food and Drugs.

"(b) SERVICE CHARGE.—The corporation may add to all its fares for passenger transportation throughout its system a service charge in the amount necessary to enable aggregate revenues from such service charge to cover the continuing costs to the corporation of—

"(1) complying with subsection (a), including research and development, administrative, construction, and maintenance costs; and

"(2) with respect to the period before the effective date stated in subsection (d), conducting activities necessary to ensure the ability to comply with subsection (a) by the effective date stated in subsection (d).

Revenues from the service charge shall be used exclusively for the compliance costs and activities described in paragraphs (1) and (2).

"(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—Subsection (a) shall take effect 3 years after the date of enactment of this section.".

SEC. 3. DISCHARGES PROHIBITED.

(a) REGULATIONS.—Prior to the expiration of the 90 day period following the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of Transportation shall issue such regulations as may be necessary to prohibit the discharge of human waste, garbage, waste water, or other polluting materials from trains—

(1) While such trains are traveling in an urban area as defined by the Secretary of Transportation;

(2) While such trains are outside of an urban area and traveling at a speed under 35 miles per hour; and

(3) While such trains are within a passenger or freight facility.

(b) CIVIL PENALTY.—The Secretary of Transportation is authorized to assess a civil penalty, in an amount not to exceed $25,000, against the Rail Passenger Service Corporation for violating a provision of this section or section 810(a) of the Rail Passenger Service Act or of any amendment made by this Act.

(c) REIMBURSEMENTS.—Such regulations shall further require the Rail Passenger Service Corporation to reimburse employees and passengers of a railroad for costs incurred as a result of any such discharge in violation of this Act or any regulations pursuant thereto. Such regulations shall further require the Corporation to reimburse any individual for damages or other costs incurred for medical or other similar reasons resulting from contact with such discharged material.

(d) TERMINATION DATE.—On and after the date subsection (a) of section 1 and section 810(a) of the Rail Passenger Service Act take effect, the provisions of subsections (a) and (b) of this section shall be of no effect.

By Mr. MITCHELL:

S. 2140. A bill to amend provisions of law affecting the use of certain distilled spirits in foreign trade; to the Committee on Finance.

USE OF CERTAIN DISTILLED SPIRITS IN FOREIGN TRADE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I am pleased to introduce a technical amendment to section 3 of the Foreign-Trade Zones Act to clarify the type of products which are permitted to be processed under the FTZ rules.

The fifth proviso of section 81(c) of the Foreign-Trade Zones Act has for a number of years been a problem for concerns that wish to use ethyl alcohol for the production of articles in an FTZ. This proviso: First, prevents operations in a zone which would be subject to certain provisions of the Internal Revenue Code if performed in the Customs territory; and second, prevents operations involving the manufacture of articles as defined in 26 U.S.C. 5002(14). That section defines articles "to mean any substance in the manufacture of which denatured distilled spirits are used."

In 1988 the fifth proviso was amended by the enactment of 19 U.S.C. 81(c) which states that an article—defined above—may be manufactured or produced from domestic denatured distilled spirits, and articles thereof, in a zone. The word domestic was inserted into this legislative change, and not objected to, because the party requesting the change believed it was using domestic denatured domestic spirits, since it purchased the material from firms in the United States. However, it has now come to light that most of the domestic suppliers import the alcohol and denature it and often also distill it in the United States. This has raised the issue of whether such merchandise is domestic or not within the meaning of the act. This question is compounded by the question of whether words such as domestic, article, et cetera should be interpreted using the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms [ATF] or Customs [FTZ] meanings. Consequently there is need for a further technical amendment.

My amendment would eliminate the issue of whether alcohol used in a FTZ is domestic. The amendment substitutes for "domestic denatured distilled spirits" the expression "denatured distilled spirits which have been withdrawn free of tax from a distilled spirits plant." In addition a new section 81(c) has been added for the purpose of making clear that a person using denatured distilled spirits in a zone as provided for by a proposed subsection (c) will also be eligible for drawback of the tax under 26 U.S.C. 5131(a). The language used in this proposed section 81(e) follows the language in 26 U.S.C. 5131(a). Subsection (c) of the proposed amendment in 26 U.S.C. 5131(a). Subsection (c) of the proposed amendment make it possible to conduct the desired activity in the zone. It will allow the use in a FTX of denatured distilled spirits to manufacture or produce any article other than fuel or alcoholic beverages. In addition, subsection (e) of this amendment will allow drawback on items made from denatured distilled spirits which are produced in a zone and which are already eligible for drawbacks under the current law.

I understand the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, the Treasury Department, and the Foreign Trade Zones Board are aware of the need to amend current law and have no objection to this amendment. It should be viewed as a revenue neutral, noncontroversial matter.

I ask unanimous consent that the bill be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

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

S. 2140

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That subsection (c) of section 3 of the Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 999, chapter 590; 19 U.S.C. 81c(c)) is amended—

(1) by striking out "domestic" before "denatured distilled spirits,"

(2) by inserting "which have been withdrawn free of tax from a distilled spirits plant (within the meaning of section 5002(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986)" after "distilled spirits",

(3) by striking out "Notwithstanding" and inserting in lieu thereof "(1) Notwithstanding" and inserting in lieu thereof "(1) Notwithstanding",

(4) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(2) Notwithstanding the provisions of the fifth proviso of subsection (a), distilled spirits which have been removed from a distilled spirits which plant (as defined in section 5002(a)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) upon payment or determination of tax may be used in the manufacture of production of medicines, medicinal preparation, food products, flavors, or flavoring extracts, which are unfit for beverage purposes, in a zone. Such products will be eligible for drawback under the internal revenue laws under the same conditions applicable to similar manufacturing or production operations occurring in customs territory.".

By Mr. DOLE:

S. 2141. A bill to temporarily increase the duty on ethyl tertiary butyl ether; to the Committee on Finance.

INCREASE IN DUTY ON ETHYL TERTIARY BUTYL ETHER

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, today I am introducing legislation to impose a tariff on imported ETBE which will offset the benefit of the 60-cent-per-gallon blender's credit.

ETBE is not currently manufactured outside of the United States. However, now that ETBE has been designated for eligibility under the blender's credit, concern has been raised that cheap European wine ethanol will be converted to ETBE in order to enter the United States market duty free.

The legislation I am introducing today will impose a 60-cent-per-gallon tariff on imported ETBE which is equal to the existing tariff on imported ethanol. Importers of ETBE for fuel use will recover the full amount of this tariff in the form of a tax credit when the ETBE is mixed with gasoline. Thus, the tariff will not cost a potential foreign manufacturer anything; it will merely prevent these manufacturers from taking advantage of a new tax incentive designed to encourage domestic production.

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

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

S. 2141

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

SECTION 1. ETHYL TERTIARY BUTYL ETHER.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter I of chapter 99 of the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States (19 U.S.C. 3007) is amended by inserting in numerical sequence the following new heading:

"9901.00.52	Ethyl tertiary butyl ether (provided for in subheading 2909.19.10) and any mixture containing ethyl tertiary butyl ether	15.85¢/ liter.	No change (A, E, IL) 12.6¢/ liter (CA).	15.85¢/ liter.	On or before 12/31/ 92".

(b) STAGED RATE REDUCTION.—Any staged rate reduction of a rate of duty set forth in heading 9901.00.50 of the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States that was proclaimed by the President before the date of enactment of this Act and would otherwise take effect after the date of enactment of this Act shall also apply to the corresponding rates of duty set forth in subheading 9901.00.52 of such Schedule.

SEC. 2. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendment made by this Act shall apply with respect to articles entered, or withdrawn from warehouse for consumption, on or after the date that is 15 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

By Mr. ROCKEFELLER:

S. 2142. A bill to suspend temporarily the duty on metallurgical fluorspar; to the Committee on Finance.

SUSPENSION OF DUTY ON METALLURGICAL FLUORSPAR

● Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, today I am introducing a bill to suspend temporarily the duty on metallurgical fluorspar. This is a product used almost exclusively by the steel industry.

The duty on metallurgical fluorspar was changed in 1980 from $7.50 per short ton to an ad valorem rate of 13.5 percent in order to help stimulate the domestic industry. This has not happened, and imports of metallurgical fluorspar far exceed domestic production. The Bureau of Mines has reported that reserves of fluorspar in the United States are insufficient to meet domestic demand over the next decade.

Because adequate supplies of domestic metallurgical fluorspar are not available, reliance on foreign fluorspar is necessary. Maintaining the duty on this project is now unnecessary and serves only to harm the domestic steel industry.●

By Mr. DOMENICI:

S. 2143. A bill to establish the Organ Mountains National Conservation Area in the State of New Mexico, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

ORGAN MOUNTAINS NATIONAL CONSERVATION AREA ESTABLISHMENT ACT

● Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I rise today to introduce legislation that will allow the people of southern New Mexico to continue to enjoy the Organ Mountains through the creation of the Organ Mountains National Conservation Area [NCA].

The jagged Organ Mountains loom over the city of Las Cruces in southern New Mexico. Many of the estimated 800,000 residents of Las Cruces and nearby El Paso, TX, have enjoyed the natural and recreational resources of the Organ Mountains and the adjacent Franklin Mountains. Currently, approximately 150,000 people visit these areas each year to camp, hike, and picnic and to observe its rich diversity of wildlife, vegetation, and archaeological resources.

Las Cruces is the 10th fastest growing urban area in the United States, and as the population of the area has grown, the use of the Organ and Franklin Mountains has increased. The Organ Mountains NCA would permit the public to continue to use and enjoy Organ and Franklin Mountains by enhancing the protection and management of the area.

The Organ Mountains NCA, which would be managed by the Bureau of Land Management [BLM], would encompass 58,000 acres in the Organ and Franklin Mountains, 51,000 acres of these lands are already in Federal ownership. Some of these lands are White Sands Missile Range lands, and BLM would enter into a management agreement with the Department of Defense for these lands. The 3,400 acres of private lands within the NCA would be acquired on a willing seller basis only. Acquisition costs are estimated to run $3 to $3.5 million. Grazing, hunting, trapping, and mineral leasing would be permitted. No hardrock mining would be allowed.

The NCA idea developed as the New Mexico congressional delegation was deliberating on proposed BLM wilderness areas in New Mexico. BLM has proposed designating a portion of the Organ Mountains as wilderness. The delegation felt that, although a wilderness area should be created in the Organ Mountains, an NCA also should be created to enhance the protection and management of additional lands in the Organ and Franklin Mountains.

No wilderness would be designated under this bill. Such a designation would await the New Mexico BLM wilderness bill, which the delegation continues to work on.

This legislation follows the enactment in 1988 of legislation that I authored that exchanged BLM land at "A" Mountain in Las Cruces for land owned by New Mexico State University at Aguirre Springs in the Organ Mountains. One of the stated purposes of this legislation was to consolidate BLM lands in the Organ Mountains for the eventual creation of the Organ Mountains NCA.

The Organ Mountains NCA will be the second NCA in New Mexico. In 1987, I authored the legislation that created El Malpais National Conservation Area near Grants. The proposed Organ Mountains NCA is based on El Malpais NCA, and just as thousands have already enjoyed the natural and recreational resources of El Malpais, many people would benefit from the creation of the Organ Mountains NCA.

Mr. President, this legislation would protect a high-quality area for the people of southern New Mexico and southwestern Texas at a relatively low cost. I look forward to quick action by the Senate on this bill.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the bill be printed in the RECORD immediately following my remarks.

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

S. 2143

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Organ Mountains National Conservation Area Establishment Act".

SEC. 2. ORGAN MOUNTAINS NATIONAL CONSERVATION AREA.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—In order to improve, conserve, and protect for the benefit and enjoyment of future generations that area in southern New Mexico containing the Aguirre Springs Recreation Area, Dripping Springs, La Cueva, and other unique and nationally important ecological, cultural, scenic, scientific, and recreational resources of the public lands in the Organ and Franklin Mountains, there is hereby established the Organ Mountains National Conservation Area (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "conservation area"). The conservation area shall consist of approximately 58,560 acres, as generally depicted on a map entitled "Organ Mountains National Conservation Area" and dated February 1989.

(b) MAP AND LEGAL DESCRIPTION.—As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary of the Interior (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Secretary"(shall file a map and legal description of the conservation area with the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate and the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives. Such map and legal description shall have the same force and effect as if included in this Act, except that the Secretary may correct clerical and typographical errors in such legal description. The map and legal description shall be on file and available for public inspection in the office of the New Mexico State Director of the Bureau of Land Management, Department of the Interior.

SEC. 3. MANAGEMENT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary, acting through the Director of the Bureau of Land Management, shall manage the conservation area to improve, conserve, and protect the resources mentioned in section 2 in accordance with this Act, the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976, and other applicable provisions of law, including those provisions relating to grazing on public lands.

(b) HUNTING AND TRAPPING.—The Secretary shall permit hunting and trapping within the conservation area in accordance with applicable laws and regulations of the

United States and the State of New Mexico except that the Secretary, after consulation with the New Mexico Department of Game and Fish, may issue regulations designating zones where, and establishing periods, when no hunting or trapping shall be permitted for reasons of public safety, administration, or public use and enjoyment.

(c) GRAZING.—Within the conservation area, the grazing of livestock shall be permitted to continue pursuant to applicable Federal law, including this Act, and subject to such reasonable regulations, policies, and practices as the Secretary deems necessary.

(d) WITHDRAWAL.—Subject to valid existing rights, the lands within the conservation area are withdrawn from the operation of the general mining laws.

SEC. 4. ACQUISITIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Within the conservation area, the Secretary is authorized to acquire from a willing landowner lands and interests in lands by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, exchange, or transfer and may acquire lands from any other Federal agency. Lands or interests therein owned by the State of New Mexico or a political subdivision thereof may be acquired under this section only by exchange. It is the sense of Congress that the Secretary should complete the acquisition of all surface and non-Federal subsurface interests underlying the conservation area no later than 4 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

(b) EXCHANGE.—All exchanges pursuant to this Act shall be made in a manner consistent with applicable provisions of law, including this Act and shall be on the basis of equal value, except that if the parties to an exchange and the Secretary determines it is in the public interest, such exchange may be made for other than equal value. Either party to an exchange under subsection (a) may pay or accept cash in order to equalize the value of the property exchanged.

SEC. 5. MANAGEMENT PLAN.

The Organ Mountains Coordinated Resource Management Plan, April 1989, Bureau of Land Management, shall be the management plan governing uses within the conservation area. Such plan may be revised or amended at the discretion of the Secretary. The plan shall be revealed with full public participation within 5 years after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 6. COOPERATIVE MANAGEMENT.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Department of the Army and the Department of the Interior shall enter into a cooperative agreement relating to the joint use, management, and protection of scenic, cultural, and natural values within the conservation area. The agreement shall provide for public recreation access to that portion of Fort Bliss lying west of the topographic crest of the Organ Mountains and for military use with no public access to those Bureau of Land Management-administered lands lying east of the topographic crest of the Organ Mountains and west of Fort Bliss.

(b) MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITY.—Management of those lands within the conservation area west of the topographic crest of the Organ Mountains shall be the responsibility of the Secretary of the Interior. Management of those lands within the conservation area lying east of the topographic crest of the Organ Mountains and west of Fort Bliss shall be the responsibility of the Secretary of the Army.

(c) REMOVAL OF UNEXPLODED ORDINANCE.—Prior to implementation of this agreement of the Army shall, through record search and on-site investigation, as necessary, identify and remove potentially dangerous unexploded ordinance from within the conservation area.

(d) COMPLETION DATE.—The cooperative agreement shall be completed within the 2-year period beginning on the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 7. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

There is authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.●

By Mr. BAUCUS (for himself and Mr. CHAFEE):

S. 2144. A bill to provide for the issuance of super savings bonds to increase national savings and reduce Federal debt owned to foreign creditors; to the Committee on Finance.

SUPER SAVINGS BOND ACT

● Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, as a chairman of the Congressional Competitiveness Caucus, I rise today to introduce legislation that I hope will encourage Americans to increase their savings. This legislation, the Super Savings Bond Act, is also sponsored by Senator CHAFEE, another chairman of the caucus.

Our legislation requires Treasury to issue Super Savings Bonds [SSB's]. These bonds would be sold through payroll deduction plans in denominations of from $50 to $500. Each purchaser would be limited to $500 in face value per month. The bonds would have a maturity of 12 years and could be redeemed at any time after 5 years from the date issued.

SSB's would yield 97 percent of the 5-year Treasury bond rate. This is a substantial increase over the current savings bond rate.

The objective of this legislation is to encourage all workers to increase their savings rate. Hopefully, the payroll deduction plan will make the difficult task of saving easier.

America's position in the economic world has always been that of the innovator, the pioneer, the leader. Countries like Japan and West Germany built their economies on the blueprints of the powerful United States economic experiment. But as we begin the 1990's, America's economic superiority is slipping from its weakening grasp: imports are increasing and our share of the world market in high technology, manufactured products is falling. We have even reached the point where Japan's dominance of the world semiconductor market could lead to a situation in which the U.S. defense industry must purchase necessary computer chips from foreign countries.

In the battle to maintain our economic competitiveness, many fanciful explanations have surfaced; some dismiss the current lull as a simple lapse in American confidence, and others suggest that the Japanese are waging a secret trade war. Such extreme visions might have an indirect role in the decline of American competitiveness, but direct causes can be pinpointed.

The low savings rate is one of these causes. National savings is directly related to national investment and innovation. That means that a high savings rate is crucial to our international competitiveness.

Unfortunately we may be taking our historical economic success for granted. Backed by public policy and private attitude, the American people have been taking their money out of savings to support their consumer lifestyles. From 1960 to 1980 the United States enjoyed an average national savings rate of 7.4 percent. As the 1980's have passed, this rate has drastically declined and it hit a low of 1.7 percent in 1986.

Some contend that historical trends and economic indicators predict the 1980's to be a time of low private savings worldwide. But comparisons with other countries prove otherwise. Canada, a perennial indicator of the U.S. economy because of its nearly identical economic situation, has experiened an increase in its private savings rate from a steady 7 percent in the 1970's to about 12 percent in the 1980's, almost double that of the U.S. rate.

Canada is not the only country that has a higher savings rate than the United States. Our rate is less than half that of Great Britain, Italy, France, and most other European countries.

The low savings situation can be attributed partially to the Federal Government's inability to pay for its expenditures. Because this public component of national savings is negative, it directly lowers the entire national savings rate. But the deficit accounts for only about half of the total loss in savings. Declines in private savings rates are responsible for the rest.

Since 1960, the private savings rate has steadily dropped from an average of 7.2 percent for the 1960's to a 4.3-percent average in the 1980's. Dramatic declines in household savings account for the total falls in private savings rates. In fact, if adjustments are made for inflation and pension benefits, the personal savings rate has been negative for the last 10 years.

Though the rate has dropped, direct negative effects are hard to recognize. Plants continue to produce, and consumers continue to consume as foreign investors provide an artificial savings pool in place of the one once funded by our own savings. Americans are currently borrowing and investing from this pool, but we are not saving enough to pay for our consumption and investment. And our reliance on foreign investors to supply the missing funds marks the United States as a debtor nation.

Just like any household, this country cannot sustain a permanent debt. We cannot continue to live with high interest rates, increasing foreign investment, and the trade deficit necessary to cover a negative current accounts balance. We must ask ourselves, "how long can the United States borrow before the creditors decide that investment is too risky?" Perhaps never, but a strong economy cannot be built on the tenuous whims of another nation.

We must act. Now. We must increase our savings rate. Raising the savings rate is a necessary change that will give the country control of a strong and reliable economic foundation.

It is with this goal of lifting the United States back to its economic superiority that Senator CHAFEE and I, as chairmen of the Congressional Competitiveness Caucus, are introducing the Super Savings Bond Act. A companion bill has been introduced in the House by Representatives KAPTUR and SCHNEIDER, the House chairs of the caucus.

Our bill would create Super Savings Bonds that are purchased through payroll deductions. The bonds would only be available through payroll deductions so that they will lead to new savings, rather than to shuffling savings between different savings vehicles.

The bonds would be U.S. Government bonds and would be issued in denominations of $50 to $500. They would be issued at 50 percent of face value and would have a maturity of 12 years. An investor could purchase up to a face value of $500 in bonds each month.

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

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

S. 2144

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

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be referred to as the "Super Savings Bond Act".

SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSES.

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—

(1) United States net national saving rates have declined from over 7 percent of national income during the 1970s to barely 3 percent of national income in 1989;

(2) the decline in the national rate of saving has forced the United States to borrow massively from foreign creditors, with over $500,000,000,000 borrowed in the years 1985 through 1988 alone;

(3) the outstanding amount of Federal Government borrowing from foreign creditors exceeded $350,000,000,000 as of 1988;

(4) in the years 1985 through 1988, over 40 percent of net national investment in the United States was financed by borrowing from foreign creditors;

(5) the United States economy has been attracting the capital and investment it needs from abroad by selling its assets cheaply, including land, corporations, and securities, through the inducement of an undervalued dollar which makes these assets inexpensive in foreign currency;

(6) net savings rates in the United States are less than ¼ of the net savings rates in Japan, and less than ½ of the net savings rates in the United Kingdom and Canada and in Italy, France, and most other European countries;

(7) current United States savings are not producing enough investment to foster a sound domestic economy; and

(8) a continuation of America's low savings rate will contribute to a lowered standard of living for the average American.

(b) PURPOSES.—The purposes of this Act are—

(1) to increase national savings;

(2) to provide an incentive to the American public to increase savings through regular payroll deductions;

(3) to reduce the amount of foreign credit which has been necessary in recent years to finance the Federal deficit;

(4) to provide sufficient capital for investment in America's future;

(5) to assist in restoring national saving rates from today's level of about 3 percent of national income to the 1970s' average of over 7 percent of national income; and

(6) to assist United States leaders in promoting the purchase of super saving bonds to help strengthen the United States economy.

SEC. 3. SUPER SAVINGS BONDS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter I of chapter 31 of title 31, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following section:

"§ 3114. Super savings bonds.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of the Treasury shall—

"(1) issue super savings bonds of the United States Government, and

"(2) buy, redeem, and make refunds of such bonds under section 3111 of this title.

"(b) REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO ISSUANCE AND SALE.—

"(1) SPECIFICATIONS.—Super savings bonds shall be issued under this section—

"(A) on a discount basis at 50 percent of the face value of the bond.

"(B) in a variety of denominations from $50 to $500,

"(C) with a maturity of 12 years, and

"(D) only through payroll deduction plans or regular monthly purchase plans offered by financial institutions which meet the requirements of section 3105(d).

"(2) MAXIMUM MONTHLY INDIVIDUAL PURCHASE AMOUNT.—The total face value of super savings bonds that may be purchased by any person during any month shall not exceed $500.

"(c) REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO REDEMPTION.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—Any super savings bond issued under this section may be redeemed—

"(A) after the end of the 5-year period beginning on the date on which the bond is issued; and

"(B) at a yield that is equal to the greater of—

"(i) 6 percent, or

"(ii) 97 percent of the average market yield on the last issue of 5-year notes made under section 3103 before the issuance of the bond.

"(2) REDEMPTION BEFORE MATURITY.—Any super savings bond issued under this section may redeemed—

"(A) during the 54-month period that begins after the end of the 6-month period beginning on the date on which the bond is issued; and

"(B) at a yield determined by the Secretary which—

"(i) is at least 3 percent at the beginning of the 54-month period referred to in subparagraph (A), and

"(ii) gradually increases over such 54-month period to the yield determined under paragraph (1)(B) at the close of such 54-month period.

"(3) CERTAIN PREMATURE REDEMPTIONS PROHIBITED.—No super savings bond issued under this section may be redeemed before the end of the 6-month period beginning on the date on which the bond is issued.

"(d) TERMS AND CONDITIONS TO BE ESTABLISHED BY SECRETARY.—Subject to the provisions of this section, the Secretary of the Treasury may prescribe, with respect to the super savings bonds issued under this section—

"(1) the form and amount of the bonds,

"(2) the manner in which the bonds will be issued,

"(3) the conditions (including restrictions on transfer) to which the bonds will be subject,

"(4) the conditions governing redemption of the bonds,

"(5) the denominations of the bonds, and

"(6) the manner in which records of the payments for or on account of the bonds may be maintained.

"(e) PROVISIONS RELATING TO AUTHORIZED FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary of the Treasury may authorize any financial institution which meets the requirements of section 3105(d) to—

"(A) sell super savings bonds issued under this section; and

"(B) make payments to redeem such bonds.

"(2) FEES FOR FISCAL AGENTS.—The Secretary of the Treasury shall pay a fee to any financial institution which acts as a fiscal agent of the United States under paragraph (1) in such amount which the Secretary of the Treasury determines to be reasonable for acting as such an agent.

"(3) DEPOSITS OF SALE RECEIPTS.—Notwithstanding any other provision of this title or of any other law, a financial institution shall not be required to deposit into the Treasury of the United States, or into a Federal Reserve bank, any receipts from the sale of any super savings bond issued under this section before the end of the 14-day period beginning on the date on which the bond is sold.".

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The table of sections for subchapter I of chapter 31 of title 31, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

"3114. Issuance of super savings bond.".

(2) Section 3108 of title 31, United States Code, is amended by striking out "and 3105-3107" and inserting in lieu thereof ", 3105, 3106, 3107, an 3114".●

● Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, the level of national savings in the United States has been steadily decreasing in recent years. Reversing this trend should be one of the top priorities of Congress.

During the 1970's, the United States saved, on average, almost 8 percent of its national income. By the mid-

1980's—1985-87—however, the average savings rate had declined to only 2.1 percent of national income. Such a low rate is unprecedented for periods of economic expansion, not only in the United States, but in all industrialized nations.

According to the National Income and Products Accounts compiled by the Commerce Department, Americans have actually spent more than they have received in spendable income in each of the last 4 years. In 1987, the truly personal component of the savings rate reached a low of negative 2.5 percent.

Senator BAUCUS and I, as the Senate Co-Chairs of the Congressional Competitiveness Caucus, have been studying the effect of our low savings rate on our ability to compete successfully in the global market. The budget deficit and overconsumption by all Americans during the 1980's have caused our reliance of foreign investment to provide most of the investment capital necessary for our businesses and economy to continue expanding.

America's low national savings rate is directly related to our large, unsustainable budget and trade deficits. The economic independence of America continues to be threatened as individuals, corporations, and the Federal Government live beyond their means. As long as this trend continues, the mortgaging of American real estate, factories, banks, and technology to foreign interests will continue.

Given the magnitude of this problem, Government policies should be carefully scrutinized to ensure they encourage saving over consumption by both the Federal Government and the private sector. Our attention should be focused on increasing the supply of domestic investment capital, thus improving the international competitiveness of American businesses and continuing the economic growth we have experienced over the past 7 years.

For these reasons, I believe it is vitally important to take steps to increase our savings rate. The most direct method of increasing national savings is to reduce the Federal budget deficit, which must continue to be our top priority.

In addition, Senator BAUCUS and I are introducing a new type of incentive that will help increase national savings and reduce Federal debt owed to foreign creditors. Under our proposal, the Federal Government would issue higher yield, zero-coupon super savings bonds [SSB's] to encourage saving among working men and women.

These super savings bonds would be non-negotiable with a maturity of 12 years and would be available only through payroll deductions. SSB's could be promoted and sold, at a discount, by banks and other financial institutions in small denominations ranging from $50 to $500, with a limit of $500 in face value per worker during any month. These bonds could be redeemed at any time after 5 years from the issuance date. When they are redeemed, the accrued interest income would be taxed as ordinary income.

This new type of bond has several features that should encourage increased saving. First, SSB's would yield 97 percent of the 5-year Treasury bond rate, a substantial increase over the rate currently offered on savings bonds. This should serve as a valuable incentive to all households, regardless of tax bracket, to increase their saving efforts. Second, the use of payroll deductions should promote a regular pattern of saving, rather than solely encouraging reshuffling current savings. Third, the introduction of these new bonds could become part of a widespread public campaign to encourage increased saving.

Currently, over 47,500 companies have made payroll deduction plans available to their employees for the purchase of U.S. savings bonds. In 1988, 6.6 million employees participated in such plans, purchasing savings bonds totaling over $3 billion. I believe our proposal will attract millions of new savers and billions of dollars in new savings through SSB's.

I hope we can move swiftly on this proposal and make Super Savings Bonds the first step in a national campaign to increase personal, corporate, and government savings. SSB's will provide working men and women with an opportunity to help the Nation regain its economic competitiveness and independence, while also improving their own financial security.●

By Mr. RIEGLE (for himself and Mr. LEVIN):

S. 2145. A bill to designate the Department of Veterans Affairs medical center in Saginaw, MI, as the "Aleda E. Lutz Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center"; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

ALEDA E. LUTZ DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS MEDICAL CENTER

● Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. President, I would like to draw your attention to the heroic acts of Aleda E. Lutz, of Saginaw, MI, who died in the crash of an army transport plane during World War II. First Lieutenant Lutz was the first woman pilot to receive the Distinguished Flying Cross and warmly deserves our recognition. Today, along with Senator LEVIN, I am proud to introduce a bill which would rename the Department of Veterans Affairs medical center in Saginaw, MI, as the "Aleda E. Lutz Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center."

Commended by the Army for "extraordinary achievement," Lieutenant Lutz, or "Lutzy," as she was affectionately known, distinguished herself through her superior professional skill and courage. As a member of the 802d Medical Air Evacuation Squadron, she flew a C-47 hospital plane on over 190 missions, totaling more than 800 flying hours. Lieutenant Lutz's bravery is evidenced by the fact that she was known to volunteer for missions that no other pilots would attempt. In doing so, she helped evacuate some 3,500 wounded soldiers from war zones during World War II. Tragically, Lieutenant Lutz died on November 1, 1944 when her aircraft was caught in a violent storm near Lyon in the south of France.

After serving in military campaigns in Tunisia, Sicily, southern and central Italy, and southern France, Lieutenant Lutz's true heroism earned her the Army's Distinguished Flying Cross. The official citation issued posthumously by the Department of the Army recognized that "her selfless devotion to duty and outstanding proficiency have reflected the highest credit upon herself and the Armed Forces of the United States."

Lieutenant Lutz's courage, however, has not gone unnoticed. On April 8, 1945, the U.S. Army hospital ship, the *Aleda E. Lutz*, was commissioned. This 16,000 ton ship was the largest hospital ship at sea at the time. It could care for 800 patients, while carrying a complement of 18 doctors, 44 nurses, and 188 enlisted attendants.

Moreover, the Department of Veterans Affairs hospital in Saginaw has been unofficially known as the "Aleda E. Lutz Hospital" for many years. In July 1949, the VA announced that the new hospital in Saginaw would be dedicated to Lieutenant Lutz. Unfortunately, there was never any official designation of the hospital in her name. In reality, however, Lieutenant Lutz has been associated with the hospital in print until 1975 and, on occasion, the hospital is still conversationally discussed in her name. The bill I introduce today, which passed the House of Representatives last year with the support of the entire Michigan delegation, would not only recognize the bravery and courage exhibited by Lieutenant Lutz during World War II, but would rectify the existing situation by officially naming the Saginaw Medical Center after the person in whose name it was dedicated. I urge my colleagues to extend to Lt. Aleda E. Lutz the honor and recognition she deserves by supporting this bill to redesignate the Saginaw VA Medical Center in her name.

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

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

S. 2145

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of

America in Congress assembled, That the Department of Veterans Affairs medical center in Saginaw, Michigan, shall after the date of the enactment of this Act be known and designated as the "Aleda E. Lutz Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center". Any reference to such medical center in any law, regulation, map, document, record, or other paper of the United States shall after such date be deemed to be a reference to the Aleda E. Lutz Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center.●

By Mr. DASCHLE (for himself, Mr. CONRAD, and Mr. BAUCUS):

S. 2146. A bill to clarify the authority of the Small Business Administration to make disaster assistance loans to small businesses in case of disasters determined by the Secretary of Agriculture; to the Committee on Small Business.

SMALL BUSINESS ECONOMIC INJURY DISASTER LOANS AMENDMENTS ACT

● Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I rise today to introduce legislation that would allow all American small businesses to have an equal opportunity to establish eligibility for the Small Business Administration's Economic Injury Disaster Loans [EIDL] Program. I am pleased that Senator CONRAD and Senator BAUCUS join me in seeking a legislative remedy to an SBA policy that is fundamentally unfair in its treatment of rural small businesses affected by drought.

The problem this legislation addresses is simple. Under current law, all small businesses suffering losses in a federally declared disaster are eligible to apply for SBA economic injury disaster loans. However, in the case of drought, SBA administrators have declared that a business must be able to demonstrate that its losses are directly related to the drought's impact on agriculture.

What does this mean in real life? In South Dakota, which is entering its third consecutive year of drought, a feed operator could apply for SBA assistance, but a marina operator on the Missouri River, whose boat ramps have been left on a mud flat 200 yards for the river's edge by drought, cannot.

Was it Congress' intent in establishing the SBA Economic Injury Disaster Loan Program that in the case of drought alone a small business's losses must be directly attributable to a secondary factor beyond the natural disaster itself? I think not.

The legislation I am introducing today does not create a new program. It does not expand the scope of an existing program. It does not authorize additional expenditures for an existing program. All it does is clarify that it is the intent of Congress that all small businesses be able to apply for SBA economic injury disaster loans if they are affected by a federally declared disaster, whether that disaster by fire, flood, tornado or drought.

Mr. President, many regions of the country have been devastated by extended drought conditions during recent years. South Dakota and many of her sister States in the Great Plains are entering a third consecutive year of drought—a condition that is beginning to tear at the very fabric of rural life in the region.

Most Americans see drought in terms of its impact on agriculture and consumer prices. Television brings us vivid snap shots of hard times on the farm and warnings of what we might expect in the way of price increases at the grocery store. What they often don't see is the devastating impact drought can have on another segment of rural society, mainstreet businesses.

Extended drought disrupts normal economic activity for all rural enterprises. In South Dakota, for example, 3 years of drought has severely affected all forms of commerce. Contractors, merchants, and river-based industries have all been hurt by the disaster. With water levels on the Missouri River 25 feet lower than normal, much business activity has ground to a virtual halt.

Rural businesses in South Dakota, seeing no end to this cycle of drought, wonder whether they can last another full year. They ask whether any government program exist that may be able to help them through this disaster. The answer is that there is a program on the books that could provide loans to businesses that suffer economic losses from federally declared disasters, but program administrators have decided, unilaterally, not to implement it.

Mr. President, I have the dubious distinction of representing a State that had two different of Federal disasters declared in 1 year. First, most of the counties in my State were declared drought disaster areas. Later, fires consumed vast forests in the beautiful Black Hills, prompting yet another Federal disaster declaration. While economic injury disaster loans were available to small businesses for both disasters, I experienced a great deal of difficulty explaining to my constituents why all small businesses would be eligible for assistance if they had losses related to the fire, but that only those enterprises that could establish that their losses were directly related to agriculture could receive loans for drought.

This double standard is nothing less than sheer discrimination. A Federal disaster is a Federal disaster. Economic losses from a disaster are counted in the same dollars. As long as we offer a program for economic assistance to small businesses in disaster areas, we should not tolerate overt discrimination by the administering Federal agency.

I am not asking that we increase the funds we expend yearly for economic injury disaster loans. I am just calling on my colleagues to join me in ensuring that all small businesses affected by federally declared disasters are treated equitably. The legislation I am introducing today will do just that.●

By Mr. BOREN (for himself and Mr. COCHRAN):

S. 2147. A bill to provide for certain agricultural trade programs, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

AGRICULTURAL TRADE PROMOTION ACT

● Mr. BOREN. Mr. President, today I am joining with my distinguished colleague, Senator COCHRAN of Mississippi, in introducing the Agricultural Trade and Promotion Act of 1990.

The growth of the American agricultural sector depends on its ability to sell our products in overseas markets. To help in that effort, Congress has enacted several policy tools to help our agricultural producers develop new markets and to counter heavy export subsidies, especially those of the European community.

For example, Mr. President, I recently chaired a hearing of the Senate Agriculture Subcommittee on Domestic and Foreign Marketing which heard testimony that the European Community spends 10 times the amount of the United States on agricultural export subsidies. The Community will repay their exporters any amount necessary to win markets by selling at a loss.

The 1985 Food Security Act enacted the Export Enhancement Program [EEP] which awards Commodity Credit Corporation certificates for surplus stocks to United States exporters in order to help them counter the European subsidies. The program has been a success. A recent U.S. Department of Agriculture study attributed one-third of our increased grain exports to the EEP. This legislation reauthorizes the EEP and other important agricultural trade programs.

Specifically, the provisions of the bill:

Reauthorize the Export Enhancement Program [EEP] at an increased funding level of $1 billion and specifically provide for transportation costs to be included in the bonus level; increase the level of funding for the GSM Export Credit Guarantee Program under which USDA guarantees commercial loans for the sale of U.S. agricultural exports from $5 to $7 billion; set higher standards for foreign-owned banks to become eligible GSM lenders; require 90 percent or more of the content of GSM-financed shipments to be grown or raised in the United States; establish a revolving loan fund to offer blended credit to Eastern Europe and other developing democracies for the purchase of United States commodities; reauthor-

ize the Targeted Export Assistance [TEA] and Cooperator market development programs with tighter guidelines to ensure accountability and efficiency; continue the antiembargo and contract sanctity provisions of the 1985 Food Security Act; reauthorize the Cottonseed Oil Assistance Program [COAP] and the Sunflower Oil Assistance Program [SOAP]; expand existing programs to allow for two-way exchange of agribusinessmen, researchers, and producers to and from developing democracies in order to facilitate increased agricultural trade.

The trade title of the 1990 farm bill will be one of the first to be considered by the Senate Agriculture Committee, and I believe the provisions of this bill deserve strong consideration.

Failing to take a strong stand for export programs in the new farm bill would send exactly the wrong signal to our competitors while we are in the middle of the GATT negotiations. We must send our competitors a strong signal that U.S. agriculture is in the market to stay. Therefore, I urge my colleagues to cosponsor and support this legislation that is so important to the future of our agricultural sector.

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

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

S. 2147

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

SEC. 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Agricultural Trade Promotion Act of 1990".

SEC. 2. TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Sec. 101. Agricultural Trade Policy of the United States.
Sec. 102. Purpose of Act.
Sec. 103. Export Enhancement Program.
Sec. 104. Targeted Export Assistance Program.
Sec. 105. Cooperator Program.
Sec. 106. Export Credit Guarantee Programs.
Sec. 107. Cottonseed Oil and Sunflower Oil Exports.
Sec. 108. Discretionary Marketing Loan for Wheat and Feed Grains.
Sec. 109. Agricultural Export Credit Revolving Fund.
Sec. 110. Blended Credit Program for Emerging Democracies.
Sec. 111. Agricultural Fellowship Program for Middle Income Countries and Emerging Democracies.
Sec. 112. Amendments to Farmer-to-Farmer Program.
Sec. 113. Contract Sanctity and Producer Embargo Protection.

SEC. 101. AGRICULTURAL TRADE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is the policy of the United States—

(1) to provide, through all possible means, agricultural commodities and products for export at competitive prices, with full assurance of quality and reliability of supply;

(2) to support the principle of free trade and the promotion of fair trade in agricultural commodities and products;

(3) to aggressively counter unfair foreign trade practices using all available means, including export promotion programs and, if necessary, restrictions on United States imports of foreign agricultural commodities and their products as a means to encourage fairer trade; and

(4) to remove foreign policy constraints to maximize United States economic interests through agricultural trade.

SEC. 102. PURPOSE OF ACT.

It is the purpose of this Act to increase the profitability of farming and to increase opportunities for United States farms and agricultural enterprises by—

(1) increasing the effectiveness of the Department of Agriculture in agricultural trade program implementation; and

(2) improving the competitiveness of United States agricultural commodities and products in the world market.

SEC. 103. EXPORT ENHANCEMENT PROGRAM.

(a) EVIDENCE OF SALES CONTRACTS; COST OF FREIGHT.—Subsection (b) of section 1127 of the Food Security Act of 1985 is amended—

(1) in paragraph (4), by striking the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof ";"';

(2) in paragraph (5), by striking the period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof ";"; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new sections—

"(6) shall require the United States exporter, user, or processor, or eligible foreign purchaser, as applicable, to submit evidence of the sales contract that is the basis of the provision of assistance under this section prior to submitting bids to the Secretary under the program established under this section;

"(7) shall take such action as may be necessary to verify the existence of sales contracts referred to in paragraph (6); and

"(8) shall take in consideration the cost of freight from the United States to designated points of entry in other nations.".

(b) REAUTHORIZATION—Section 1127(h) of the Food Security Act of 1985 is amended by striking out "1990" and inserting in lieu thereof "1995".

(c) FUNDING LEVELS—Section 1127(i) of the Food Security Act of 1985 is amended—

(1) by striking out "1985" and inserting in lieu thereof "1990";

(2) by striking out "1990"; and inserting in lieu thereof "1995"; and

(3) by striking out "$,500,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "5,000,000,000".

SEC. 104. TARGETED EXPORT ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

(a) Paragraph (3) of section 1124(a) of the Food Security Act of 1985 (7 U.S.C. 1736s(a)(3)) is amended by striking out "and 1990" and inserting in lieu thereof "through 1995"

(b) Section 1124(c) of the Food Security Act of 1985 is revised to read as follows—

"(c) In providing export assistance under this section, the Secretary or the Commodity Credit Corporation (as applicable) shall—

"(1) provide export assistance on a priority basis in the case of—

"(A) agricultural commodities with respect to which there has been a favorable decision under section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974; or

"(B) agricultural commodities for which exports have been adversely affected, as defined by the Secretary, by rataliatory actions related to a favorable decision under section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974;

"(2) consider the participant organization's prior export promotion experience;

"(3) consider the participant organization's ability to adequately develop, supervise and execute program activities; and

"(4) consider whether, and to what extent, third parties in the foreign country will contribute to the program undertaken by the participant organization under this section.".

(c) Section 1124 of the Food Security Act of 1985 is amended by adding the following new subsection at the end thereof—

"(d) The Secretary of the Commodity Credit Corporation shall only provide export assistance under this section to organizations consisting of producers or processors of United States agricultural commodities that provide—

"(1) with respect to a specific program activity involving such organization that is funded under this section, contributions in cash equal to at least five (5) percent of all generic program activity costs incurred in such specific program carried out under this section; and

"(2) with respect to a specific program activity involving such organization and a branded product promotion that is funded under this section, reimbursement to the Commodity Credit Corporation in cash equal to at least fifty (50) percent of all branded program activity costs."

"(e) The Secretary of Agriculture shall conduct an evaluation with respect to the expenditure of funds received under this section by each recipient of such funds. Such evaluation shall be conducted no later than 15 months after the initial provision of such funds to the participant and shall include—

"(1) an evaluation of the effectiveness of the program established using funds under this section in developing or maintaining markets for United States agricultural products;

"(2) an evaluation of whether assistance under this section is necessary to maintain such market;

"(3) a thorough accounting of the expenditure by the participant of funds provided under this section.".

SEC. 105. COOPERATOR PROGRAM

It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the cooperator market development program of the Foreing Agricultural Service should be continued to help develop new markets and expand and maintain existing markets for United States agricultural commodities, using nonprofit agricultural trade organizations to the maximum extent practicable;

(2) such cooperator program should be funded at a level of no less than $40,000,000 for each of the fiscal years ending September 30, 1991, through September 30, 1995; and

(3) in carrying out such cooperator program, the Foreign Agricultural Service should give a high priority to market development in Eastern European.

SEC. 106. EXPORT CREDIT GUARANTEE PROGRAMS.

(a) SHORT-TERM EXPORT CREDIT GURANTEES.

(1) CONSIDERATIONS—In making available any guarantees of the repayment of credit extended on terms of up to 3 years in connection with the export sale of United States agricultural commodities or the products thereof, the Commodity Credit Corporation shall take into account—

(A) the credit needs of countries that are potential purchasers of United States agricultural exports;

(B) the creditworthiness of such countries; and

(C) whether the availability of Commodity Credit Corporation guarantees will improve the competitive position of United States agricultural exports in world markets.

(2) MINIMUM AMOUNTS—The Commodity Credit Corporation shall make available for each of the fiscal years ending September 30, 1991, through September 30, 1995, not less than $7,000,000,000 in credit guarantees under its export credit guarantee program for short-term credit (up to 3 years) extended to finance the export sales of United States agricultural commodities and the products thereof.

(3) LIMITATION ON ORIGINATION FEE—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the Secretary of Agriculture may not charge an origination fee with respect to any credit guarantee transaction under its export credit guarantee program for short-term credit (GSM-102) in excess of an amount equal to one percent of the credit extended under the transaction.

(b) INTERMEDIATE-TERM EXPORT CREDIT GUARANTEES—Paragraph (10) of section 4(b) of the Food for Peace Act of 1966 (7 U.S.C. 1707a(b)(10)) is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (A) by striking "; and" and inserting in lieu thereof";";

(2) in subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end thereof and inserting "; and"; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new subparagraph:

"(C) for each of the fiscal years ending September 30, 1991, through September 30, 1995, not less than $750,000.".

(c) ELIGIBILITY OF CERTAIN COMMODITIES.

(1) DOMESTIC CONTENT REQUIREMENT—Except as provided in paragraphs (2) and (3), exports of United States agricultural commodities shall be eligible for short- or intermediate-term export credit guarantees provided by the Commodity Credit Corporation if at least 90 percent of the cost of the agricultural commodities used to produce the commodity being exported is derived from agricultural commodities produced in the United States.

(2) INABILITY TO MONITOR—The Commodity Credit Corporation may require any export of United States agricultural commodities to be composed entirely of United States product in order to be eligible for short- or intermediate-term export credit guarantees if the Commodity Credit Corporation determines that it is not practicable to monitor the export of such commodity to determine the percentage of domestic content of such agricultural commodity because any of the following conditions exist:

(A) The commodity is a bulk commodity that is not commonly stored identity preserved and is often blended with commodities produced outside the United States.

(B) The commodity is a blend of commodities produced in both the United States and outside the United States that was produced under a procedure that does not make the percentage of domestic content of such product easily verifiable.

(C) The Commodity Credit Corporation determines that the domestic content of a particular export shipment or of a particular type of export of agricultural commodities is not practicable to verify.

(3) LIMITATION OF PERCENTAGE COVERED BY GUARANTEE—Any export credit guarantee made available with respect to the export of an agricultural commodity that is not composed of commodities produced entirely in the United States may not cover any portion of the exported commodity that was derived from agricultural commodities produced outside the United States.

(d) ELIGIBLE BANKS.

(1) GUIDELINES—The Commodity Credit Corporation shall establish by regulation a set of guidelines governing the eligibility of United States banks to negotiate letters of credit guaranteed by the Commodity Credit Corporation under the short- or intermediate-term export credit guarantee program and shall maintain a list of such eligible banks.

(2) CONSIDERATIONS—In establishing the guidelines under paragraph (1), the Commodity Credit Corporation shall ensure that participating banks—

(A) are in sound fiscal condition;

(B) have sufficient experience in transactions of the type being guaranteed by the Commodity Credit Corporation; and

(C) are not a branch, agency, subsidiary, or home office of the foreign bank issuing the letter of credit or a branch, agency or subsidiary of any other bank headquartered in the same country as the foreign bank issuing the letter of credit.

SEC. 107. COTTONSEED OIL AND SUNFLOWER OIL EXPORTS.

Section 301(b)(2)(A) of the Disaster Assistance Act of 1988 is amended by striking "and September 30, 1990," and inserting in lieu thereof "through September 30, 1995,".

SEC. 108. DISCRETIONARY MARKETING LOAN FOR WHEAT AND FEED GRAINS.

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, if the Secretary of Agriculture implements a program for the 1991 through 1995 crops of wheat or feed grains under the Agricultural Act of 1949 under which producers of such crops are allowed to repay price support loans for such crops at less than the original loan rate, the Secretary shall allow such producers to repay such price support loans at the lower of—

(1) the loan rate; or

(2) the prevailing world market price of such crops, as determined by the Secretary.

SEC. 109. AGRICULTURAL EXPORT CREDIT REVOLVING FUND.

Section 4(d)(6) of the Food for Peace Act of 1966 (7 U.S.C. 1707a(d)(6)) is amended by striking out "1990" both places it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "1995".

SEC. 110. BLENDED CREDIT PROGRAM FOR EMERGING DEMOCRACIES.

(a) SPECIAL PROGRAM FOR EMERGING DEMOCRACIES.—The Commodity Credit Corporation shall carry out a program under which commercial export credit guarantees are blended with direct credits from the Commodity Credit Corporation to reduce the effective rate of interest on export sales of United States agricultural commodities or the products hereof to countries that have begun the transformation of their system of government from a nonrepresentative type of government to a representative democracy, as determined by the Secretary.

(b) FUNDING.

(1) EXPORT CREDIT REVOLVING FUND.—The Commodity Credit Corporation shall carry out the program established under subsection (a) during the fiscal years ending September 30, 1991, through September 30, 1995, through funds made available under the agricultural export credit revolving fund (7 U.S.C. 1707a(d)).

(2) LIMITATION ON AMOUNT.—The Commodity Credit Corporation may not make more than $250,000,000 in blended credit under this section available in any of the fiscal years ending September 30, 1991, through September 30, 1995.

SEC. 111. AGRICULTURAL FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM FOR MIDDLE INCOME COUNTRIES AND EMERGING DEMOCRACIES.

(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Secretary of Agriculture shall establish a fellowship program for middle income countries and emerging democracies (the "Cochran Fellowship Program") to provide fellowships to persons from eligible countries who specialize in agriculture for study in the United States.

(b) ELIGIBLE COUNTRIES.—Countries that meet the following requirements shall be eligible to participate in the program established under this section.

(1) A country that has developed economically to the point where it no longer qualifies for bilateral foreign aid assistance from the United States because its per capita income level exceeds the eligibility requirements of such assistance programs (hereinafter referred to as "middle-income" country);

(2) A middle-income country that has never qualified for bilateral foreign aid assistance from the United States, but with respect to which an ongoing relationship with the United States, including technical assistance and training, would provide mutual benefits to such country and the United States; and

(3) A country that has recently begun the transformation of its system of government from a non-representative type of government to a representative democracy and that is encouraging democratic institution building, and the cultural values, institutions, and organizations of democratic pluralism.

(c) PURPOSE OF THE FELLOWSHIPS.—Fellowships under this section shall be provided in order to allow the recipients to gain knowledge and skills that will—

(1) assist eligible countries to develop agricultural systems necessary to meet the food needs of their domestic populations; and

(2) strengthen and enhance trade linkages between eligible countries and agricultural interests in the United States.

(d) INDIVIDUALS WHO MAY RECEIVE FELLOWSHIPS.—The Secretary shall utilize the expertise of United States agricultural counselors, trade officers, and commodity trade promotion groups working in participating countries to help identify program candidates from both the public and private sectors of those countries.

(e) PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION.—The Secretary shall consult with other United States Government agencies, United States universities, and the private agribusiness sector, as appropriate, to design and administer training programs to accomplish the program objectives.

(f) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are hereby authorized to be appropriated without fiscal year limitation such sums as may be necessary to provide funding to carry out the program established under this section, except that the amount of such funds shall not exceed:

(1) for eligible countries that meet the requirements of subsection (b)(1), 3,000,000 dollars;

(2) for eligible countries that meet the requirements of subsection (b)(2), 2,000,000 dollars; and

(3) for eligible countries that meet the requirements of subsection (b)(3), 5,000,000 dollars.

(g) COMPLEMENTARY FUNDS.—When the Secretary of Agriculture determines that it

is advisable in furtherance of program purposes, the Secretary may accept money, funds, property, and services of every kind by gift, devise, bequest, grant, or otherwise, and may, in any manner, dispose of all such holdings and use the receipts generated from such disposition as general program funds under this section. All funds so designated for the program established under this section shall remain available until expended.

SEC. 112. AMENDMENTS TO FARMER-TO-FARMER PROGRAM.

Section 406 of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), by striking "friendly developing countries" and inserting in lieu thereof "friendly developing countries, middle-income countries (as defined in section 111(b) of the Agricultural Trade Promotion Act of 1990) and newly emerging democracies (as defined in section 111(b) of such Act)";

(2) in subsection (a)(1)—

(A) by inserting "and agricultural systems" after "farmers,"; and

(B) by inserting "and marketing operations" after "farming";

(3) in subsection (a)(2), by striking "and other institutions of higher learning" and inserting in lieu thereof ", other institutions of higher learning and the private agribusiness community"; and

(4) in subsection (a)(3), by striking everything beginning with "private nonprofit" through "United States" and inserting in lieu thereof "private agribusiness and nonprofit farm organizations in the exchange of agribusiness leaders, farm youth, and farm leaders with developing and middle income countries, and emerging democracies and in the training of farmers and agricultural marketers of such countries within the".

SEC. 113. CONTRACT SANCTITY AND PRODUCER EMBARGO PROTECTION.

It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States—

(1) to foster and encourage the export of agricultural commodities and the products of such commodities;

(2) not to restrict or limit the export of such commodities and products except under the most compelling circumstances;

(3) that any prohibition or limitation on the export of such commodities or products should be imposed only in time of a national emergency declared by the President under the Export Administration Act; and

(4) that contracts for the export of such commodities or products entered into before the imposition of any prohibition or limitation on the export of such commodities or products should not be abrogated.●

● Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, I join my distinguished colleague from Oklahoma, Senator BOREN, in introducing the Agricultural Trade Promotion Act of 1990, a bill to assist the Department of Agriculture in trade program implementation and to improve U.S. agricultural competitiveness in world markets.

Export and market development programs play a significant role in increasing farm exports and expanding the U.S. production base. This legislation will reauthorize the Export Enhancement Program, Export Credit [GSM programs], Targeted Export Assistance, and the Cooperator Program.

An aggressive agricultural trade policy is important to the success and prosperity of production agriculture in the United States. In 1988, American farmers sold 148 million metric tons of farm products valued at $35 billion. This was the highest volume in 5 years. Last years estimated export sales are valued at almost $40 billion.

Foreign markets are especially important to Mississippians, since nearly 20 percent of the cash value of products from Mississippi farms are marketed through export channels. Last year, Mississippi's share of farm market exports was $610 million. Cotton accounted for over 40 percent of these export sales, while soybeans, soybean products, rice, and poultry accounted for nearly 50 percent.

For the Nation as a whole, it is estimated that 61 percent of the 1989 cotton crop will be exported and that over 50 percent of the rice crop and 30 percent of the soybean crop will be marketed overseas.

This legislation provides commercial export credit guarantees to reduce the effective rate of interest on sales of U.S. agricultural products to emerging democratic nations in Eastern Europe. The bill also includes these fledgling democracies in the Middle Income Countries program, which is designed to assist middle-income countries to develop their agricultural economies. Both the export credit guarantees and the MIC program should expand our trade opportunities in Eastern Europe and complement our other efforts to build democracy and stability in that region.

I hope Senators will join in supporting this legislation to maintain a strong agricultural trade policy for the United States.●

By Mr. McCONNELL (for himself and Mr. BOND):

S. 2148. A bill to deny tax-exempt status to certain politically active organizations that are linked to candidates for Federal office, to require that contributions to separate political organizations that are linked to such candidates be treated as direct contributions to the candidate, to restrict "bundling" practices, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Finance.

STATUS OF CERTAIN POLITICALLY ACTIVE ORGANIZATIONS

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, last year marked the bicentennial of the U.S. Congress. Our Nation, and the Congress, have perservered through difficult times, and triumphed over extraordinary challenges. Our predecessors have bequeathed to us a proud tradition of leadership and public service.

The American people, however, are losing faith in this institution, and that endangers this great legacy. Much of that is the result or loss of confidence in the system used to elect Congressmen and Senators.

Not only do the people believe a 98 percent reelection rate in the House of Representatives is unacceptable, they believe that the campaign system is controlled by special interests seeking special favors.

The activities and statements of Charles Keating, Jr., head of the failed Lincoln Savings and Loan, have been dramatic, recent examples of why the system is being questioned and why we should pursue campaign reform.

We should address these problems. However, if we are to effectively address the problems raised by the Keating controversy, we must avoid the partisan posturing that went on last year and agree to a bill specifically designed to prevent abuses of the letter and spirit of our campaign finance laws. The Keating problem should be clearly understood and not misrepresented in order to advance unrelated agendas.

Mr. President, several special interest groups are hoping to use this situation to advance their own legislative agenda, which has nothing to do with this particular problem. For example, Federal PAC contributions were not even involved in Mr. Keating's practices, so changing what PAC's can do should be debated, but not because of the Keating issue. Similarly, spending limits would have no impact on Keating. Most of Keating's activities involved donations of huge chunks of corporate cash to a candidate's affiliated voter registration organization or to a candidate's State-based political action committee. In fact, spending limits will only encourage Keating-type contributors—in the form of large and undisclosed contributions to various party accounts and special interest organizations.

In Presidential elections, expenditure limits have corrupted the system by putting a premium on evasive campaign finance tactics. Mr. Keating's methods, which shock the sensibilities of congressional watchdogs, are commonplace in the Presidential system, which is governed by spending limits. In fact, these evasive tactics are encouraged by spending limits. To repeat this mistake would not respond to the Keating problem and would be an act of bad faith by Congress in response to a serious campaign finance crisis.

This bill I am introducing today directly addresses the practices which have been criticized in the Keating controversy. What are those problems? There are three.

First, this legislation will deny tax-exempt status to any organization which devotes part or all of its budget to voter registration or other campaign activities and involves a Member of Congress or a Federal candidate in

soliciting contributions for such organization. Mr. Keating provided $850,000 in corporate money to a tax-exempt voter registration organization after being solicited by a Member of Congress. I don't think that Members of the House and Senate should be soliciting funds for tax exempt organizations which benefit them politically. It creates an appearance of special interest influence and it makes a mockery of our campaign finance system.

Second, the bill will impose Federal limits and disclosure on contributions to any State PAC or political organization which directly influences Federal elections. Mr. Keating gave $200,000 in corporate money to such an organization. Members of Congress should not be using State-level political organizations as an evasive tactic to avoid the Federal election laws.

Third, the bill restricts Keating-style "bundling" operations. While entirely legal, this practice is one which most observers agree warrants further restriction and I have used the bundling provision language contained in S. 1727, President Bush's campaign finance reform proposal—a package that I was happy to cosponsor earlier this year with Senators DOLE, SIMPSON, and MCCAIN.

Mr. President, these measures are targeted directly at the practices that have been criticized in the Keating controversy. My bill will not dip into the taxpayers' pockets to pay for our campaigns. It will not restrict the right of all citizens to support the candidate of their choice, or favor one political party over the other. This bill is a simple, direct, and balanced response to the problem and will help restore Congress' reputation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following section-by-section summary of my legislation be provided at this point in the RECORD.

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

S. 2148

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

SECTION 1. DENIAL OF TAX-EXEMPT STATUS FOR CERTAIN POLITICALLY ACTIVE ORGANIZATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 501 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (relating to exemption from tax) is amended by redesignating subsection (n) as subsection (o) and by inserting after subsection (m) the following new subsection:

"(n) DENIAL OF TAX-EXEMPT STATUS FOR CERTAIN POLITICALLY ACTIVE ORGANIZATIONS.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—An organization shall not be treated as exempt from tax under subsection (a) if—

"(A) such organization devotes any of its operating budget to—

"(i) voter registration or get-out-the-vote campaigns; or

"(ii) participation or intervention in any political campaign on behalf of or in opposition to any candidate for public office; and

"(B) a candidate, or an authorized committee of a candidate, has—

"(i) solicited contributions to, or on behalf of, such organizations; and

"(ii) the solicitation is made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request of, such organization.

"(2) CANDIDATE DEFINED.—For purposes of this subsection—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—the term 'candidate' has the meaning given such term by paragraph (2) of section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(2)).

"(B) MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—The term 'candidate' shall include any Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress unless—

"(i) the date for filing for nomination, or election to, such Office has passed and such individual has not so filed, and

"(ii) such individual is not otherwise a candidate described in subparagraph (A).".

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply to taxable years ending after the date of enactment of this Act, but only with respect to solicitations or suggestions by candidates made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 2. CONTRIBUTIONS TO CERTAIN POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS MAINTAINED BY A CANDIDATE.

(a) CONTRIBUTIONS BY PERSONS IN GENERAL AND BY MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL COMMITTEES.—(1) Section 315(a)(1)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)(A)) is amended by striking "candidate and his authorized political committees" and inserting "candidate, a candidate's authorized political committees, and any political organizations (other than authorized committees) maintained by a candidate,".

(2) Section 315(a)(2)(A) of the such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(2)(A)) is amended by striking "candidate and his authorized political committees" and inserting "candidate, a candidate's authorized political committees, and any political organizations (other than authorized committees) maintained by a candidate,".

(3) Section 315(a) of the such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)) is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(9) For the purposes of paragraphs (1)(A) and (2)(A), the term 'political organization maintained by a candidate' means any non-Federal political action committee, non-Federal multicandidate political committee, or any other form of political organization regulated under State law which is not a political committee of a national, State, or local political party—

"(A) that is set up by or on behalf of a candidate and engages in political activity which directly influences Federal elections; and

"(B) for which that candidate has solicited a contribution.".

(b) CONTRIBUTIONS BY NATIONAL BANKS, CORPORATIONS, AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.—(1) Section 316(b)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)(2)) is amended by striking "candidate, campaign committee" and inserting "candidate, political organization (other than an authorized committee) maintained by a candidate, campaign committee,".

(2) Section 316(b) of the such Act (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)) is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

"(8) For the purposes of paragraph (2), the term 'political organization maintained by a candidate' means any non-Federal political action committee, non-Federal multicandidate political committee, or any other form of political organization regulated under State law which is not a political committee of a national, State, or local political party;

"(A) that is set up by or on behalf of a candidate and engages in political activity which directly influences Federal elections; and

"(B) for which that candidate has solicited a contribution.".

(c) DATE OF APPLICATION.—The amendments made by subsections (a) and (b) shall apply to contributions described in section 315 and 316 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a and 441b) made in response to solicitations made after January 24, 1990.

SEC. 3. CONTRIBUTIONS THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES AND CONDUITS.

Section 315(a)(8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(8)) is amended to read as follows:

"(8) For purposes of this subsection—

"(A) contributions made by a person, either directly or indirectly, to or on behalf of a particular candidate, including contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise directed through an intermediary or conduit to such candidate, shall be treated as contributions from such person to such candidate;

"(B) in all cases where contributions are made by a person either directly or indirectly to or on behalf of a particular candidate through an intermediary or conduit, the intermediary or conduit shall report the original source and the intended recipient of such contribution to the Commission and to the intended recipient; and

"(C) no conduit or intermediary shall deliver or arrange to have delivered contributions from more than 2 persons who are employees of the same employer or members of the same labor organization.".

SECTION-BY-SECTION SUMMARY

Section 1: Denies the tax-exempt status of any organization which: (1) devotes part or all of its operating budget to voter registration, get-out-the-vote campaigns or other political campaign activities; and (2) has a candidate soliciting contributions to, or on behalf of, such organization. The solicitation must be made with organization's cooperation or knowledge.

Section 2: Imposes federal limits on contributions to state political organizations maintained by a member of Congress or federal candidate for office. A contribution to such an organization would be treated as a contribution to a candidate's federal campaign committee if: (1) it is a non-federal political organization regulated under state law and is not a political party committee; (2) the organization is set up by or on behalf of a candidate and it engages in political activity which directly influences federal elections; and (2) a federal candidate or Member of Congress has solicited a contribution for such political organization.

Section 3: Imposes further restrictions on "bundling" activities. This language is identical to the bundling language which has been proposed in S. 1727, President Bush's campaign finance reform initiative. The section prohibits any intermediary or conduit from delivering or arranging to have delivered contributions from more than two persons who are employees of the same employer or members of the same labor organization or trade association.

By Mr. BIDEN (for himself, Mr. ROTH, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. COATS, Mr. KERRY, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. LEVIN, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. SARBANES, and Mr. WILSON):

S.J. Res. 257. Joint resolution to designate March 10, 1990, as "Harriet Tubman Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

HARRIET TUBMAN DAY

● Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, as the bells of freedom toll around the globe, it seems appropriate to honor one of America's noble freedom fighters. And so today, in recognition of the memory and continuing legacy of a true founder of American freedom, I am introducing a resolution to designate March 10, 1990, as "Harriet Tubman Day."

Harriet Tubman was born on the eastern shore of Maryland around 1820 and escaped from slavery in 1849. Her freedom, however, was not the beginning of her fight. Even as a child slave, she battled against slavery and injustice. One day, she was ordered by an overseer to help him tie up another slave who was to be beaten. She defied that order and allowed the fellow slave to escape. But in the process, Harriet Tubman paid a high price for her defiance and her convictions. She was inflicted with a wound so severe that it would cause health problems for the rest of her life. The beating was not the first, nor would it be the last. But despite that cruel scar and despite the deep scars of slavery, Harriet Tubman still pursued. With a vigor difficult to imagine, she pursued her seemingly distant dreams and the buried promise of freedom.

Her own freedom was not good enough, though—others were still enslaved. A year after her own escape, Harriet Tubman became a conductor on the underground railroad. She was so successful—she alone led about 300 slaves to freedom—that a bounty, with a horrifying sentence of torture until death, was offered for her capture. Yet, she continued to travel the route of the underground railroad, telling fellow conductor Thomas Garrett that she "ventured only where God sent" and bragging years later that she had "never run off the track or lost a passenger." Time and time again, whenever Harriet Tubman encountered unbeatable odds or insurmountable obstacles, she beat them and surmounted them, forging a path of service, spirit, and strength for all of us to follow.

Through her service—as a conductor on the underground railroad, as a soldier and a tender of soldiers, and as a speaker for those who could not speak for themselves—Harriet Tubman changed the lives of unnumbered Americans of her own time. Through her spirit—Harriet Tubman gave hope to countless slaves who referred to her as their "Moses" and who, because of her, realized that they would one day be led from oppression to the promised land of freedom. Through her strength—a strength that compelled her to risk her own freedom so that others could experience it—Harriet Tubman provides an inspiration of liberty, justice, and opportunity that serves us still. The service, spirit, and strength of Harriet Tubman represents in timeless eloquence much of what is best in us, as Americans and as human beings.

Mr. President, slavery was the darkest chapter in American history. But, out of the darkness always comes the light. Out of the darkness of oppression in Poland came the light of Lech Walesa. Out of the darkness of persecution in South Africa came the light of Nelson Mandela. And, out of the darkness of slavery in America came the light of Harriet Tubman.

Today, that light is kept alive by the Harriet Tubman Historical Society, located in my hometown of Wilmington, DE. Harriet Tubman Day is the brainchild of its executive director, Vivian Abdur-Rahim. The widespread support this commemorative has received around the country—19 States and several cities have already endorsed it—is a result of Vivian's tireless tenacity. She has made a tremendous investment toward establishing this day of recognition and tribute, and I am proud to ask the Senate to add its support to such a worthy and important effort.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the joint resolution be printed in the RECORD.

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

S.J. RES. 257

Whereas Harriet Ross Tubman was born into slavery in Bucktown, Maryland, in or around the year 1820;

Whereas she escaped slavery in 1849 and became a "conductor" on the Underground Railroad;

Whereas she undertook a reported 19 trips as a conductor, endeavoring despite great hardship and great danger to lead hundreds of slaves to freedom;

Whereas Harriet Tubman became an eloquent and effective speaker on behalf of the movement to abolish slavery;

Whereas she served in the Civil War as a soldier, spy, nurse, scout, and cook, and as a leader in working with newly freed slaves;

Whereas after the War, she continued to fight for human dignity, human rights, opportunity, and justice; and

Whereas Harriet Tubman—whose courageous and dedicated pursuit of the promise of American ideals and common principles of humanity continues to serve and inspire all people who cherish freedom—died at her home in Auburn, New York, on March 10, 1913: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That March 10, 1990 be designated as "Harriet Tubman Day," to be observed by the people of the United States with appropriate ceremonies and activities.●

By Mr. BRADLEY (for himself, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. BUMPERS, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. DODD, Mr. DIXON, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. SASSER, Mr. KERRY, Mr. PELL, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. MITCHELL, Mr. GLENN, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. EXON, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. FOWLER, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. GORE, Mr. WIRTH, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. BRYAN, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. MCCLURE, Mr. GORTON, Mr. BURNS, Mr. SPECTER, Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. WILSON, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. SYMMS, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. STEVENS, Mr. WARNER, Mr. COATS, Mr. HATCH, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. HUMPHREY, and Mr. BOSCHWITZ):

S.J. Res. 258. A joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the last Friday of April 1990 as "National Arbor Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

NATIONAL ARBOR DAY

● Mr. BRADLEY. Mr President, in 1970 and 1972, Congress legislated and the President proclaimed the last Friday in April as National Arbor Day. Today, I am introducing a joint resolution which will once again recognize this important day. I am pleased that the 50 of my colleagues have joined me in sponsoring this legislation.

Trees are one of our Nation's most important natural resources. They provide the raw materials for our basic industries, stabilize our environment, and add natural grace to our surroundings. The establishment of a National Arbor Day reminds all our citizens to the vital presence of trees, whether in urban areas or in distant wilderness.

Man's impact on the environment and on the future of our planet is increasingly evident. The importance of trees as a natural resource should compel us to act promptly on the problem of forest decline. Scientists have observed declines, serious damage, and death of a number of species of trees in large areas of Europe and the United States. Damage to forests has ranged from decline in growth of several species of pine in southern New Jersey to widespread damage to the ponderosa pine in southern California.

Because we are concerned about damage to our forests and our trees and because we need to acknowledge the contribution that trees make to our health and well-being, I urge the Congress to designate April 27, 1990, as National Arbor Day. I encourage my colleagues to join us in this effort.

I ask unanimous consent to have the joint resolution printed in the RECORD.

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

S.J. RES. 258

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President is hereby authorized and requested to issue a proclamation designating the last Friday of April 1990 as "National Arbor Day" and calling upon the people of the United States to observe such a day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.●

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 435

At the request of Mr. REID, the name of the Senator from Washington [Mr. GORTON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 435, a bill to amend section 118 of the Internal Revenue Code to provide for certain exceptions from certain rules determining contributions in aid of construction.

S. 458

At the request of Mr. DECONCINI, the name of the Senator from New York [Mr. MOYNIHAN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 458, a bill to provide for a General Accounting Office investigation and report on conditions of displaced Salvadorans and Nicaraguans, to provide certain rules of the House of Representatives and of the Senate with respect to review of the report, to provide for the temporary stay of detention and deportation of certain Salvadorans and Nicaraguans, and for other purposes.

S. 659

At the request of Mr. SYMMS, the name of the Senator from Idaho [Mr. MCCLURE] was added as a cosponsor of S. 659, a bill to repeal the estate tax inclusion related to valuation freezes.

S. 670

At the request of Mr. ARMSTRONG, the names of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI], and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WALLOP] were added as cosponsors of S. 670, a bill to recognize the organization known as The Retired Enlisted Association, Incorporated.

S. 1067

At the request of Mr. GORE, the names of the Senator from California [Mr. CRANSTON], and the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. BOSCHWITZ] were added as cosponsors of S. 1067, a bill to provide for a coordinated Federal research program to ensure continued U.S. leadership in high-performance computing.

S. 1216

At the request of Mr. SIMON, the name of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. CONRAD] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1216, a bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act to give employers and performers in the live performing arts, rights given by section 8(e) of such act to employers and employees in similarily situated industries, to give to such employers and performers the same rights given by sections 8(f) of such act to employers and employees in the construction industry, and for other purposes.

S. 1245

At the request of Mr. MITCHELL, the name of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1245, a bill to amend the Federal Meat Inspection Act to expand the meat inspection programs of the United States by establishing a comprehensive inspection program to ensure the quality and wholesomeness of all fish products intended for human consumption in the United States, and for other purposes.

S. 1254

At the request of Ms. MIKULSKI, the names of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY], and the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SARBANES] were added as cosponsors of S. 1254, a bill to authorize the Secretary of Labor to make grants to public housing agencies for the provision of literacy training, training in basic and employment skills, and support services, and to establish the Gateway Task Force.

S. 1430

At the request of Mr. KENNEDY, the name of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. BINGAMAN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1430, a bill to enhance national and community service, and for other purposes.

S. 1511

At the request of Mr. PRYOR, the names of the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. RIEGLE], and the Senator from Rhode Island, [Mr. PELL] were added as cosponsors of S. 1511, a bill to amend the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 to clarify the protections given to older individuals in regard to employee benefit plans, and for other purposes.

S. 1515

At the request of Mr. MITCHELL and names of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN] were added as cosponsors of S. 1515, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permit private foundations and community foundations to establish tax-exempt cooperative service organizations.

S. 1624

At the request of Mr. THURMOND, and name of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1624, a bill to grant a Federal charter to the National Association of Women Veterans, Inc.

S. 1629

At the request of Mr. SPECTER, the name of the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1629, a bill to establish clearly a Federal right of action by aliens and U.S. citizens against persons engaging in torture or extrajudicial killings, and for other purposes.

S. 1669

At the request of Mr. BENTSEN, the name of the Senator from California [Mr. CRANSTON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1669, a bill to provide Hispanic-serving institutions of higher education with financial assistance to improve their capacity to expand Hispanic educational attainment.

S. 1696

At the request of Mr. KENNEDY, the name of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1696, a bill to amend title 28 of the United States Code to prohibit racially discriminatory capital sentencing.

S. 1703

At the request of Mr. BOSCHWITZ, the name of the Senator from Montana [Mr. BURNS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1703, a bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to permit Department of Veterans Affairs medical centers to retain a portion of the amounts collected from third parties as reimbursement for the cost of health care and services furnished by such medical centers.

S. 1853

At the request of Mr. CHAFEE, the names of the Senator from Texas [Mr. BENTSEN], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. LEAHY], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. LUGAR], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI], and the Senator from California [Mr. WILSON] were added as cosponsors of S. 1853, a bill to award a Congressional Gold Medal to Laurence Spelman Rockefeller.

S. 1860

At the request of Mr. BOREN, the names of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. COATS], the Senator from Washington [Mr. GORTON], and the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH] were added as cosponsors of S. 1860, a bill to amend title 38, United States Code, to require the Secretary of Veterans Affairs to furnish outpatient medical services for any disability of a former prisoner of war.

S. 1876

At the request of Mr. KOHL, the name of the Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1876, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a refundable tax credit for the costs of small businesses in providing accessibility for disabled individuals.

S. 1883

At the request of Mr. KENNEDY, the names of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], the Senator from

Minnesota [Mr. DURENBERGER], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. LAUTENBERG], and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BRADLEY] were added as cosponsors of S. 1883, a bill to amend the Public Service Act to establish a center for tobacco products, to inform the public hazards of tobacco use, to disclose and restrict additives to such products, and to require labeling of such products to provide information concerning such products to the public, and for other purposes.

S. 1890

At the request of Mr. THURMOND, the names of the Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. KASTEN], the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. NICKLES] and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. RIEGLE] were added as cosponsors of S. 1890, a bill to amend title 5, United States Code, to provide relief from certain inequities remaining in the crediting of National Guard technician service in connection with civil service retirement, and for other purposes.

S. 1911

At the request of Mr. DODD, the name of the Senator from Kansas [Mrs. KASSEBAUM] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1911, a bill to provide assistance in the development of new or improved programs to help younger individuals through grants to the States for community planning, services, and training; to establish within the Department of Health and Human Services an operating agency to be designated as the Administration on Children, Youth, and Families; to provide for a White House Conference on Young Americans; and for other purposes.

S. 1971

At the request of Mr. THURMOND, the name of the Senator from Florida [Mr. MACK] was added as a cosponsor of S. 1971, a bill to establish a constitutional death penalty and strengthen and improve Federal criminal penalties and procedures.

S. 2016

At the request of Mr. MOYNIHAN, the name of the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE] was added as a cosponsor of S. 2016, a bill to cut Social Security contribution rates and return Social Security to pay-as-you-go financing.

S. 2021

At the request of Mr. DOLE, the name of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. MCCAIN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 2021, a bill to amend title 11, United States Code, to ensure that the bankruptcy laws are not used to prevent restitution to, or recovery of, failed financial institutions.

S. 2039

At the request of Mr. COCHRAN, the names of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIXON], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr ROCKEFELLER], and the Senator from Washington [Mr. ADAMS] were added as cosponsors of S. 2039, a bill to improve the quality of student writing and learning, and the teaching of writing as a learning process in the Nation's classrooms.

S. 2048

At the request of Mr. SARBANES, the name of the Senator from Maryland [Ms. MIKULSKI] was added as a cosponsor of S. 2048, a bill to provide for cost-of-living adjustments in 1991 under certain Government retirement programs.

S. 2089

At the request of Mr. BOSCHWITZ, the names of the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GRASSLEY], and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON] were added as cosponsors of S. 2089, a bill to require the Director of the Geological Survey to conduct a study of the water quality of the Mississippi River.

S. 2093

At the request of Mr. BUMPERS, the name of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. CONRAD] was added as a cosponsor of S. 2093, a bill to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act to exclude from the definition of "independent expenditures" those expenditures that are not truly independent of the legislative process.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 195

At the request of Mr. D'AMATO, the name of the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 195, a joint resolution proclaiming Christopher Columbus to be an honorary citizen of the United States.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 206

At the request of Mr. GORE, the names of the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL] and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. LIEBERMAN] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 206, a joint resolution calling for the United States to encourage immediate negotiations toward a new agreement among Antarctic Treaty consultative parties, for the full protection of Antarctica as a global ecological commons.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 212

At the request of Mr. BUMPERS, his name was withdrawn as a cosponsor of Senate Joint Resolution 212, a joint resolution designating April 24, 1990, as "National Day of Remembrance of the 75th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide of 1915–23."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 226

At the request of Mr. HEINZ, the names of the Senator from Indiana [Mr. LUGAR], the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH], the Senator from Utah [Mr. GARN], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. MCCLURE], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. SYMMS], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DURENBERGER], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. BOSCHWITZ], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Washington [Mr. GORTON], the Senator from Washington [Mr. ADAMS], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GRASSLEY], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. CHAFEE], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from Maine [Mr. COHEN], the Senator from Florida [Mr. MACK], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. KASTEN], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. JEFFORDS], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. DANFORTH], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BYRAN], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BRADLEY], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. LAUTENBERG], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. GLENN], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. METZENBAUM], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA], the Senator from California [Mr. CRANSTON], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. DECONCINI], the Senator from New York [Mr. MOYNIHAN], the Senator from Maryland [Ms. MIKULSKI], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SARBANES], the Senator from Texas [Mr. BENTSEN], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIXON], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. BOREN] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 226, a joint resolution to designate the year 1990 as the "bicentennial anniversary of the legacy of Benjamin Franklin."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 227

At the request of Mr. KASTEN, the names of the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from Washington [Mr. GORTON], the Senator from New York [Mr. MOYNIHAN], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. BOSCHWITZ], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DURENBERGER], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SHELBY], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ROCKEFELLER], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY], the

Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. CONRAD], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. JOHNSTON], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. HEINZ], the Senator from Maryland [Ms. MIKULSKI], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. COATS], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN], the Senator from Florida [Mr. GRAHAM], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. METZENBAUM], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. MCCLURE], the Senator from Maine [Mr. MITCHELL], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. PRESSLER], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SPECTER], and the Senator from Kansas [Mrs. KASSEBAUM] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 227, a joint resolution to designate March 11 through March 17, 1990, as "Deaf Awareness Week."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 237

At the request of Mr. DOLE, the names of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. BOSCHWITZ], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BUMPERS], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. COATS], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN], the Senator from Maine [Mr. COHEN], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DURENBERGER], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. GLENN], the Senator from Texas [Mr. GRAMM], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GRASSLEY], the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. JEFFORDS], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BRYAN], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. MCCLURE], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. ROCKEFELLER], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], and the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 237, a joint resolution providing for the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Dwight David Eisenhower.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 241

At the request of Mr. D'AMATO, the names of the Senator from Arizona [Mr. DECONCINI], the Senator from California [Mr. CRANSTON], the Senator from Florida [Mr. GRAHAM], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. KASTEN], and the Senator from Maine [Mr. MITCHELL] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 241, a joint resolution to designate the week of April 29, 1990, through May 5, 1990, as "Jewish Heritage Week."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 242

At the request of Mr. THURMOND, the names of the Senator from Utah [Mr. GARN] and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 242, a joint resolution designating the week of April 22 through April 28, 1990, as "National Crime Victims" Rights Week."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 243

At the request of Mr. LAUTENBERG, the names of the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], the Senator from Maine [Mr. COHEN], the Senator from California [Mr. CRANSTON], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE], the Senator from Kansas [Mrs. KASSEBAUM], the Senator from New York [Mr. MOYNIHAN], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBB], and the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. RUDMAN] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 243, a joint resolution to designate March 25, 1990, as "Greek Independence Day: A National Day of Celebration of Greek and American Democracy."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 245

At the request of Mr. MCCLURE, the names of the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ARMSTRONG], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. BOND], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. BOSCHWITZ], the Senator from Montana [Mr. BURNS], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. CHAFEE], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. COATS], the Senator from Maine [Mr. COHEN], the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DURENBERGER], the Senator from Utah [Mr. GARN], the Senator from Washington [Mr. GORTON], the Senator from Utah [Mr. HATCH], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. HATFIELD], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. HEINZ], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. HELMS], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HUMPHREY], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. JEFFORDS], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. LUGAR], the Senator from Florida [Mr. MACK], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI], the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. RUDMAN], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WALLOP], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. WARNER], the Senator from California [Mr. WILSON], the Senator from Washington [Mr. ADAMS], the Senator from Montana [Mr. BAUCUS], the Senator from Texas [Mr. BENTSEN], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. BINGAMAN], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BRADLEY], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BREAUX], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BRYAN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BUMPERS], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. CONRAD], the Senator from South Dakota [Mr. DASCHLE], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. DECONCINI], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIXON], the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. FORD], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. GLENN], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. HEFLIN], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. JOHNSTON], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. LAUTENBERG], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. METZENBAUM], and the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 245, a joint resolution designating July 3, 1990, as "Idaho Centennial Day."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 250

At the request of Mr. CHAFEE, the names of the Senator from Maine [Mr. MITCHELL], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. METZENBAUM], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. DECONCINI], the Senator from Texas [Mr. BENTSEN], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. LIEBERMAN], the Senator from Maine [Mr. COHEN], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. DANFORTH], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GRASSLEY], and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 250, a joint resolution designating April 1990 as "National Recycling Month."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 252

At the request of Mr. BENTSEN, the names of the Senator from Washington [Mr. ADAMS], the Senator from Montana [Mr. BAUCUS], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. BINGAMAN], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BRADLEY], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BREAUX], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BRYAN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. BUMPERS], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. CONRAD], the Senator from California [Mr. CRANSTON], the Senator from Arizona [Mr. DECONCINI], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DIXON], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. GLENN], the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. GORE], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. HOLLINGS], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. LAUTENBERG], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. METZENBAUM], the Senator from Maryland [Ms. MIKULSKI], the Sena-

tor from New York [Mr. MOYNIHAN], the Senator from Georgia [Mr. NUNN], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. PELL], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. PRYOR], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. RIEGLE], the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. SANFORD], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SARBANES], the Senator from Alabama [Mr. SHELBY], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. BOSCHWITZ], the Senator from Montana [Mr. BURNS], the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. CHAFEE], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. COATS], the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO], the Senator from Missouri [Mr. DANFORTH], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE], the Senator from New Mexico [Mr. DOMENICI], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. DURENBERGER], the Senator from Utah [Mr. GARN], the Senator from Washington [Mr. GORTON], the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. HEINZ], the Senator from Vermont [Mr. JEFFORDS], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. LUGAR], the Senator from Florida [Mr. MACK], the Senator from Idaho [Mr. MCCLURE], the Senator from Oregon [Mr. PACKWOOD], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], the Senator from Virginia [Mr. WARNER], and the Senator from California [Mr. WILSON] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 252, a joint resolution designating the week of April 15, 1990, through April 21, 1990, as "National Minority Cancer Awareness Week."

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 81

At the request of Mr. SYMMS, the name of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. ROTH] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Concurrent Resolution 81, a concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that it should be the policy of the United States to encourage an acceleration of growth in selected Third World nations in order to create new markets for advanced-country products and services.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 92

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the names of the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO], the Senator from Utah [Mr. GARN], the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. MATSUNAGA], the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. LUGAR], and the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY] were added as cosponsors of Senate Concurrent Resolution 92, a concurrent resolution to commemorate the Treaty of Amity and Commerce of 1833 between the United States and Thailand.

SENATE RESOLUTION 239

At the request of Mr. DECONCINI, the name of the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. INOUYE] was added as a cosponsor of Senate Resolution 239, a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate denouncing the military offensive in Angola and urging an immediate ceasefire.

SENATE RESOLUTION 245—DESIGNATING NATIONAL EMPLOYEE HEALTH AND FITNESS DAY

Mr. LUGAR (for himself, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. BOND, Mr. CHAFEE, Mr. COATS, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. DOLE, Mr. DURENBERGER, Mr. GORTON, Mr. MCCLURE, Mr. BOSCHWITZ, Mr. HEINZ, Mr. SPECTER, Mr. WILSON, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mrs. KASSEBAUM, Mr. WARNER, Mr. GARN, Mr. HATCH, Mr. SYMMS, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. ARMSTRONG, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. BRADLEY, Mr. BURDICK, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. LAUTENBERG, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. PELL, Mr. RIEGLE, Mr. HEFLIN, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. BENTSEN, Mr. GLENN, Mr. DODD, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. HOLLINGS, Mr. GORE, Mr. SIMON, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. KERRY, Mr. NUNN, Mr. BIDEN, Mr. ROBB, and Mr. LIEBERMAN). submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary:

S. RES. 245

Whereas recent medical studies prove that regular exercise and good nutrition are basic requisites for good health; and

Whereas, a strong and healthy body influence not only an individual's outlook on life but also a person's mental attitude, daily experiences both on and off the job, and academic and social skills; and

Whereas the National Association of Governors' Councils on Physical Fitness and Sports and the Association for Fitness in Business are presenting the second National Employee Health and Fitness Day [NEHFD] on Wednesday, May 16, 1990; and

Whereas NEHFD is the largest event in the Nation's history to promote fitness at the worksite and the ultimate goal of NEHFD is to encourage employers to look seriously at initiating long term fitness and recreation programs; and

Whereas employers throughout the Nation are being asked to join in National Employee Health and Fitness Day by allowing employees to participate in noncompetitive walking, jogging, cycling, and other activities designed to be fun and dramatize the importance of physical fitness at the same time;

Resolved by the United States Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the members of the United States Congress hereby designate Wednesday, May 16, 1990, as "National Employee Health and Fitness Day;" and be it further

Resolved, That all American employers and employees are encouraged to take an active role in practicing better health and fitness from this day forward.

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

ILO CONVENTION NO. 160

MOYNIHAN DECLARATION NO. 1257

Mr. MOYNIHAN proposed a declaration to the resolution of ratification of a certified copy of the Convention (No. 160) Concerning Labor Statistics, adopted by the International Labor Conference at Geneva on June 25, 1985; as follows:

Strike the period at the end of the text of the resolution of ratification and add the following language: ", subject to the following declaration:

"There is agreement by the United States Government agencies concerned, the AFL-CIO, and the United States Council for International Business, that each ILO convention will be examined on its merits on a tripartite basis; that if there are any differences between the convention and Federal law and practice, these will be dealt with in the normal legislative process; and that there is no intention to change State law and practice by Federal action through ratification of ILO conventions, and the examination will include possible conflicts between Federal and State law that would be caused by such ratification."

NOTICE OF HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

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

The hearing will take place Thursday, March 8, at 2 p.m. in room SD-366 of the Senate Dirksen Office Building in Washington, DC.

The purpose of the hearing is to hear testimony on Senate Joint Resolution 154, to consent to certain amendments enacted by the legislature of the State of Hawaii to the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920.

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

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

The purpose of the hearing is to receive testimony from the Department of Energy on its decision plan related to the opening of the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant in Carlsbad, NM. Testimony will also be received on any proposed legislation to withdraw the public lands surrounding the WIPP site.

The hearing, originally scheduled to take place on March 8, 1990, has been rescheduled. The hearing will now take place on Thursday, March 29, 1990, at 9:30 a.m. in room SD-366 of

the Senate Dirksen Office Building in Washington, DC.

Those wishing to submit written testimony for the printed hearing record should send their comments to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510. Attention: M.L. Wagner.

For further information, please contact Mary Louise Wagner at (202) 224-7569.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC LANDS, NATIONAL PARKS, AND FORESTS

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, I would like to announce that the hearing before the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, which was previously scheduled for February 26 at 10 a.m., has been rescheduled for February 26 at 2 p.m. The purpose of the hearing is to receive testimony on two major provisions of H.R. 987, the House-passed Tongass reform legislation, which have not been directly addressed at previous subcommittee hearings. Specifically, the subcommittee will take testimony on those portions of H.R. 987, relating to fisheries protection and buffer zones (section 104(e)), and those provisions relating to the designation of additional wilderness areas on the Tongass National Forest, title III.

For further information regarding the hearing, please contact Beth Norcross of the subcommittee staff at (202) 224-7933.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON MINERAL RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT AND PRODUCTION

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I would like to announce for the public that a hearing has been scheduled before the Mineral Resources Development and Production Subcommittee of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

The hearing is scheduled to take place on Wednesday, March 7, 1990, at 2 p.m. in room 366 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building in Washington, DC.

The purpose of the hearing is to receive testimony concerning S. 1908 and H.R. 737, legislation to amend the Stock Raising Homestead Act.

Those wishing to submit written statements for the hearing record should write to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, U.S. Senate, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Room 364, Washington, DC 20510. For further information, please contact Lisa Vehmas of the subcommittee staff at (202) 224-7555.

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, last month I announced that the Committee on Rules and Administration would meet on Thursday, February 22, for hearings; and Tuesday, February 27, for a markup. Since the committee has scheduled additional hearings on both these dates, I would like to briefly review the committee activities on these dates; they are as follows:

Thursday, February 22, 1990, SR-301:

9:30 a.m.: Hearing on S. 1543, to authorize a memorial to George Mason in D.C.

10 a.m.: Hearing on nomination of Robert William Houk, of Ohio, to be Public Printer.

11 a.m.: Hearing on proposed legislation by Senator DECONCINI on campaign finance.

Tuesday, February 27, 1990, SR-301:

9:30 a.m.: Markup of pending executive, legislative, and administrative business, including the nomination of Robert William Houk to be Public Printer, S. 1543, and other items ready for consideration.

10:15 a.m.: Hearing on S. 1655, the "Federal Election Enforcement Act."

11 a.m.: Hearing on S. 1727, the "Comprehensive Campaign Finance Reform Act of 1989."

Senators, Representatives, and other interested individuals and organizations who wish to testify or submit a statement for the hearing record on any of the hearings listed above are requested to contact Jack Sousa, chief counsel of the Rules Committee, on 224-5648. For further information on the February 27 markup, please contact Mr. Sousa.

Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Committee on Rules and Administration has scheduled two dates in March to continue receiving testimony on campaign finance proposals. If necessary, the committee will meet on Thursday, March 1, and Monday, March 5, 1990, at 9:30 a.m., in SR-301, to complete hearings on this legislation.

Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Committee on Rules and Administration will meet on Thursday, March 8, 1990, at 9:30 a.m., in SR-301, to mark up pending campaign finance legislation.

For further information regarding this markup, please contact Mr. Jack Sousa, chief counsel of the Rules Committee, on 224-5648.

COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I announce, for the information of Senators, that the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, which I am privileged to chair, is scheduled to hold a hearing Friday, February 23, 1990, in SH-216 at 8 a.m., to consider the fiscal year 1991 veterans programs budget and administration-proposed bills to waive the congressional notice-and-wait requirements for the administrative reorganizations of the Loan Guaranty Division at the Togus VA Regional Office (S. 2101) and of the Veterans Health Services and Research Administration (S. 2103).

Mr. President, I announce, for the information of Senators, that the Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs and the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, are scheduled to hold a joint hearing on February 27, 1990, in SH-216 at 9:30 a.m. to consider the legislative presentation by the Disabled American Veterans.

AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

SUBCOMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURAL CREDIT

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Agricultural Credit of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, February 20, at 2:30 p.m. to hold a hearing in preparation for the 1990 farm bill. The hearing will address the credit title of the farm bill as it relates to the Farmers Home Administration's Guaranteed Lending Program.

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

PERMANENT SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATION

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Governmental Affairs, be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, February 20, 1990, to hold hearings on the Abuses in Federal Student Aid programs.

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

SUBCOMMITTEE ON COURTS AND ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Courts and Administrative Practice of the Committee on the Judiciary, be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, February 20, 1990, at 2:30 p.m., to hold a hearing on S. 464, a bill to promote safety and health standards and clarifying the United States responsibility for harm caused by its negligence at any workplace owned by, operated by, or under contract with the United States.

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

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Select Committee on Intelligence be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, February 20, 1990, at 2 p.m. to hold a closed hearing on intelligence matters.

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

COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Labor and Human Resources be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Tuesday, February 20, 1990, at 9:30 a.m. for a

hearing on "Tobacco: Education and Control."

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

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

TRIBUTE OF RECOGNITION FOR THE HOSTAGES AND THEIR FAMILIES

● Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, February is a time of transition, not yet the end of winter, not yet the start of spring, but still a time of great expectation. This sense of patient hope continues to sustain the families and friends of our fellow Americans held hostage in Lebanon.

On February 22 at Calvary Missionary Church in Pontiac, MI, a committee chaired by Mr. Ernest A. May will hold its third annual "Tribute of Recognition for the Hostages and Their Families." They will be joined on this occasion by Virginia Rose Steen, of Clark Lake, MI, wife of journalism Prof. Alann Steen, who was seized January 24, 1987.

Tributes such as this serve to remind all Americans that there can be no real peace until all the hostages are back with their families. And this tribute gives us a common way to express our hope. For the Steens and for all the hostages and families and friends, as certain as spring, there will be freedom.●

HARVEST OF PEACE RESOLUTION, SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 91

● Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to express my support for the "Harvest of Peace Resolution" recently submitted by my colleagues Senator HATFIELD and Senator BUMPERS.

I am proud to be a cosponsor of this concurrent resolution because I believe it addresses three of our Nation's major goals for the 1990's—to reverse the arms race, to overcome world hunger and to promote global security through peaceful development.

Mr. President, the move toward more openness in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe is presenting the United States with opportunities that were once unimaginable. Among these is the opportunity to think about nuclear and conventional arms reductions.

This reduction is tensions means we will be able to provide for our legitimate defense at less cost. We will, therefore, have the opportunity to allocate more resources toward overcoming hunger, poverty, and environmental degradation.

Since more than 20 million people in the United States feel the pain of hunger each month and more than 750 millon people worldwide suffer from famine, this reallocation of resources is of critical importance.

In addition, since we have learned that defensive measures alone will never be able to guarantee global security, it is appropriate for us to look to other means for promoting peace. Such measures include building sound economies, helping people meet their basic needs of food, shelter, and health care, and allowing citizens the freedom to participate in their political systems.

The concurrent resolution before us today recognizes that it is time to place these goals at the top of our agenda. It urges negotiations toward the goal of cutting worldwide military spending by the year 2000; renewed efforts for peace where conflicts exist; reallocations of U.S. aid, domestically and overseas, to provide for those who are hungry and without shelter, economic conversion efforts to ease the transition to productive nondefensive work; and reductions in the Federal deficit.

We are at a unique point in history, a point at which goals that once seemed idealistic and are now reasonable and attainable. Let us take advantage of this unique moment in history to pursue these goals and let us start by adopting this concurrent resolution.●

AGRICULTURE AND THE ENVIRONMENT

● Mr. BOREN. Mr. President, as we begin the initial proceedings of drafting the 1990 farm bill, many people are concerned about the environmental aspects of the bill.

I believe the conservation programs of the 1985 farm bill coupled with voluntary practices by agriculture producers have made U.S. agriculture more environmentally advanced than ever before. Since the 1985 farm bill, 34 million acres of highly-erodible land has been idled under the Conservation Reserve Program, farmers have developed conversation plans that will reduce erosion by more than 1.4 billion tons per year and the USDA has developed a wetlands conservation program and begun a 37-State groundwater quality initiative.

The use of pesticides in agriculture production has increased in the last 20 years. However, total pesticide use has leveled off in recent years. Some use of agriculture chemicals is necessary to save crops and keep food prices low. Even with extensive spraying, pests destroy large amounts of U.S. crops each year.

While all chemicals cannot be eliminated, I believe it is important to encourage methods of farming that rely on decreased usage. Land grant universities, such as Oklahoma State University, have been researching and promoting integrated pest management systems in which all production factors would be integrated for long-term productivity and environmental safety.

Mr. President, I believe the conservation programs of the 1985 farm bill were good, environmentally sound programs. As we begin the process of writing the 1990 farm bill, we must build and expand upon these programs. We must help our American farmers who are the most productive in the world and provide them with workable programs that will not hinder their ability to produce.

I have been working with a group of Senators and major commodity groups to produce a proposal for the 1990 farm bill that will help agriculture producers move toward conservation and environmental goals. The proposal will address water quality, wetlands conservation, integrated crop management and the Conservation Reserve Program. Our proposal is one that considers both agricultural and environmental goals.●

NOTICE OF DETERMINATION BY THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS UNDER RULE 35, PARAGRAPH 4, PERMITTING ACCEPTANCE OF A GIFT OF EDUCATIONAL TRAVEL FROM A FOREIGN ORGANIZATION

● Mr. HEFLIN. Mr. President, it is required by paragraph 4 of rule 35 that I place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD notices of Senate employees who participate in programs, the principal objective of which is educational, sponsored by a foreign government or a foreign educational or charitable organization involving travel to a foreign country paid for by that government or organization.

The select committee has received a request for a determination under rule 35 for Ms. Juliana Walsh, a member of the staff of Senator GRAHAM, to participate in a program in Taiwan, sponsored by the Soochow University, from February 11 to 16, 1990.

The committee has determined that participation by Ms. Walsh in the program in Taiwan, at the expense of the Soochow University, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee has received a request for a determination under rule 35 for Mr. David Gossack, a member of the staff of Senator MATSUNAGA, to participate in a program in Japan, sponsored by the Japan Center for International Exchange, from February 10 to 19, 1990.

The committee has determined that participation by Mr. Gossack in the program in Japan, at the expense of the Japan Center for International Exchange, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee has received a request for a determination under rule 35 for Mr. Dennis Shea, a member of the staff of Senator DOLE, to participate in a program in the People's Republic of China, sponsored by the Far East Studies Institute in conjunction with the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, from February 11 to 17, 1990.

The committee has determined that participation by Mr. Shea in the program in the People's Republic of China, at the expense of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee has received a request for a determination under rule 35 for Ms. Majorie Chorlins, a member of the staff of Senator DANFORTH, to participate in a program in the People's Republic of China, sponsored by the Far East Studies Institute in conjunction with the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, from February 11-17, 1990.

The committee has determined that participation by Ms. Chorlins in the program in the People's Republic of China, at the expense of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee has received a request for a determination under rule 35 for Mr. Jeffrey Sims, a member of the staff of Senator PELL, to participate in a program in the People's Republic of China, sponsored by the Far East Studies Institute in conjunction with the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, from February 11-17, 1990.

The committee has determined that participation by Mr. Sims in the program in the People's Republic of China, at the expense of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee has received a request for a determination under rule 35 for Ms. Judith Freedman, a member of the staff of Senator NUNN, to participate in a program in the People's Republic of China, sponsored by the Far East Studies Institute in conjunction with the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, from February 11-17, 1990.

The committee has determined that participation by Ms. Freedman in the program in the People's Republic of China, at the expense of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee has received a request for a determination under rule 35 for Mr. Mark Ulven, a member of the staff of Senator DASCHLE, to participate in a program in Taiwan, sponsored by Soochow University, from February 11-16, 1990.

The committee has determined that participation by Mr. Ulven in the program in Taiwan, at the expense of Soochow University, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

ELKHART COUNTY DRUG TASK FORCE

● Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I rise today to commend the efforts of some of our front line troops on the war on drugs. Although we must ultimately work to curb individual demand, I am greatly encouraged by the intensity of law enforcement officials in cutting drug supply lines and I am heartened by recent events which show that our drug interdiction and enforcement efforts are beginning to pay off. The signals are clear; we are making definite progress in our bid to curb the supply side of the drug problem.

You know you are beginning to make a difference when drug kingpins, fearful of extradition to the United States, announce plans to cooperate with their countries' enforcement efforts. Indeed, some of the Medellin cartel's top bosses have vowed recently to stop peddling their death as long as they are not sent to justice in the United States.

You know you are sending the right signal to drug dealers when law enforcement officials continue to apprehend and judges continue to convict major pushers in our towns and cities.

You know you are sending the right message when people from Nappanee, IN, to New York, NY, rise up and decide enough is enough; we will no longer tolerate drug abuse in our communities. Through the efforts of Federal, State, and local police, we are taking crucial steps toward purging our neighborhoods of the poison of drugs.

One such group has provided other communities with a stellar example of how to battle drugs in the trenches of the war. I want to take this opportunity to single out the inspiring work of the Elkhart County drug task force in my home State of Indiana. This cooperative Hoosier effort has made significant progress in attacking the supply of drugs in Elkhart County.

The drug problem is not restricted to big cities; drugs have taken hold in the fabric of middle America. In fact, per capita drug abuse is actually higher in communities of 10,000 to 25,000 people. As task force officers note: Elkhart County is home to a dozen major pushers operating a network of between 150 and 200 street dealers.

Mr. President, I would like to share the annual report of the Elkhart County task force with my colleagues. I ask that the content of this report be inserted in the RECORD.

The report follows:

ELKHART COUNTY DRUG TASK FORCE

1989 YEAR END REPORT, ELKHART COUNTY DRUG TASK FORCE

The Year End Report of the Elkhart County Drug Task Force reflects a mixed message. Law enforcement has made a great deal of progress in the local "war" on drugs. We have significantly increased our case production, our arrest statistics, and our identification of narcotics dealers and users in Elkhart County. Unfortunately, this has contributed significantly to the overcrowding in the jail and an increase in the case load in the criminal justice system. The paradox is that while all this is positive as it relates to the Task Force efforts, and the Task Force's stated mission, it also reflects on the fact that this community has a significant narcotics and substance abuse problem. The problem is bigger now than when we started our efforts.

If the efforts that have been put forth by the Task Force had been directed at any other type of criminal activity, that activity would, in all likelihood, been eradicated or greatly reduced. Why is this not the case with the "war on drugs"? The answer is, no other criminal activity so completely controls the perpetrator, as is the case in the trafficking and use of illicit drugs.

Burglars are not physically addicted to burglary, purse snatchers are not physically addicted to purse snatching, car thieves are not physically addicted to stealing cars. When all these criminals are free on bond or awaiting trial, they are not totally consumed by the physical and psychological desire to return to their criminal activity.

In addition to the physical addiction suffered by the majority of persons that traffic in narcotics, the higher level dealers are consumed by the high profit return of their criminal enterprise.

No other criminal activity produces the high profit margins. These upper level dealers have an almost endless supply of addicted persons that are willing to make them rich, while they take most of the risks merely for the "reward" of maintaining their habit. No other criminal activity would have this phenomenon occur.

We find ourselves in the midst of the cry for legalization for illegal drugs. More and more persons seem to be proposing this as a solution to the problem.

These proponents claim that we have lost the "war on drugs". I propose that we have yet to begin to fight the "war on drugs". When a law enforcement agency devotes 4 percent of its manpower to drug investigations, when most studies prove that between 65 percent to 80 percent of persons arrested are testing positive for illegal drugs, then a sufficient commitment has not been made. When substance abuse is the single most serious problem perceived by citizens of this community and this country, and we have not made a complete commitment toward dealing with this problem, then we are not fighting a "war". The Drug Task Force has less manpower then was committed to drug investigations in 1980, and only two more officers assigned than were assigned in 1972. War is when one makes sacrifices, when one makes a complete and total commitment to fighting with every resource available. This country is being threatened like it has never been threatened in its history. The substance abuse problem has the potential to literally destroy this country from within.

In addition, what makes the proponents of legalization believe that the major narcotics traffickers will stand idly by and

allow this to happen? We have been trying to interdict and arrest these persons for a number of years. Because of our failure to make a total commitment to this effort, it has been less than successful.

Is it reasonable to believe that the major traffickers are going to allow themselves to be legislated out of existence? Not hardly!

Attempts at legalization will almost surely bring about a series of events. Terrorism as we have not experienced, similar to what we are witnessing in Columbia, the development of new and different types of illegal drugs, the black marketing of other drugs presently being sold, a whole new market of younger persons who will not be able to purchase drugs legally.

If the government gets into the business of selling, what are now illegal drugs, the taxation that will be added will be very similar to what is seen in the taxation of distilled spirits and other alcoholic beverages. This increase in price will, most assuredly, create a market for kitchen type lab facilities that are making illegal substances. Add to that, the additional cost to society in the form of additional social programs, domestic violence programs, and added hospital space, certainly makes this approach less attractive.

Prison space to merely incarcerate persons is very expensive, but not nearly as expensive as hospital space.

The legalization of drugs will most likely be restricted to the legal distribution to adults, leaving a large market for teens and adolescents. In the case of the most commonly abused substance, alcohol, a person will most likely not become physically addicted after just one exposure. I have talked to a large number of addicts, however, that have told me that one "hit" on the pipe (crack or ice) and they are addicted. That is a lifetime of addiction.

Is legalization the message that we want our youth in the next generation to receive? If you have a problem, make it legal, then it is no problem?

Totally new and different types of controlled substances will be developed that will be on the market before the Federal government will have a chance to examine these substances for their harmful effects. How quickly does the FDA process act on new substances? These new creations, or designer type drugs, will be on the street and will be used, with the black market being the source. The creation of "Ice", a smokeable form of crystal methamphetamine, is a perfect example of the ingenuity of the drug traffickers. Ice will become the problem of the early 1990's. It will, in all likelihood, replace crack cocaine because of the physical effects, as well as the lower price. Especially because of its domestic production capabilities.

The Elkhart County Drug Task Force has been an entity since mid to late 1986. In the spring of 1986, Det. Neil Graves of the Indiana State Police and Det. Tom Dewitt of the Elkhart Police Department, were interviewed by the Elkhart Truth. They had the following observations:

51 of 139 arrests by the Elkhart City Police were for cocaine.

Undercover officers purchased or seized $18,340.00 worth of cocaine in that period.

Indiana State Police intelligence indicated that there were a dozen major dealers operating in Elkhart County.

Their distribution network involved around 150-200 street dealers.

Dewitt estimated that there were 1-3 major dealers operating in the city.

At the time, these numbers were astounding and received front page coverage. With these numbers in mind, the numbers for 1989 should scare the citizens of Elkhart County, to death:

136 cocaine delivery cases investigated by the Drug Task Force. (This does not include arrests for possession of cocaine by the law enforcement agencies in Elkhart County).

Undercover officers purchased and/or seized 1724.57 grams of cocaine, with an estimated potential street value (according to the DEA formula) $1,379,656.00.

The Drug Task Force arrested 11 Level I dealers (persons who deal in kilos of cocaine and have distinct organizations working as distributors).

Approximately 500 persons have been identified that distribute cocaine. (At one level or another).

These figures are representative of cocaine and do not include other drugs such as marijuana, crystal methamphetamine (crank), and other illegal drugs.

These numbers have been generated with less manpower. The officers of the Elkhart County Drug Task Force are on call 7 days a week, 365 days a year. The Task Force personnel have worked approximately 2000 hours of overtime in the calendar year 1989. There were numerous occasions during a shift when officers were not able to take a break or stop for a meal during a 14-16 hour shift.

The officers assigned to the Elkhart County Drug Task Force are extremely dedicated to the performance of their duties, and have operated extremely well again, in 1989. A major asset of the Elkart County Drug Task Force is a civilian administrative assistant, who handles all incoming intelligence calls, and also maintains our intelligence files, types the reports, and assists the officers in the performance of their duties.

Some of the highlights during the course of 1989 were the investigation, and ultimate arrests, of 11 Level I drug dealers. A level I defendant is one that can deliver as much as a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of cocaine or crystal methamphetamine, or 50 pounds of marijuana. This person would also have a minimum of 5 persons working in a distribution network. Of these eleven persons designated as Level I dealers, three of these were females. Females at this level are a departure from our past investigative experience.

Also during 1989 an individual that had been a target of the Drug Task Force for approximately two years, pled guilty to cocaine delivery charges and received a 20 year sentence. With time served in the county jail and time off for good behavior, he will be released in about 9 years.

Two other persons that were brought to justice during 1989, were two brothers that held a member of the Drug Task Force at gunpoint and threatened to murder him, merely because he was a police officer. A trial was held during 1989 and these subjects were ultimately found guilty and were sentenced, one for 18 years, the other for 30 years.

The Elkart County Drug Task Force has continued to maintain its good working relationship with the South Bend Federal Drug Task Force, and other law enforcement agencies not only in this area, but in areas throughout the country. The credibility of the Elkart County Drug Task Force is very high. We feel we have earned the respect of our peers. At the end of 1989, Assistant U.S. Attorney Rick Jancha transferred to the Orlando, FL U.S. Attorney's Office. Mr. Jancha had been assigned to the South Bend Federal Drug Task Force, and had been a great asset to the Elkhart County Drug Task Force. He assisted us on a number of investigations, and was a good resource for us.

In 1989, we have seen an additional commitment by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms to dealing with the narcotics problem throughout the nation. On a local level, we have established a good working relationship with agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms.

We have also maintained throughout 1989, our extremely high conviction rate. It is felt this high conviction rate is due to our good working relationship with the Elkhart County Prosecutor's Office, as well as the thoroughness of our investigations.

As the Elkhart County Drug Task Force prepares to enter the next decade, we feel we are prepared to face the new challenges that are ahead. The personnel are dedicated to continue to deal with this problem with whatever resources are provided to us.

While we have had great success in developing cases on targeted individuals and organizations, we know that the effort must continue. We hope that the strong support from the citizens of Elkhart County will continue. This support is what enables the individuals of the Task Force to continue, in the face of such overwhelming odds.

Some things challenging us in the 1990's are the continued influx of out of town groups entering our jurisdiction for the purpose of uniting and setting up drug distribution networks. We have seen this occur twice in 1989, one group from southern Missouri (this organization was infiltrated and taken apart with the arrest of a large number of persons in October 1989). A second organization appears to be gaining influence, and this influence has been felt within our community. Only time will tell with this group as to how entrenched they will become, due to recent activities they have been involved in. This organization is still under investigation.

The influx of street gang type activity is a sign of many problems to follow. Such as; increased violence, crack cocaine, turf battles, and increased attacks on law enforcement personnel. A drug related homicide during the year 1989, and a second homicide that is presently under investigation, are indicators that these types of activities need to be dealt with firmly and forcefully.

The solutions involve education, awareness, and strict law enforcement. Only a combination of all three, along with a complete and total commitment by all political entities, all law enforcement agencies, the criminal justice system, as well as the citizens, will even begin to address the problem. This community has a great deal going for it. With all resources brought together, we have the opportunity to deal with this problem and deal with it in a positive way.

No year end report of the activities of the Elkhart County Drug Task Force would be complete without the recognition of the Elkhart County Fight Crime Fund. Approximately $55,000.00 of funds processed through the Fight Crime Fund, have been utilized by the Drug Task Force. This support has made possible all we have accomplished. This support and dedication are what make our efforts unique. We, the members of the Elkhart County Drug Task Force, greatly appreciate their efforts.

TASK FORCE SUPERVISOR

ANNUAL REPORT DECEMBER 31, 1989

CASE COMPARISONS

	1987	1988	1989	Percent increase
Cases	126	162	255	36
Defendants	72	117	[1] 183	36
Intelligence reports		1,135	1,730	34

[1] Eleven Level I defendants (three were females). A Level I defendant is a person that can deliver as much as one kilogram (2.2 pounds) of cocaine or crystal methamphetamine, or 50 pounds of marijuana. This person also would have a minimum of five persons working in a distribution network.

JURISDICTION OF CASES INVESTIGATED

	1988	1989	Percent of cases
City of Elkhart	98	179	70
Elkhart County	47	55	22
Other	17	21	8

Nappanee (12); Goshen (4); Middlebury (4); Bristol (1).

TYPES OF CASES

	City	County	Other
Delivery of a controlled substance	139	39	11
Surveillance arrests	28	13	5
Search warrants	12	3	5

In addition, the Drug Task Force conducted a murder for hire investigation along with the Elkhart County Sheriff's Department, which has been turned over to the County Prosecutor's Office.

Also a number of vice cases:

Gambling investigations:

Elkhart	10
Nappanee	3
Middlebury	1
Prostitution-Elkhart	1

These vice investigations came about while officers were conducting investigations into narcotics trafficking.

TYPES OF CASES BY SUBSTANCE

Cocaine: 136 (56%).
Marijuana: 85 (35%).
Crystal Methamphetamine (crack): 11 (5%).
LSD: 4 (2%).
Hashish: 3 (1%).
Miscellaneous Pills: 1 (1%).

COCAINE SEIZED OR PURCHASED

1988

1303.5 grams (Estimated potential street value based on DEA formula: $1,042,600.00). This figure represents a single seizure of 1000 grams (2.2 pounds) of pure cocaine at one time.

1989

1724.5 grams (Estimated potential street value based on DEA formula: $1,379,656.00). Included in this figure is a single seizure of ½ pound of high grade cocaine.

MARIJUANA SEIZED OR PURCHASED

1988

7446.5 grams/16.27 pounds (street value $29,942.00).

1989

9745 grams/21.2 pounds (street value $39,184.00).

OTHER CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES SEIZED OR PURCHASED

1988

LSD: 10 doses.
Crystal Methamphetamine: 17.85 grams.

1989

LSD: 22 doses.
Crystal Methamphetamine: 43.26 grams.
Crack Cocaine: 19 grams.
Hashish: 12 grams.
Xanax: 1 tablet.

And so, I commend the vigilance of the Elkhart County Drug Task Force and I want to assure them of my support in the fight to eradicate drugs from our society. In this regard, I supported an increase of 91 percent in 1990 funding for local justice assistance. I am pleased that the fiscal year 1991 budget submitted by President Bush includes almost $500 million for State and local law enforcement—an increase of over 228 percent over the last 2 years.

In their report, the task force has outlined several concerns, such as prisons packed to capacity, which echo those of other antidrug forces. I ask my colleagues to join me in seeking solutions to these problems, including alternative methods of incarceration, such as "boot camps," to alleviate prison overcrowding. It is my hope that Congress will be able to take the necessary steps to assure that there is ample room in our jails to accommodate each and every convicted drug felon.

The tireless efforts of the members of the Elkhart County Drug Task Force are deeply appreciated, and their work is indeed helping to reclaim our society from the scourge of drugs. I wish them much success over the next year in their fight to eradicate drugs from our streets, our schools, and our neighborhoods.●

IN HONOR OF DR. KENNETH JENNINGS

● Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, I rise today to honor a Minnesotan whose talent has been enjoyed and cherished in Minnesota and throughout the world.

After 37 years of serving on the faculty of St. Olaf College, and 22 years serving as the college's choir director, Dr. Kenneth Jennings conducted his last performance last Sunday at the Kennedy Center in Washington.

Dr. Jennings is both an artist and a teacher. Under his leadership, the St. Olaf Choir has set the highest standards of artistry in choral singing. Jennings' innovative programming and use of concerted works have expanded the repertoire of the choir beyond the a cappella traditions of its early years.

His interest in pedagogical aspects of singing resulted in the publication of a book of vocal exercises for singers, "Sing Legato," which is used today by many schools, universities, and professional ensembles.

Dr. Jennings has enhanced the choir's reputation with six international tours. The choir has performed at the Strasbourg International Music Festival. By invitation, the choir returned to the Strasbourg Festival to perform with the Strasbourg Philharmonic Orchestra. They also performed in Vienna, Rome, Norway, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the Peoples Republic of China. As a result of their superb performance they returned to the Orient to participate in the Seoul Olympic Arts Festival in Korea.

The choir's accomplishments do not stop here. They also had the honor of performing with the Minnesota Orchestra under the direction of Stanislaw Skrowaczewski and Neville Marriner.

Mr. President, I ask my colleagues to join me in congratulating Dr. Kenneth Jennings for his distinguished record of accomplishments, and wishing him the best in the years to come. He may be retiring as St. Olaf College's choir director, but he will be remembered through his music and spirit as a distinguished Minnesotan and U.S. citizen.●

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

● Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today to ask that the following proclamation be printed in its entirety in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I believe that the Ukrainians should celebrate their day of independence. I urge my colleagues to recognize the efforts of all Ukrainians.

The proclamation follows:

COUNTY OF ERIE—PROCLAMATION

Whereas, the past year has brought shafts of light piercing the gloom in a rusting Iron Curtain, clearly revealing the total failure of Communism, one maxim ought to be remembered the tena-city in holding onto its monopoly of power; and

Whereas, the ominous conditions of the past seven decades have buckled under the weight of the bedrock of human drive for dignity of every nation and every individual; and

Whereas, the events in Eastern Central Europe have electrified mankind to the specter of the massive outrage against the accumulated atrocities instigated or enforced by the bankrupt Russian Communist occupations; and

Whereas, the principle of national independence and sovereign statehood is solemnly guaranteed as an inalienable right by numerous international agreements and covenants co-signed by the Soviet Union; and

Whereas, the Ukrainian Nations have declared in 1918 and reaffirmed in 1919 their firm resolve to lead an independent sovereign existence which was subsequently brutally crushed by the military might driven by Russian colonial expansionism; and

Whereas, Gorbachev's proclaimed "Glasnost and Perestroika" has not envisioned full national independence for Ukraine, the Baltic States and other subjugated nations notwithstanding that cessation is guaranteed by the Soviet constitution; and

Whereas, the world cannot indefinitely remain half free and half enslaved as history has proven repeatedly, it behooves free

people everywhere to support the legitimate process of regaining freedom and independence to all Captive Nations;

Now, therefore, I, Dennis T. Gorski, Erie County Executive, do hereby proclaim Monday, January 22, 1990, as "Ukrainian Independence Day" in this majestic County of Erie, of the State of New York—The Empire State. I urge all my fellow citizens to given renewed devotion to the just cause and aspirations of the people of Ukraine who seek to regain national independence and individual liberty.●

CHILD SURVIVAL

● Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article on the importance of child survival which appeared on January 25, 1990, in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. Children are our world's most important resource. This article brings their plight in many nations to our attention. I hereby request that this article be placed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Jan. 25, 1990]

LET'S RAISE OUR VOICES ABOUT POVERTY AND HUNGER

Total global military spending and payment on world debt exceeds the total income of the poorest half of humanity. While expenditures are made on weaponry and debt, one quarter of a million babies and young children die every week of malnutrition and preventable disease. After decades of progress, countries that were showing improvements are now plagued by increasing deaths caused by poverty.

As a whole, developing nations spend half of their expenditures on the military and debt repayment. For our neighbors in Asia and in Latin America and Africa, this equals nearly $1 billion a day. In other words, military and debt payments equal more than $400 a year per family, in countries in which the per capita GNP is often less than that.

The expenditure of less than half of 1 percent of the world's GNP would create a child survival revolution and eliminate the maiming of an equivalent number of children. Although these children survive, they are crippled, blinded and mentally and physically retarded.

Some would argue that these deaths are "natural" population control. I assert that in an age in which we have the means to prevent unwanted births, these deaths by starvation, thirst and agonizing, preventable disease are unnatural and intolerable.

Extensive studies conducted by UNICEF have shown that when people believe their children will live, they are willing to have fewer children.

Our global spending policies are creating what UNICEF has termed "passive atrocities." These victims of atrocity are not easy to see because most look "normal." The camera lens does not recognize the child going blind from the lack of 2-cents worth of vitamin A, a condition that untreated will eventually cause other problems leading to death. No photograph or casual viewer, will recognize the apparently normal 3 year old, who is actually 5.

I am driven by the image of a child who is genetically normal and not outwardly diseased. This 5 year old had just learned to walk because he was so retarded in his development by chronic malnutrition.

As an international airline purser for 13 years, no doubt I passed his brethren by on many foreign streets not realizing what I saw. It is easy to miss. Even the parents of these children do not realize their problems. In their communities, this is the norm.

If you fully take in the thought of what that norm implies, it is excruciating. Most people therefore, turn a blind eye. Some of us are incapable of living with ourselves if we do that.

Actress Audrey Hepburn was recently asked on "60 Minutes," why she was willing to travel to the feeding/death camps and serve as an honorary ambassador for UNICEF. Her reply, that she does so to keep her sanity, speaks for those who cannot blind themselves.

Her choice is that of determining that you can and will make a difference. The National Academy of Science states, ". . . if there is the political will . . . it should be possible to overcome the worst aspects of widespread hunger and malnutrition in one generation."

Political will is no more or no less than your own individual will collectively asserted. Consider Illinois Sen. Paul Simon's statement: "Someone who sits down and writes a letter about hunger . . . almost literally has to be saving a life."

Writing our politicians is a good entry point into creating change. Support groups, such as RESULTS and Bread for the World, can provide you with information to make your letters informed and effective.

Other actions you can take are: positioning your investments in social responsibility funds, getting a free UNICEF Visa Card, and supporting hunger organizations with volunteer help and funding.

Each of us, whether a Kaneohe homemaker like me, or a Gorbachev, or a Bush is only one person. What we do defines our life. What we do collectively defines our society and the meaning of humanity. We must include protecting the lives of children in that definition. UNICEF has summoned us to do so by calling for a World Summit for Children and by the U.N. General Assembly passing the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

The summit's purpose is to set global goals for the survival, protection and nurturing of children. It is recognized that saving children's lives to sentence them to live in conditions of hellish poverty, ignorance and illness is inappropriate.

The Convention on the Rights of the Child therefore begins with protecting children from abduction, sale, sexual exploitation and abuse. It includes their right to a name, nationality, and ethnic expression and seeks to prevent hazardous employment that interferes with their development and education. This includes their participation in the sale and manufacture of drugs.

Finally, it affirms their right to health, education and play.

What does it say about our definition of ourselves as human, when we have created conditions in which we must seek to legitimize a child's right to live and play?

As we enter the 1990s, "humanity" passively allows a holocaust without a flame to continue. We must choose to redefine what being human means.

(Karen Mituro, a Kaneohe resident, is the Hawaii state coordinator for RESULTS, a volunteer citizen's lobby to end hunger.)●

THE U.S. INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, in opposing increases in the education budget, the administration often claims that the United States spends more on education than most other industrialized nations. However, a recent report by M. Edith Rasell and Lawrence Mishel of the Economic Policy Institute came to the opposite conclusion. When considering how much countries spend on elementary and secondary education alone, the United States ranks near the bottom. When higher education is included in the calculation, the United States is near the top. It is not unreasonable to conclude that we have the best universities in the world partly because of the investment we have made in them. Likewise, it is not unreasonable to conclude that some of our problems in elementary and secondary education are related to a lack of financial commitment.

But while these kinds of comparisons are interesting, the arguments about them are not very productive. We must move beyond the discussions of the appropriate methodologies for comparing our educational inputs or outputs with other nations. The question should not be "Who is better than whom?" but instead, "How can we be better than we are?"

If we find that elementary school teachers do not know enough about math and science, we must invest in training them. If we believe that poor children need educational enrichment activities before they start school, we must pay people to run those programs. If the best and the brightest students are not going into teaching because of low salaries, we need to increase salaries.

Yes, extra money haphazardly thrown at a bad school will be wasted. But money invested in effective programs, geared toward real needs, will reap huge dividends. The longer we delay, the more we risk completely missing this investment opportunity. The dividends—the economic and intellectual productivity of millions of Americans—will be lost to educational neglect.

Mr. President, I would ask that the Washington Post essay by M. Edith Rasell and Lawrence Mishel be inserted into the RECORD.

The essay follows:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 14, 1990]

IS AMERICA STRANGLING ITS SCHOOLS?

(By M. Edith Rasell and Lawrence Mishel)

In the State of the Union address last week, President Bush—who wants to be known as "the education president"—committed America's high schools to a 90-percent graduation rate and our students to becoming "first in the world in math and science achievement" by the year 2000. He pledged that "this nation will not accept

anything less than excellence in education." That goal, he added, "is not simply a matter of spending more. It is a matter of asking more." And in fact Bush's budget would increase federal spending for elementary, secondary and vocational education by less than 2 percent—half the expected rate of inflation.

The administration's position on educational spending is well known. At the education summit last September, Bush declared that the United States "lavishes unsurpassed resources on [our children's] schooling," and that "our focus must no longer be on resources. It must be on results." At the same conference, Secretary of Education Lauro Cavazos said that "funding is truly not an issue."

The administration has justified this stance by asserting that our education system is already well-funded in comparison with other industrialized nations, by either of two measures. One is spending per pupil. According to Cavazos, "we are already spending more money per student than our major foreign competitors, Japan and Germany." The chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, Michael J. Boskin, agrees: "[w]e spend more, per pupil, than most of the other major industrialized economies."

The second measure is the share of national income devoted to education—a "very large amount," according to Boskin. Roger Porter, the White House domestic policy adviser, says that compared with other countries, U.S. spending on education is "more per capita, more per student—it is more as a share of our gross national product. We spend one and a half percent of GNP more than the Japanese."

The claim that American education is well-funded, and that therefore poor student performance cannot be a matter of insufficient monies, is a key element in the national debate. Our recent research—which examines total U.S. education spending at the federal, state and local levels plus all private funding—shows that such assertions are misleading. In fact:

U.S. public and private spending on preprimary, primary and secondary education (the focus of national concern) is lower than in most other countries. The U.S. ties for 12th place among 16 industrialized nations, spending less than all but three.

When expenditures for grades K-12 are further adjusted to reflect differences in enrollment rates, the United States falls to 14th place, spending less than all the other countries but two.

When U.S. public spending alone is compared with public spending abroad, we rank 14th for all levels of schooling, 14th in spending on K-12, and 13th in K-12 spending adjusted for enrollment.

If we were to increase spending for primary and secondary school up to the average level found in the other 15 countries in 1985, we would need to raise spending by some $25 billion annually.

Because we spend comparatively more than other countries on higher education, when expenditures on all levels of education are calculated, we are in a three-way tie for second place among the countries studied.

Money, of course, does not guarantee excellence. It is likely that other changes—in curriculum, status of teachers and expectations about students, among various innovations—will also be required. But to begin a process of reform by denying the need to increase spending, especially when U.S. schools are underfunded compared with other industrialized countries, places a severely limiting constraint on any plans for improvement.

HOW MUCH OF OUR WEALTH?

Let us first compare education expenditures as a percentage of national income (the sum of all wages, salaries, profits, interest and rents). Commonly employed in international comparisons, this method avoids distortions caused by fluctuating currency-exchange rates and provides a measure of the national effort each country gives to education. This is the standard method used for international comparisons by the U.S. government, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the World Bank.

A cursory look at these figures shows that U.S. spending on all levels of schooling—including pre-school, primary, secondary and higher education—amounted to 6.8 percent of national income in 1985, putting us in a three-way tie for second place among the 16 developed countries studied. By this measure it appears that only Sweden spends a larger share of national income on education; Canada and the Netherlands spend equivalent amounts.

This comparatively high expenditure is largely due to the substantial sums America spends on higher education. A relatively larger number of U.S. students are enrolled in some form of post-secondary education than in most other countries: 5.1 percent of the entire U.S. population in 1985—two to three times greater than the percentage enrollments of any other country except Canada. But our crisis is not in higher education; it is in the primary and secondary systems. And if spending on K-12 only is compared, in 1985 the United States tied for 12th place, spending less than 11 of the other countries.

But the picture is still incomplete. Calculations of funding adequacy must also be related to the size of the school-age population in each country. Among the countries studied, the U.S. enrolls more than 19 percent of the population in K-12, a relatively large percentage compared with West Germany (15 percent) or Switzerland (14). By this more accurate measure, among the 16 countries studied, the United States spends less than all but two other countries: Australia and Ireland.

We can also compare U.S. education spending as a share of national income with the average share of the other 15 countries. We spent 4.1 percent of our national income on K-12 education in 1985, while the average abroad was 4.6 percent. To reach this average in 1985, we would have needed to raise K-12 spending by over 12 percent or $20.6 billion annually ($25 billion in 1989 dollars).

Clearly, America spends a smaller share of its national resources on K-12 than most other industrialized countries. But what about public expenditures?

For most of the 16 countries studied, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) assembles data on public expenditures for education because public revenue provide virtually all of the money spent. The two exceptions are Japan and the United States, where 20-25 percent of all education funding comes from private sources. For these two countries, UNESCO provides data on public and private education expenditures.

Spending on public education reflects the conscious national commitment to educating the next generation. It is therefore useful to compare levels of public spending here and in Japan with public spending in the other 14 countries. Comparing public spending for all levels of education—including post-secondary—the United States is in 14th place. We rank 13th in spending for K-12 only, adjusted for enrollments.

HOW MUCH PER STUDENT?

Education investment can also be analyzed by comparing expenditures per pupil. This is the measure Cavazos and Boskin have sometimes used to claim that we are spending more on education than our economic competitors.

However, there are two potential sources of error in the use of per-pupil expenditures to compare nations' spending on education. The first is the instability of exchange rates. Before cross-national comparisons can be made, expenditures measured in each country's national currency must be expressed in some common unit of measurement, e.g. dollars, yen, marks, etc. But whatever measure one chooses, it requires converting data collected in all other currencies to one currency. However, exchange rates fluctuate, sometimes markedly, and this has been particularly true in the 1980s.

For instance, in 1985, if $100,000 would have purchased a German school bus, by 1988, due to a decline in the value of the dollar, the same bus would have cost $166,000. If exchange rates were used to convert German expenditures into dollars, the purchase of the bus by a German school district in 1985 would have been shown as an expenditure of $100,000, while the same purchase in 1988 would appear as an expenditure of $166,000. The size of the German expenditure measured in German marks would be unchanged, but fluctuations in the exchange rate used to convert marks to dollars would markedly change the dollar value of the expenditure. In 1985, the year which we have been examining, the dollar was particularly overvalued. The effect is to make the U.S. expenditures on education appear relatively greater than those in other countries.

The second problem is that per-pupil expenditures do not tell us what can actually be purchased. This depends on prices. One country may spend more per student; but because costs are higher, the outlay may simply buy less than a smaller expenditure in a country with lower prices. (Note that comparing expenditures as a percentage of national income *does* take costs into account because costs are generally proportional to national-income levels.)

This can be illustrated by looking at expenditures in two U.S. states. In 1986, Alaska spent more than $11,500 per student—202 percent of the U.S. average. But in Alaska, salaries of instructional staff were 166 percent of the national level. Adjusted for those higher costs, Alaska's spending was actually 122 percent of the national per-pupil average. At the other extreme is Arkansas, where per-student expenditures were just 76 percent of the national average in '86. But after adjusting for salaries that were only 74 percent of average, Arkansas' per-pupil spending was actually 103 percent of the nationwide norm. Thus a comparison based simply on raw dollar amounts would overstate Alakska's position and understate Arkansas'.

In sum, per-pupil expenditures can be used to make valid international comparisons if two conditions are met: exchange rates are avoided; and some measure of national income (or price level) is factored in. Expenditures per student can accurately be expressed as a percentage of per-capita

income measured in each nation's own currency—a method also used by the OECD. Calculated that way, U.S. spending on K-12 education is lower than all but two other countries of the 16 studied.

Another significant criterion for the strength of U.S. educational investment is how funding has changed over time—and how it has varied relative to spending by other countries.

When expressed as a percentage of national income, U.S. spending for pre-primary, primary and secondary education peaked in 1974, and has fallen steadily since. Thus our spending for education has not kept pace with overall economic growth.

On the other hand, over this same period enrollments fell. Primary and secondary school enrollment, as a percentage of the total population, was at its highest level in 1969, and has been gradually declining since then—at a rate that more than offsets the decreases in spending. In the 1980s, the declining fraction of the population enrolled in school has meant adjusted expenditures have risen, despite the slowdown in actual funding for education. Nonetheless, the 1980-86 rate was only one-third that of the '70s, during which per-pupil K-12 spending grew at an annual, inflation-adjusted rate of 3 percent.

Meanwhile, the past decade saw proportionally more of the funding burden shift from the federal government to states and localities. From 1980-85, federal spending for K-12 (adjusted for enrollments and expressed as a share of national income), declined by 24 percent. This reduction, however, has been more than offset by increases in state and local funding, leading to a net rise in K-12 expenditures during the '80s. But despite the greater outlays, our position relative to other countries declined.

Examining K-12 expenditures in 1980 and 1985 for the 16 countries, with both years' expenditures adjusted for the 1985 U.S. enrollment rate, shows that in 1980 the United States ranked 12th in adjusted spending on K-12. By 1985, we had fallen to 14th. (Between 1985 and '87, public expenditures on K-12—expressed as a percentage of national income and adjusted for 1985 enrollments—rose. Since then, the level has remained relatively constant at around 4.2 percent. Because comparable international data are not available, we cannot determine how this post-1985 U.S. trend affects our relative ranking with other countries.)

PAYING THE PRICE

Clearly, the claim that the U.S. spends more than other nations on education is misleading. By all comparisons, we devote a smaller share of our resources to pre-primary, primary and secondary education than do most industrialized countries.

Spending more money is not, of course, the only answer to the difficult problem of revitalizing American primary and secondary education. But in education, as in virtually every other service, we may "get what we pay for." Given the level of investment in our pre-primary, primary, and secondary schools, it is not surprising that America is slipping behind in comparative measures of performance as well.

WHY NOT THE REST?

The relatively weak U.S. educational investment in grades K-12, compared with other countries, is not a result of a more efficient administrative structure or more favorable demographics. In fact, we might be expected to spend proportionally more than other countries because of the particular characteristics of the U.S. school system and American society.

Our decentralized school system gives more local autonomy and local choice, but is also more expensive than a single, centrally administered system. Our population is also much more heterogeneous than that of most other countries. Some immigrants do not speak English. Students come from a variety of cultural backgrounds. The very high number of children living in poverty makes additional demands on the school system.

Available data do not permit cross-country comparisons to be made in much more detail, but other evidence suggests that the spending gap is particularly wide between the youngest American and foreign children. For example, it is generally accepted that the U.S. Head Start program of early childhood education for disadvantaged children ages 3 to 5 is valuable and cost-effective. Yet limited federal funding permits only 20 percent of eligible children to take part.

Many of our competitors seem to have a stronger commitment to early childhood education, and some of them have nearly universal pre-kindergarten enrollments. In France, 100 percent of 4- and 5-year-olds attend school/educational day care, as do 90 percent of 3-year-olds and 36 percent of 2-year-olds. In Belgium, 96 percent of ages 3-6 are in school; in the Netherlands, 98 percent of 4- and 5-year-olds.—M. Edith Rasell and Lawrence Mishel.●

ACID RAIN

● Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, this September, if all goes according to schedule, the National Acid Precipitation Assessment Program will submit to Congress its final report on the causes and effects of what we call "acid rain." Ten years and a half-a-billion dollars in the making, this report, when published, will conclude the most extensive—and—expensive—environmental research project ever performed.

In preparation for the final report, some 700 scientists gathered in Hilton Head, SC, last week to discuss the meaning of the extensive data gathered under NAPAP. By all accounts, the debate at Hilton Head was lively. Not least because NAPAP has found that acid deposition, while certainly an important concern, is not the crisis we suspected 10 years ago. It is an environmental problem, but it is neither our worst nor our most pressing one. This point is made quite well in an article by William K. Stevens that appears in today's New York Times.

Mr. President, that many issues were left unresolved at last week's conference is indicative of the great need to continue NAPAP beyond its original 10-year mandate. We have before us a clean air bill that would impose strong—and costly—acid rain controls. It is both fiscally and scientifically prudent to continue NAPAP's research into acid rain and the results of our control efforts. Doing so is the only way to enable us to know just what we are getting from our efforts. And that is why I have offered, and S. 1630, the Clean Air Act Amendments, contains a provision to do just that.

Mr. President, I ask that a copy of the New York Times article be inserted in the RECORD immediately following my remarks. I thank the Chair.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Feb. 20, 1990]

WORST FEARS ON ACID RAIN UNREALIZED

(By William K. Stevens)

HILTON HEAD, SC.—A 10-year, half-billion-dollar federally sponsored investigation is concluding that acid rain causes some significant environmental damage but far less than initially feared.

"The sky is not falling, but there is a problem that needs addressing," James R. Mahoney, the director of the National Acid Precipitation Program, said as about 700 scientists from more than 30 countries gathered here last week to digest, pick apart and argue about the results of hundreds of studies that will form the basis for the program's final report to Congress later this year.

"Acid rain does cause damage," Dr. Mahoney said, "but the amount of damage is less than we once thought, and it's much less than some of the characterizations we sometimes hear."

Some of the program's findings are riddled with uncertainty. Some scientists at the Hilton Head review, moreover, criticized the assessment as prematurely concluding that acid rain is causing little harm to American forests. And Canadian scientists charged that the assessment understated the problem in their country, a problem to which, it is generally agreed, the United States greatly contributes.

But Dr. Mahoney said that while there is "a great deal of room, still, for debate and interpretation," the extremes of the debate—the view that acid rain represented an imminent environmental disaster and the opposite view that it was not a problem—have now been eliminated.

The Federal research program, created by Congress in 1980 to provide the Government with a definitive study of acid rain, has engaged the efforts of hundreds of scientists. Last week's meeting was meant to be the last major critical scientific review of the findings, among them these major ones:

In the United States, fewer than 1,200 lakes have become fully acidified. Little can live in them, and acid rain is mostly responsible. This is about 4 percent of all lakes in areas where acidification might be expected. Earlier, it has been feared that thousands of lakes would be fully acidified by now. In the Northest, where most of the concern has focused, those lakes that are going to become acidified have already done so. An additional .5 percent of American lakes on which acid is thought to fall, while not necessarily fully acidified, are acidic enough to threaten some species of aquatic life.

Except for red spruce at high elevations in the Eastern mountains, there is no evidence that acid rain has caused a general decline of American forests. But a sizable minority of scientists at Hilton Head argued that because this part of the research effort is relatively young, and because new, provocative but unevaluated data are still coming in, the door was being closed too soon. Furthermore, they argued, the report on forests had given short shrift to the possibility that over the long term, acid rain causes nutri-

tional deficiencies in trees by altering soil chemistry.

There is no evidence that acid rain in the United States harms corps.

Acid rain and dry acid particles in the atmosphere could pose a health risk to asthmatics, people with heart or lung disease, children and the elderly, either alone or in concert with other pollutants such as ozone. Symptoms include wheezing, shortness of breath and coughing. But, citing uncertainty surrounding the issue, the study report said the health risk was speculative at this time. The study found also that acidic deposition might cause the chemical release in the environment of enough lead to affect health. The level of risk, if any, is not yet determined.

In the Eastern United States, sulfates of the kind borne by acid rain are the dominant cause of haze and reduced visibility, accounting for half the degradation of light. Sulfur emissions have been the major contributor to Eastern haze since the late 1940's.

Acid rain damages such construction materials as marble and limestone and causes a number of metals and alloys to corrode more rapidly. At particular risk are an estimated 35,000 historic buildings and 10,000 monuments in the Northeast.

DEBATE IN CONGRESS

Congress is debating proposed amendments to the Clean Air Act. Acid rain is one target of legislation, introduced by the Bush Administration, to amend the law. Industries, electric utilities in particular, would be required to reduce emissions of sulfur dioxide and oxides of nitrogen by 10 million tons and 2 million tons a year, respectively, by the year 2000, at a cost estimated by the Environmental Protection Agency as $22 billion over the next decade.

Sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides, produced by the burning of coal, oil and natural gas, are the precursors of acid rain. In the atmosphere, they react with water and other chemicals to form sulfate and nitrate compounds that can be carried hundreds of miles by air currents before they are deposited on the earth by rain, snow, sleet, mist, fog or clouds. Dry sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides also sometimes fall to earth nearer the point of origin.

In broad perspective, say Dr. Mahoney and some others associated with the Federal study, acid rain cannot be seen as ranking at, or even near, the top of a present-day priority list of environmental issues that also includes urban air pollution, destruction of tropical forests, depletion of the earth's protective ozone layer and the possibility of global climate change.

"I completely disagree with that," Deborah A. Sheiman of the Natural Resources Defense Council, an environmental advocacy group, said as the conference was ending. Not least, she and others said, this is because in one respect, there are more reasons, not fewer, to be concerned about acid rain today than there were 10 years ago. Then, the concern focused on damage to lakes and streams in the Northeast. Now it involves lakes and streams in other regions as well, along with forests, human health, atmospheric visibility and damage to materials.

Ten years ago, Dr. Mahoney recalled, some environmentalists predicted that within a decade, acid rain would increase by tenfold the acidity of thousands of lakes in the United States. In fact, the research shows, the acidity actually increases by up to fivefold over 20 to 50 years, and far fewer lakes are involved. (Tenfold is equal to one point on the 14-point pH scale, which is the standard measure of acidity and alakinity. A pH of zero is totally acid; of 14, totally alkaline. Seven is neutral.) Damage to aquatic life begins to take place below a pH of 6, according to findings presented at Hilton Head. The Federal study found that 9 percent of lakes in areas of the United States known to be targets for acid rain had acid levels below pH 6, and that 4 percent were totally acidified. These lakes, though a small fraction of the national total, were concentrated not only in the Northeast, as had long been suspected, but also in Appalachia, on the mid-Atlantic coastal plain, in northern Florida and in contiguous parts of northern Wisconsin and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan.

The survey also found that 2.7 percent of streams in areas where acid rain falls from the sky were acidic, and that many streams in the Appalachians were vulnerable to future acidification.

"I'm not saying there's no problem," said Dr. Mahoney. "But we don't have very rapid decay of large numbers of lakes." While many lakes will recover once no more acid falls into them, he said, the recovery will take some years.

QUESTIONS ABOUT CANADA

The Federal study incorporates data from Canada showing that 5 percent of a sample fo 8,500 Canadian lakes were acidified. If that is an accurate sample of the whole, it would mean that perhaps 14,000 Canadian lakes are fully acid. And about a quarter of the Canadian lakes sampled had a pH of 6 or less. Canadian scientists say that perhaps 150,000 lakes could fall in this category.

By treating these findings separately, burying them in the body of the study, leaving them out of the summary and generally underplaying them, the scientists "greatly diminished" the extent of the Canadian problem, contended Tom Brydges, a lakes expert from Environment Canada, his country's environmental agency.

Lawrence Baker of the University of Minnesota Water Resources Center, who was the chief author of the lakes report, said that ideally, the Canadian data should be integrated with the overall study. But he said it was unclear whether the Canadian sample was a true random sampling of Canadian lakes. Further, he said, the two studies did not examine the same variables.

"I'm not exactly sure if it can be resolved, scientifically speaking," he said.

The Canadian objection is being taken seriously, said Patricia Irving, the associate director of the Federal study and its science coordinator.

A major purpose of the Hilton Head meeting, she said, was to uncover and ventilate just such concerns before the final report.

At the levels at which acid is now being deposited in North America, the study found that with the exception of Eastern red spruce at high elevations, there is "no evidence of widespread forest damage." Moreover, it found that acid rain "is not associated with crop damage." The real villain, it found, is ozone, which "is capable of regional-scale crop growth and yield reduction" and is "the pollutant of greatest concern" with respect to forests.

Beyond that, the reports on forests and vegetation generated considerable contention.

There is wide agreement that to the extent acid rain does harm forests, it is just one of many stresses, including natural ones such as drought and cold. Scientists say it is extremely difficult to sort out cause and effect. Moreover, critics at Hilton Head said that data collection on forests was still going on and not that much information was in hand.

The study was also criticized for drawing a sweeping conclusion that hardwoods like the sugar maple are not harmed by acid rain. Some studies in Canada suggest the opposite, and critics said that the door should not be closed just yet.

And in one of the biggest reservations on the forest issue, a number of scientists said that there was much evidence that acid rain changes the balance of nutrients in forest soils. Some scientists, in fact, are convinced that there is no doubt that acid in some soils not only robs the soil of nutrients but also interferes with the ability of trees to absorb them. Some members of the forestry study group said that this would have to be reevaluated, and that new information might have to be sought, before a final report is issued.●

AMERICAN CHOCOLATE WEEK

● Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, the week of March 12, 1990, has been designated by the chocolate industry as "American Chocolate Week." Americans love chocolate. According to an October 1989 Gallup poll, chocolate is American's favorite flavor.

New Jersey is the proud home of famous chocolate makers, large and small, from Van Leer Chocolate Corp. and M&M/Mars, to the many independent small chocolate candymakers who have passed down their epicurean secrets for generations. This week is also a tribute to them and their hard work over the years.

Until the discovery of America in 1492, the Old World knew nothing about this delicious flavor that was to become the favorite of millions. When Columbus returned to the Court of King Ferdinand, he brought back many unique things. Among them were dark brown beans; cacao beans, the source of all chocolate and cocoa.

But it was not until the Spanish explorer Cortez' conquest of Mexico that the commercial possibilities of this strange bean became known.

Cortez found the Aztecs using cacao beans to prepare a royal drink called chocolatl which Emperor Montezuma served to his Spanish guests in golden goblets. But the chocolatl was too bitter for the Spanish taste. To make it more agreeable to Europeans, Cortez and his countrymen sweetened it with cane sugar. When they took the chocolate back to Spain, the drink underwent several more changes that helped to popularize it. Someone added cinnamon, another a dash of vanilla and another decided it would taste better served hot.

The new drink became especially popular among the Spanish aristocracy and Spain proceeded to plant cacao in its overseas possessions. It became a profitable business, but the Spaniards kept the art of the cacao industry a

secret from the rest of Europe for nearly 100 years.

After the secret was leaked out by Spanish monks, chocolate was acclaimed throughout Europe as a delicious, healthy food. Chocolate drinking became fashionable in the French Court and in Great Britain. Mass production was hastened by a steam machine which handled the cacao grinding process. By 1730, chocolate dropped in price from $3 or more a pound to within the reach of others besides the wealthy. The invention of the cacao press in 1828 cut prices further and improved the quality of the beverage.

In the 19th century, there were two significant developments in the history of chocolate. In Switzerland in 1876, Daniel Peter invented a way of making milk chocolate for eating. The second development was of a smooth variety called fondant chocolate which almost completely replaced the coarse grained chocolate which had dominated the world chocolate market.

Chocolate has a long history in America. The first U.S. chocolate factory was established in New England in 1765, and Americans have been enjoying this good-tasting food ever since. During World War II, chocolate played a vital role in the nourishment of the Allied Armed Forces. Valuable shipping space was allocated for the importation of cacao beans.

Today, the love of chocolate continues. In fact, in 1989, the average annual U.S. consumption of chocolate was 11 pounds per person. The chocolate industry in the United States is nearly a $6 billion industry wholesale which is about $9 billion retail.

During the first annual American Chocolate Week, chocolate lovers around the country plan to celebrate their favorite flavor. To kick off the celebration there will even be a chocolate lover's press conference brunch in the House of Representatives.

I pay tribute to all the chocolate makers in my State. I hope chocolate lovers across the United States will join in this festive celebration.●

GEOGRAPHY AWARENESS

● Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, America has finally recognized the enormous task it faces in raising the level of geographic knowledge among American students and adults. Leaders in both government and the private sector have begun to take steps to reverse this downward trend in our Nation's geographic literacy.

Evidence of the need for geography education in the United States was illustrated in a 1988 National Geographic Society/Gallup study. Referencing a world map, only 33 percent of adult Americans could locate Vietnam, 19 percent Colombia, and 11 percent Romania. Just 15 percent knew Mexico City has the largest population in the world, and only 25 percent could name four countries that officially acknowledge having nuclear weapons.

A 1988 survey of State education agencies conducted by the Council of Chief State School Officers shows that although geography is taught in some form at various grade levels in the majority of the States surveyed, only 55 percent have a requirement in geography education.

Some of my distinguished colleagues have already recognized the need for geography education. Senator BRADLEY's and Senator STAFFORD's efforts have resulted in the establishment of Geography Awareness Week. A 1987 hearing before the Subcommittee on Education, Arts, and Humanities, chaired by Senator PELL, explored strategies aimed at increasing geographic literacy. More recently, the education summit in September 1989, sponsored by the White House, called on the Federal, State, and local governments to work together to solve the problems of our educational system.

Mr. President, in a world with shrinking cultural and trade barriers and increased interdependence, a working knowledge of geography and its cultural ramifications is imperative. American corporations have a vested interest in the skills taught in schools: the students of today are the work force of tomorrow. To complete in an increasingly global marketplace, the private sector must make a concerted effort to ensure its future employees are as educated as their foreign counterparts.

One example of private sector involvement in educational programs I would like to recognize today is the American Express Geography Competition, on whose advisory committee I serve. Developed in conjunction with the Association of American Geographers, the competition encourages students to develop projects which require an understanding of geography in its broadest sense—including the study of places on the Earth's surface and of the interrelationships between those places and the people who occupy them. A separate competition requires teachers to submit their most effective methods of teaching geography, and winning entries will be published and circulated to all participants. Awards in the form of travel certificates will encourage both students and teachers to learn more about geography first hand.

The American Express Geography Competition has more than 7,500 students and 550 teacher registrants in its first year. Every State has participated, and submitted entry themes ranging from "What Would Happen if Countries Never Communicated?" to "Rain Forests—What They Do For Us, What We Do To Them."

Although only one example, the competition illustrates how corporations can make unique contributions to education. Private sector involvement, teamed with Federal, State, and local efforts, will put today's students—tommorrow's business leaders—back on the map.●

ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I recently requested that my distinguished colleagues join me in sending a letter to President Gorbachev at the end of this week. The letter urges President Gorbachev to make a public statement against rising anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. Daily we hear reports of attacks, both physical and verbal, being made against Soviet Jews with little or no response from officials in their defense.

To prevent a greater tragedy from occurring, a statement needs to be made by President Gorbachev to show that he has no tolerance for nor does he condone anti-Semitism. This is not, it appears, a novel idea. In Sunday's Washington Post, a supporter of President Gorbachev's who is also a member of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, stated his concern about the increased incidents and compared the tactics of these anti-Semitic groups to those of the Nazi period. He too mentioned his concern about the silence from the highest Soviet authorities. I would like to submit a copy of that article for the RECORD, and ask that it be printed in full.

I am aware that President Gorbachev has serious domestic concerns, but I believe it is to his advantage to prevent a disaster before it occurs. I encourage my colleagues to join me in sending the letter to President Gorbachev. We need to show our concern and our support for such a statement to be made by President Gorbachev.

The article follows:

ANTI-SEMITISM: THE RETURN OF A RUSSIAN NIGHTMARE

(The following essay represents the sharpest public criticism to date by a senior Soviet official of the growing anti-semitism in the Soviet Union. It was written by Vitalii Goldanskii, a prominent Soviet scientist and director of the Semenov Institute of Chemical Physics of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Goldanskii is a member of the Council of People's Deputies and the foreign relations committee of the Supreme Soviet. He wrote the following essay in English, with editing assistance from John P. Holdren, a professor of energy and resources at the University of California at Berkeley.)

(By Vitalii I. Goldanskii)

Supporters of President Gorbachev's perestroika are increasingly alarmed by the possibility that this program is restructuring and reforms may collapse. Should this occur—and it cannot be ruled out even in the near future—it would be a disaster not

only for the Soviet Union but for all humankind.

Many of the difficulties being encountered by perestroika are well known outside the Soviet Union, as are some of the potential consequences if perestroika fails. But too little attention has been given, until now, to the special dangers posed by the growing aggressiveness in the Soviet Union of extreme right-wing, virulently anti-semitic groups that seek to subvert perestroika, to blame the country's past and present problems on the Jews, and (as some of their propaganda states explicitly) to "finish what Hitler started."

These extremists are flourishing in the climate of spite, envy, scapegoating and hatred associated with the increasingly severe difficulties in the Soviet economy and growing ethnic tensions. They are perhaps already the strongest, and certainly the fastest growing, of the divisive forces pushing the country toward bloodshed and civil war.

The extremist groups go by a variety of innocuous-sounding names, of which the best known outside the Soviet Union is the "National Patriotic Front Pamyal" (pamyat means "memory"). A number of them recently entered into a confederation under the title of "Bloc of Social-Patriotic Movements of Russia." I prefer to call them Russian monarcho-Nazis (or monarcho-fascists), to reflect their combination of deep reverence for the autocratic csarist Russian empire and ferocious hatred of Jews.

Incredibly, the Russian monarcho-Nazis openly and widely condemn the Jews as the main culprits in all of the troubles of Russia from the October Revolution of 1917 up until the present—including genocide against the Russian people in the form of the millions of Russian deaths in civil war, collectivization and various purges; destruction of tens of thousands of Russian churches and historical monuments; and spiritual poisoning of the people through the introduction of decadent and corrupt Western culture alien to Russian tradition. They even accuse the Jews of ritual murders and a worldwide conspiracy against humankind, making references to the disgraceful hoax, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

There is striking similarity, in fact, between the views, programs and intentions of the Russian monarcho-Nazis and the original Nazi platform as laid out in Hitler's "Mein Kampf" and other infamous documents of the German Nazi period. This similarity, and the resemblance of the general situation in the Soviet Union in 1988-90 to that in Germany in 1931-33, have been publicized by progressive Soviet mass media. The newspaper Soviet Circus, for example, has printed a point-by-point comparison of Pamyat's manifesto with the program of the Nazi Party of the 1930s.

The main organization serving as a coordinator of the monarcho-Nazi forces is the Union of Writers of the Russian Federation (RSFSR). As outlets for their propaganda they have at their disposal such newspapers and journals as "Literaturnaya Rossiya" (Literary Russia), "Nash Sovremennik" (Our Contemporary), "Molodaya Gvardija" (Young Guards) and "Moscow." The leaders of this movement include many notorious writers, some scientists, some artists and others.

The Nazi-type speeches and publications of these groups are becoming routine features of everyday life in the Soviet Union. Their form and content were analyzed by Prof. Herman Andreyev from Mainz University in West Germany in a recent issue of the weekly magazine Ogonyok. He concluded that in Western European countries such statements would be treated as unconstitutional, the persons propagating them would be called to account and the organizations supporting them would be dissolved.

Yet the monarcho-Nazis seem to be meeting no serious opposition—indeed, more often sympathy and connivance—from important party and government leaders of the U.S.S.R. It is instructive, for example, that in the platform of the Soviet Communist Party on ethnic problems published in August 1989, not a single word was said about the anti-semitic campaign against so-called cosmopolites (1949), the shooting of leading Jewish writers and artists (1952), or the disgraceful "Doctor's plot" (1953), while many other Stalin-era crimes against various nationalities of the Soviet people were scrupulously mentioned.

Similarly, an appeal by more than 200 people's deputies of the U.S.S.R. to the Presidium of the First Session of the Congress of People's Deputies in June 1989, expressing concern about the "growing wave of anti-semitic activities, including open calls for violence that could lead to irretrievable consequences," went unanswered. That was also the fate of a letter written to Gorbachev on this subject by 10 distinguished scientists and writers in September 1989.

The explanation of such passivity on the part of the authorities seems quite simple. In addition to the evident sympathy of many authorities on different levels to the views of the monarcho-Nazis, others who do not sympathize nonetheless hesitate to act because of the way the growing aggressiveness of the monarcho-Nazis is linked to the bloody ethnic conflicts and intensifying separatist movements in nearly all of the outlying districts of the Soviet Union.

Specifically, this situation offers the monarcho-Nazis considerable opportunities for blackmail and intimidation of Gorbachev and his closest advisers, through the claim that, in conditions of the "decline of empire," the Russian heartland and her "genuine sons" constitute the only reliable basis for the preservation of Gorbachev's power. Such arguments are being used to push Gorbachev toward the right and to divide him from his true supporters on the left—the liberal intelligentsia. The result could be a repetition of the circumstances that produced the downfall of Khrushchev in 1964.

In parallel with their attempts to intimidate Gorbachev, the monarcho-Nazis have been openly attacking his foreign policy. They even have accused Gorbachev of being an agent in the service of the CIA and the Israeli intelligence service, the Mossad. With this two-pronged strategy of intimidation and direct attack, the Russian monarcho-Nazis hope to attain either a decisive influence over Gorbachev's policies or his removal and replacement at the seat of power by supporters of their movement.

What would that mean for Soviet Jews? The answer is all too clear from the similarity of the monarcho-Nazis' program to that of Hitler. The Russian monarcho-Nazis already possess their equivalent to Hitler's SA and SS, in the form of the Pamyat movement. This movement does not disguise its intentions to carry out pogroms against the Jews, to whom it refers using the insulting word "zhidy" (yids). In fact, members of Pamyat have been organizing well-attended meetings all over the country to call for pogroms—even in Moscow's Red Square on Nov. 12, 1989—and no one has stood in their way.

Hitler treated as Jews those who have more than one-quarter Jewish blood. Pamyat goes further. It has announced its intention to search for Jewish progenitors back to the 10th generation. New recruits to Pamyat are required to prove their "racial purity" and to provide to the organization the home addresses of five Jews—no doubt for the purposes of the pogroms to come. Opponents of the monarcho-Nazi movement who happen to be "racially pure" or "Aryan" are characterized, along with all liberal intelligentsia, as "masons" (or "zhido-masons," i.e., supporters of Jews); and these are also the targets of pogrom propaganda.

The brazenness of monarcho-Nazi threats against Soviet Jewry has been increasing. In addition to anti-semitic rallies and the desecration of Jewish cemeteries around the country, which have been going on for some time, it now seems that meetings of liberal intellectuals are no longer safe from disruption by Pamyat thugs.

On the evening of Jan. 18 of this year, for example, a meeting of the progressive "April" group of writers at the Central House of Writers in Moscow was invaded by some dozens of Pamyat monarcho-Nazis with megaphones. They roughed up some of the writers, forcibly ejected others from the hall, shouted anti-semitic slogans and announced that their next visit will be with automatic weapons. They also designated St. George's Day, at the beginning of May, for a pogrom. The police were called but took their time in arriving, and there were no arrests.

Further increases in anti-semitic activities (especially, of course, actual violence) surely will lead to a mass exodus of Jews, people of partly Jewish extraction and "racially pure" liberal intelligentsia. This new wave of emigrants—refugees from monarcho-Nazi power—could reach several millions and would represent a serious brain-drain from the U.S.S.R.

As for the possibility of another Holocaust, it certainly could not reach the scale of earlier Nazi crimes: The world has changed too drastically in the last half century for that. But a wave of pogroms more or less along the lines of the infamous "Kristallnacht" cannot be ruled out—weaker if a government like the present one tries to oppose them, stronger if a successor government of the monarcho-Nazi stripe sympathizes with the pogrom lust.

What should be done? As a start, the world public should be informed of the activities and intentions of the new followers of Hitler in the Soviet Union and should be told their names. The famous "Brown Book" published by anti-fascists in 1933, after all, was the first important step in the exposure of the Nazi crimes of that era. Clearly, the publishers of newspapers, journals and books, and producers of electronic media, have an important role to play.

The stakes are high. If the monarcho-Nazis prevail and perestroika collapses in an orgy of chauvinism and racism, the results are likely to include not only a rapidly growing degree of anarchy in the Soviet Union but even the outbreak of civil war. In a country still laden with tremendous stockpiles of nuclear and chemical weapons, as well as a widespread network of nuclear power plants, such a chain of events could quickly become not just a national but an international catastrophe.●

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

● Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. President, February 16 marked the 72d anniversary of the day on which Lithuania became an independent nation. In commemorating this important date, we recall the remarkable accomplishments made by the Lithuanian people in the social, economic, and cultural life of their country, during its 22 years of independence.

During the past year, Lithuania has led the charge among Soviet Republics toward democracy and self-determination. The Lithuanian people have earned the attention and admiration of the world through their uniquely bold, yet peaceful and disciplined campaign to regain their usurped independence.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev went to Vilnius last month to dissuade Lithuania from leaving the Soviet Union; but instead, bowing to overwhelming pressure from the Lithuanian people, he conceded in principle to Lithuanian demands of self-determination for their nation. As Gorbachev continues to accede to the agenda set by the Lithuanian opposition, the issue of Lithuanian independence becomes increasingly a question of, as a Washington Post headline put it, "not just if, but when." It is my sincere hope that, because of the unceasingly courageous and thoughtful actions of the Lithuanian people, 1990 may be the last year Lithuanians commemorate their Independence Day under Soviet control.

I urge my colleagues to join in expressing their solidarity with the Lithuanian people, and in reassuring them that Americans are committed to seeing that full rights of self-determination are restored to Lithuania.●

POSTHUMOUS CITIZENSHIP FOR ACTIVE DUTY SERVICE ACT

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 438, H.R. 150, the Posthumous Citizenship for Active Duty Service Act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (H.R. 150) to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide a procedure for an alien who dies while serving on active duty with the U.S. Armed Forces during certain periods of hostilities to be considered a citizen of the United States at the time of the alien's death.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill, which was ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. DOLE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

NATIONAL SPACE COUNCIL AUTHORIZATION ACT

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of Calendar No. 444, S. 2124, the National Space Council Authorization.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be stated by title.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2124) to authorize appropriations for the National Space Council, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the bill?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on the engrossment and the third reading of the bill.

The bill (S. 2124) was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time and passed, as follows:

S. 2124

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

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "National Space Council Authorization Act of 1990".

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 2. There are authorized to be appropriated to carry out the activities of the National Space Council established by section 501 of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration Authorization Act, fiscal year 1989 (42 U.S.C. 2471), $1,200,000 for fiscal year 1990. The National Space Council shall reimburse other agencies for not less than one-half of the personnel compensation costs of individuals detailed to it.

STAFFING

SEC. 3. (a) Not more than six individuals may be employed by the National Space Council without regard to any provision of law regarding the employment or compensation of persons in the Government service, at rates not to exceed the rate of pay for level VI of the Senior Executive Schedule as provided pursuant to section 5382 of title 5, United States Code.

(b) Section 5314 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"Executive Secretary, National Space Council.".

EXPERTS AND CONSULTANTS

SEC. 4. The National Space Council may, for purposes of carrying out its functions, employ experts and consultants in accordance with section 3109 of title 5, United States Code, and may compenate individuals so employed for each day they are involved in a business of the National Space Council (including traveltime) at rates not in excess of the daily equivalent of the maximum rate of pay for grade GS-18 as provided pursuant to section 5332 of title 5, United States Code.

REVIEW OF LAUNCH INDUSTRY

SEC. 5. (a) The National Space Council is requested to initiate a review of United States launch policy, including the Nation's expendable launch vehicle and satellite industries, their current and projected markets, the existing and projected level of foreign competition in these industries, the extent and level of support from foreign governments in these markets and industries, the consequences of the entry of nonmarket providers of launch services and satellites into the world market, restrictions on the use of foreign launch services and the export of United States satellites, and the importance of the United States launch vehicle and satellite industry to the national and economic security.

(b) The findings of this review and any policy recommendations are to be submitted to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation of the Senate and the Committee on Science, Space, and Technology of the House of Representatives by August 1, 1990.

EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 6. The provisions of this Act are effective as of October 1, 1989.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. DOLE. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

MEASURES INDEFINITELY POSTPONED

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Calendar Nos. 162, S. 1367; 163, S. 1368; 164, S. 1369; 184, S. 1438; and 185, S. 1439 be indefinitely postponed.

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

ORDERS FOR WEDNESDAY

RECESS UNTIL 10 A.M.; LEADER TIME UNTIL 10:40 A.M.; RECESS FROM 10:40 A.M. TO 12:15 P.M.; MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in recess until 10 a.m., Wednesday, February 21, 1990, and that the time for the two leaders be until 10:40 a.m., that the Senate stand in recess from 10:40 a.m. to 12:15 p.m., so that Members of the Senate may join their House colleagues in the House Chamber to hear an address by President Havel of Czechoslovakia; that there be a period for morning business from 12:15 p.m. to 1:15 p.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein.

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

PROGRAM

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, at 1:15 p.m., the Senate will resume the debate on the motion to proceed to

the consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 212, the Armenian resolution.

RECESS UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, if the distinguished Republican leader has no further business and if no other Senator is seeking recognition, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess under the previous order until 10 a.m. tomorrow, Wednesday, February 21, 1990.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 7:44 p.m., recessed until Wednesday, February 21, 1990, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 20, 1990:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEANE ROESCH HINTON, OF ILLINOIS, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, WITH THE PERSONAL RANK OF CAREER AMBASSADOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA, TO WHICH POSITION HE WAS APPOINTED DURING THE RECESS OF THE SENATE FROM NOVEMBER 22, 1989, TO JANUARY 23, 1990.

JONATHAN MOORE, OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO BE THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ON THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR.

SHIRIN RAZIUDDIN TAHIR-KHELI, OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO BE THE ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOR SPECIAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS IN THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE RANK OF AMBASSADOR.

AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION

HERMAN JAY COHEN, AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE TERM EXPIRING SEPTEMBER 22, 1991, VICE CHESTER A. CROCKER.

INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED PERSONS TO BE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE INTER-AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR TERMS OF SIX YEARS:

NORTON STEVENS, OF NEW YORK. (NEW POSITION)
FRANK D. YTURRIA, OF TEXAS. (NEW POSITION)

THE JUDICIARY

SAMUEL A. ALITO, JR., OF NEW JERSEY, TO BE UNITED STATES CIRCUIT JUDGE FOR THE THIRD CIRCUIT VICE JOHN J. GIBBONS, RETIRED.

STEPHEN M. MCNAMEE, OF ARIZONA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF ARIZONA VICE CHARLES L. HARDY, RETIRED.

ROBERT H. CLELAND, OF MICHIGAN, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTIRCT JUDGE FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF MICHIGAN VICE JAMES P. CHURCHILL, RETIRED.

GRAHAM C. MULLEN, OF NORTH CAROLINA, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA VICE JAMES B. MCMILLAN, RETIRED.

ROBERT E. JONES, OF OREGON, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF OREGON VICE JAMES M. BURNS, RETIRED.

RESOLUTION TRUST CORPORATION

JOHN J. ADAIR, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE INSPECTOR GENERAL, RESOLUTION TRUST CORPORATION. (NEW POSITION)

MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE POSITIONS INDICATED, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 2, ACT OF CONGRESS, (21 STAT. 37) (33 UNITED STATES CODE 642):

To be a member and president of the Mississppi River Commission

BRIG. GEN. ARTHUR E. WILLIAMS, [redacted], UNITED STATES ARMY.

STATE JUSTICE INSTITUTE

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED PERSONS TO BE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE STATE JUSTICE INSTITUTE FOR THE TERMS INDICATED:

FOR A TERM EXPIRING SEPTEMBER 17, 1991:

TERRENCE B. ADAMSON, OF GEORGIA, VICE LAWRENCE H. COOK, RESIGNED.
VIVI L. DILWEG, OF WISCONSIN, VICE RODNEY A PEEPLES, TERM EXPIRED.

FOR A TERM EXPIRING SEPTEMBER 17, 1992:

CARL F. BIANCHI, OF IDAHO, VICE LARRY P. POLANSKY, TERM EXPIRED.
JAMES DUKE CAMERON, OF ARIZONA. (REAPPOINTMENT)
JANICE L. GRADWOHL, OF NEBRASKA. (REAPPOINTMENT)
MALCOLM M. LUCAS, OF CALIFORNIA, VICE RALPH J. ERICKSTAD, TERM EXPIRED.

NATIONAL CREDIT UNION ADMINISTRATION

ROBERT H. SWAN, OF UTAH, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL CREDIT UNION ADMINISTRATION BOARD FOR THE TERM OF SIX YEARS EXPIRING AUGUST 2, 1995, VICE DAVID L. CHATFIELD, RESIGNED.

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF ADMIRAL AND AS CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTIONS 601 AND 5033:

To be Chief of Naval Operations
To be admiral

ADM. FRANK B. KELSO, II, U.S. NAVY, [redacted]/1220.

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED REAR ADMIRALS (LOWER HALF) IN THE LINE OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY FOR PROMOTION TO THE PERMANENT GRADE OF REAR ADMIRAL, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 624, SUBJECT TO QUALIFICATIONS THEREFOR AS PROVIDED BY LAW:

ENGINEERING DUTY OFFICER

To be rear admiral

REAR ADM. (LH) JOHN SYDNEY CLAMAN, [redacted], U.S. NAVY.
REAR ADM. (LH) ROBERT EDWIN TRAISTER, [redacted], U.S. NAVY.

THE FOLLOWING NAMED REAR ADMIRALS (LOWER HALF) OF THE RESERVE OF THE U.S. NAVY FOR PERMANENT PROMOTION TO THE GRADE OF REAR ADMIRAL IN THE STAFF CORPS, AS INDICATED, PURSUANT TO THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 5912:

JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S CORPS OFFICER

To be rear admiral

REAR ADM. (LH) GERALD E. GILBERT, [redacted]/2505 U.S. NAVAL RESERVE.

SUPPLY CORPS OFFICER

REAR ADM. (LH) JAY R. DENNEY, [redacted]/3105 U.S. NAVAL RESERVE.

THE FOLLOWING NAMED REAR ADMIRAL (LOWER HALF) OF THE RESERVE OF THE U.S. NAVY FOR PERMANENT PROMOTION TO THE GRADE OF REAR ADMIRAL IN THE LINE, AS INDICATED, PURSUANT TO THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 5912:

ENGINEERING DUTY OFFICER

To be rear admiral

REAR ADM. (LH) BRIAN T. SHEEHAN, [redacted]/1445 U.S. NAVAL RESERVE.

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE REGULAR AIR FORCE UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 531, TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, WITH A VIEW TO DESIGNATION UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 8067, TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, TO PERFORM DUTIES INDICATED WITH GRADE AND DATE OF RANK TO BE DETERMINED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE PROVIDED THAT IN NO CASE SHALL THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS BE APPOINTED IN A HIGHER GRADE THAN THAT INDICATED.

MEDICAL CORPS

To be colonel

NORMAN G. PARE, [redacted]
SUMAN SETH, [redacted]
NORMAN L. SIMS, [redacted]

To be lieutenant colonel

JAMES L DELUCAS, [redacted]
RANDALL B KING, [redacted]
HARRY E MARDEN, JR, [redacted]
THOMAS W MARSH, [redacted]
KENNETH D RASHID, [redacted]
WALTER A ROLL, JR, [redacted]
RAYMOND P TENEYCK, [redacted]
CHARLES H WILE, [redacted]
FRANK A WOJCIECHOWSKI, [redacted]

To be major

JAMES S ICE, [redacted]
PEDRO H LOPEZ-VALENTIN, [redacted]

DENTAL CORPS

To be colonel

MICHAEL G SAVAGE, [redacted]

To be lieutenant colonel

RICHARD P APPS, JR, [redacted]
STEVEN E DAZEY, [redacted]
JOE B DRANE, III, [redacted]
RAYMOND G KOEPPEN, [redacted]
DAVID S PALMER, [redacted]
ROMMIE G WHEELER, [redacted]

To be major

HOWARD F CONE, JR, [redacted]
CRAIG B FOWLER, [redacted]
DENNIS N GREEN, [redacted]
EDWARD F MITNITSKY, [redacted]
SCOTT A SCHWARTZ, [redacted]
RONALD K SCOVILLE, [redacted]
JOHNNY L SILER, [redacted]
ROBERT VAN HOUSE, [redacted]

To be captain

JAMES M GAMBILL, [redacted]
STEPHEN W MERRILL, [redacted]

MEDICAL SERVICES CORPS

To be first lieutenant

RANDALL A CARPENTER, [redacted]

BIOMEDICAL SCIENCE CORPS

To be captain

DANIEL M KAMIENIECKI, [redacted]

THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS FOR APPOINTMENT AS RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE, IN GRADE INDICATED, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 593, TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, WITH A VIEW TO DESIGNATION UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 8067, TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, TO PERFORM THE DUTIES INDICATED.

MEDICAL CORPS

To be colonel

HARVEY L CASEBEER, [redacted]

To be lieutenant colonel

RUBEN T AGUAS, [redacted]
LARRY T. BOURKE, [redacted]
ROBERT J CRONIN, [redacted]
WILLIAM H DILLON, [redacted]
THOMAS LENZ, [redacted]
MARK L MESSINGHAM, [redacted]
GEORGE L SANDERS, [redacted]
BRUCE M SMITH, [redacted]

THE FOLLOWING AIR FORCE OFFICER FOR PERMANENT PROMOTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE, IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTIONS 624 AND 1552, TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, WITH DATE OF RANK TO BE DETERMINED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE.

LINE OF THE AIR FORCE

To be lieutenant colonel

MARCK R COBB, [redacted]

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING AIR NATIONAL GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES OFFICERS FOR PROMOTION IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTIONS 593 AND 8379, TITLE 10 OF THE UNITED STATES CODE. PROMOTIONS MADE UNDER SECTION 8379 AND CONFIRMED BY THE SENATE UNDER SECTION 593 SHALL BEAR AN EFFECTIVE DATE ESTABLISHED IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTION 8374, TITLE 10 OF THE UNITED STATES CODE. (EFFECTIVE DATE FOLLOWS SERIAL NUMBER)

LINE OF THE AIR FORCE

To be lieutenant colonel

MAJOR LYLE M. ANDVIK, [redacted] 11/3/89
MAJOR ROBERT A. BLANSHARD, [redacted] 11/13/89
MAJOR TIMOTHY J. COSSALTER, [redacted] 11/13/89
MAJOR WAYNE E. FERRELL JR., [redacted] 11/2/89
MAJOR RUFUS L. FORREST JR., [redacted] 11/5/89
MAJOR MICHAEL I. GREEN, [redacted] 10/14/89
MAJOR GERALD J. HUERTA, [redacted] 9/16/89
MAJOR GARY D. JOHNLOZ, [redacted] 11/1/89
MAJOR CLIFF R. KING, [redacted] 11/13/89
MAJOR GARY F. KLINE, [redacted] 11/5/89
MAJOR JAMES L. MALENKE, [redacted] 11/15/89
MAJOR JESSE R. MAXWELL, [redacted] 11/5/89
MAJOR STEPHEN L. MELTSNER, [redacted] 9/27/89
MAJOR EDWIN J. ORNDORFF, [redacted] 11/4/89
MAJOR JOHN D. RICE, [redacted] 10/22/89
MAJOR ROBERT E. RITTNER JR., [redacted] 11/13/89
MAJOR WILFRED G. SOUTIEA JR., [redacted] 11/4/89
MAJOR WARREN E. THOMAS, [redacted] 11/8/89
MAJOR SAMUEL A. VOLTZ III, [redacted] 10/26/89
MAJOR JAMES P. WHITE, [redacted] 10/21/89
MAJOR AARON K. WILSON, [redacted] 11/3/89

LEGAL CORPS

MAJOR JEFFREY R. ALLEN, xxx-xx-xxxx 11/5/89

CHAPLAIN CORPS

MAJOR JAMES R. PRICE, xxx-xx-xxxx 9/14/89

MEDICAL CORPS

MAJOR GEORGE L. CLARK, xxx-xx-xxxx 11/5/89
MAJOR WILLIAM C. FRIDINGER, xxx-xx-xxxx 9/19/89
MAJOR RICHARD W. SLOAN, xxx-xx-xxxx 10/15/89
MAJOR JOSEPH R. TORDELLA, xxx-xx-xxxx 10/16/89
MAJOR CARMELO I. VILLA, xxx-xx-xxxx 11/4/89

DENTAL CORPS

MAJOR JAMES A. NICHOLSON, xxx-xx-xxxx 11/19/89
MAJOR ROBERT M. ROHEN, xxx-xx-xxxx 10/14/89

BIOMEDICAL SCIENCE CORPS

MAJOR ALBERT L. SHERBURNE, xxx-xx-xxxx 10/22/89

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS, UNITED STATES AIR FORCE OFFICER TRAINING SCHOOL, FOR APPOINTMENT AS SECOND LIEUTENANTS IN THE REGULAR AIR FORCE, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 531, WITH DATES OF RANK TO BE DETERMINED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE.

DAVID W BARNES, xxx-xx-xxxx
DOUGLAS C BLAKE, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT T BOQUIST, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT J BRYANT, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT T BURAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
RAY S BURKE, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS S CHRISTJANS, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK J CONNERS, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEVIN J CUNNINGHAM, xxx-xx-xxxx
KATHY G DICUS, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD G ELKINS, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID J ENGLEHART, xxx-xx-xxxx
TIM E FALKOWSKI, xxx-xx-xxxx
LANCE R FLETCHER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL E FROST, xxx-xx-xxxx
AARON C GEORGE, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRIAN K GEORGE, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL G GILLESPIE, xxx-xx-xxxx
FRANK B GILLIAM, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY W GRUSY, xxx-xx-xxxx
TIM V HENKE, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL J HIGGINS, xxx-xx-xxxx
DONALD W HOLMES, xxx-xx-xxxx
LORI A HOMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
TIMOTHY B HUSSEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD C JENKINS, xxx-xx-xxxx
RALPH C JORDAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
KARI M KEYES, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOEL K KING, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT W KRAUS, xxx-xx-xxxx
TERRY J LARREW, xxx-xx-xxxx
LORI A LIVINGS, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID F LYNCH, xxx-xx-xxxx
MAX R MASSEY, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES H MCGUIRE, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS J MCNABB, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
RUSSEL B MILLER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MITCHELL A MONROE, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM E MONSTELLAR, xxx-xx-xxxx
GERARD A MOSLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK C MOYNIHAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHARLES D NISWONGER, xxx-xx-xxxx
KELVIN B ODELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
KENNETH A PAXTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK A PIERCE, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS E PETERSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD T POORE, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
GEORGE R PULLIAM, xxx-xx-xxxx
SUZANNE M RIEHL, xxx-xx-xxxx
BARRY D ROEPER, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM Y RUPP, xxx-xx-xxxx
SANDRA R SALYERS, xxx-xx-xxxx
DWAYNE P SELLERS, xxx-xx-xxxx
EUGENE R SELLERS, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL D SHEPHERD, xxx-xx-xxxx
GARRET H SHROADS, II, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL J SIMONICH, xxx-xx-xxxx
RODNEY J STEISKAL, xxx-xx-xxxx
KAREN E STEVENS, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN S STEWARD, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS R TOUSIGNANT, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHARLES M TURNER, xxx-xx-xxxx
TIMOTHY J VANDERWARKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
ALLAN P WAITE, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
MATT T WELLS, xxx-xx-xxxx

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS, ON THE ACTIVE DUTY LIST, FOR PROMOTION TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTIONS 624 AND 628, TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE. THE OFFICERS IDENTIFIED WITH AN ASTERICK ARE ALSO NOMINATED FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE REGULAR ARMY IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTION 531, TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE.

ARMY

To be lieutenant colonel

KENNETH R. CLOSE, xxx-xx-xxxx

MEDICAL CORPS

To be lieutenant colonel

* JOSEPH M. DAI, xxx-xx-xxxx
* NONA H. ONEAL, xxx-xx-xxxx

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER, ON THE ACTIVE DUTY LIST, FOR PROMOTION TO THE GRADE INDICATED IN THE UNITED STATES ARMY IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTION 1552, TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE. THIS OFFICER WAS RECOMMENDED FOR PROMOTION BY THE ARMY BOARD FOR CORRECTION OF MILITARY RECORDS.

JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL

To be lieutenant colonel

EDWIN D. SELBY, xxx-xx-xxxx

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING AIR FORCE CADET TO BE PERMANENT ENSIGN IN THE LINE OF THE U.S. NAVY, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTIONS 531 AND 541.

ALAN L. MATHIS

THE FOLLOWING NAMED LIEUTENANT, U.S. NAVY, RETIRED, TO BE REAPPOINTED PERMANENT LIEUTENANT, FROM THE TEMPORARY DISABILITY RETIRED LIST, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 1211.

JEFFREY S. CROY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED LIEUTENANT, U.S. NAVY, RETIRED, TO BE REAPPOINTED PERMANENT LIEUTENANT, FROM THE TEMPORARY DISABILITY RETIRED LIST, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 1211.

MARY J. KING

THE FOLLOWING NAMED DISTINGUISHED NAVAL GRADUATES TO BE APPOINTED PERMANENT ENSIGN IN THE LINE OR STAFF CORPS OF THE U.S. NAVY, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 531:

E. J. CHAN
W. P. COCHRAN
MICHAEL G. COOK
KARL G. ELIAS
DANIEL A. ERSOY
JOHN J. FINNEGAN
BRIAN P. FORT
LAWRENCE I. GALLER
EDDIE G. GALLION
ALEXIS T. GHORAI
WARREN D. HEISER
J. K. JARREAU
P. W. KIRK
F. T. LAMBERT
MICHAEL A. LANESE
T. W. LOWN
MARK D. MACLEAN
DENNIS T. MADURA
J. P. MCCALLEN
WILLIAM R. MCCAULEY
DONALD L. MCGEE
DANIEL J. MCLAIN
J. C. MOORE
ROBERT W. MURTO
ARMANDO N. PASTRANA
JODY L. PERRY
CHRISTOPHER P. PETERS
DAVID M. SCHAEFER
M. M. STEPHAN
P. C. THOMAS
TAMMY D. TOLAR
J. T. VANLOBENSELS
DAVID B. WESTON

THE FOLLOWING NAMED U.S. NAVY OFFICERS TO BE APPOINTED PERMANENT COMMANDER IN THE MEDICAL CORPS OF THE U.S. NAVAL RESERVE, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 593:

FRANCIS A. BARBER
JEFFREY M. CRANE
DAVID J. HARRIS

THE FOLLOWING NAMED DISTINGUISHED NAVAL GRADUATES TO BE APPOINTED PERMANENT ENSIGN IN THE LINE OR STAFF CORPS OF THE U.S. NAVY, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 531:

F. F. ALVAREZ
MICHAEL J. ARNOLDS
J. R. BENJAMIN
D. J. BREEN
D. W. HODGES
D. K. KARGER
K. G. KARSTENS
CURTIS C. LENDERMAN
LARA E. MAULDIN
FRANK M. MAZONE
J. A. MCCLANAHAN
CHRISTOPHER P. MICHEL
S. F. PHILLIPS
C. A. SCHROEDER
R. L. SMITH
M. A. SOUSA
ERIC M. STEPHENS
W. M. THOMPSON
G. S. WILLOWER

THE FOLLOWING NAMED U.S. NAVY OFFICERS TO BE APPOINTED PERMANENT LIEUTENANT IN THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL CORPS OF THE U.S. NAVY, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 531:

MARK D. BUDENSIEK
DARSE E. CRANDALL
MICHAEL G. GREEN
JAFFREY A. HENSON
WILLIAM C. HORRIGAN
SCOTT A. KENNEY
SCOTT M. LANG
DAVID P. MORGAN

THE FOLLOWING NAMED U.S. NAVAL RESERVE OFFICERS TO BE APPOINTED PERMANENT LIEUTENANT IN THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL CORPS OF THE U.S. NAVY, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 531:

BRENDA A. ARMSTRONG
THOMAS W. JACOBS
RICHARD E. WOOTTON

THE FOLLOWING NAMED U.S. NAVY OFFICERS TO BE APPOINTED PERMANENT COMMANDER IN THE MEDICAL CORPS OF THE U.S. NAVAL RESERVE, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 593:

ALAN W. CASHELL
THOMAS E. DANIEL

THE FOLLOWING NAMED MEDICAL COLLEGE GRADUATES TO BE APPOINTED PERMANENT COMMANDER IN THE MEDICAL CORPS OF THE U.S. NAVAL RESERVE, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 593:

JOHN A. NEILY
GEORGE E. SKYE, II
FRANK E. THOMAS

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING CADETS, UNITED STATES AIR FORCE ACADEMY, FOR APPOINTMENT AS SECOND LIEUTENANTS IN THE REGULAR AIR FORCE, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTIONS 9353(B) AND 531, TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, WITH DATES OF RANK TO BE DETERMINED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE.

JAY O. AANRUD, xxx-xx-xxxx
DEREK A. ABEYTA, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANIEL P. ABRAHAM, xxx-xx-xxxx
ERIC D. ADAMSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY E. ADDISON, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT M. AGUE, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
ERICK T. ALBERTO, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN F. ALDRIAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
KRISTIN J. ALFORD, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD L. ALLEN, xxx-xx-xxxx
BENJAMIN L. ALLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID L. ALMAND, xxx-xx-xxxx
KELLY M. ALTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
LISA M. AMBRE, xxx-xx-xxxx
MATTHEW S. AMMETER, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRUCE K. ANDERSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
ERIK H. ANDERSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
GREGORY J. ANDERSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
HANS S. ANDERSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
HAROLD S. ANDERSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANTHONY P. ANGELLO, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK A. AOWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN M. ARBETMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
SCOTT A. ARCURI, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY J. ARMENTROUT, xxx-xx-xxxx
RUSSELL L. ARMSTRONG, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL L. ARNOLD, xxx-xx-xxxx
TERRY J. ARNOLD, xxx-xx-xxxx
TIMOTHY J. ARNOLD, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEVIN R. ARTHUR, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL ATIGNA, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL D. BACKMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN E. BADER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN C. BAILEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
PETER G. BAILEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
PETER K. BAILEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
HAROLD M. BAKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
RONALD B. BALDINGER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL J. BARDEN, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID W. BARNA, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHESCA A. BARNETT, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRADLEY D. BARNETTE, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL K. BARNEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
GUY D. BARNI, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRYAN E. BATT, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK D. BAUDENDISTEL, xxx-xx-xxxx
GARY L. BEARD, II, xxx-xx-xxxx
VINCENT K. BECKLUND, xxx-xx-xxxx
CATHERINE E. BEDDOW, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES M. BEEKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
ZACKERY S. BELCHER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN E. BELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN C. BELT, xxx-xx-xxxx
MIKE BENSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
TIMOTHY W. BENTLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN A. BERNHART, II, xxx-xx-xxxx
PETER M. BERNSTEIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL R. BETANCE, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES G. BIRDSONG, xxx-xx-xxxx
DUANE A. BISHOP, II, xxx-xx-xxxx
SUSAN R. BIZZELLE, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL J. BLAIR, xxx-xx-xxxx
JESSICA A. BLANCHETTE, xxx-xx-xxxx
NICOLE I. BLATT, xxx-xx-xxxx
HARRY C. BLUE, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN R. BOBROSKI, xxx-xx-xxxx
TIMOTHY N. BOHMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
BERNARD A. BOIT, xxx-xx-xxxx
SEAN D. BOLING, xxx-xx-xxxx
MATTHEW R. BONZANI, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM W. BORDEN, xxx-xx-xxxx
GREGORY S. BORN, xxx-xx-xxxx
CARTER N. BORST, xxx-xx-xxxx
DIRK J. BOUMA, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY M. BOWLING, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS C. BOWMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHARLES W. BOYD, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY C. BOZARD, xxx-xx-xxxx
TERRELL L. BRADLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFERSON A. BRAND, xxx-xx-xxxx
WARREN F. BRANDOW, IV, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN S. BRANDT, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT E. BRANKLEY, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
DANIEL W. BREDESON, xxx-xx-xxxx
EVAN A. BREEDLOVE, xxx-xx-xxxx
CARL N. BRENNER, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID E. BRIEN, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANDRE J. BRIERE, xxx-xx-xxxx
RAYMOND E. BRIGGS, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
ALONZO L. BRISTOL, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID A. BROOKS, xxx-xx-xxxx
CAMERON A. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID K. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
KAREN L. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK A. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
PHILLIP B. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx
TERRY M. BROWN, xxx-xx-xxxx

HANS M. BRUEGGEMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
IAN B. WIN BRYAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHRISTOPHER J. BRYANT, xxx-xx-xxxx
PATRICK F. BUCKLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
HAROLD D. BUGADO, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANTHONY D. BUKATA, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN G. BUNNELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
MATTHEW J. BURGER, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT R. BURLING, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK L. BURMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAULL C. BURNETT, II, xxx-xx-xxxx
MATTHEW W. BUTLER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES G. CABALQUINTO, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN T. CAIRNEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
HEATHER L. CALLUM, xxx-xx-xxxx
DOUGLAS N. CAMANN, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEVIN J. CAMPBELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL W. CAMPBELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM J. CARLE, xxx-xx-xxxx
TONI L. CARNAHAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD W. CARNS, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT B. CARPENTIER, xxx-xx-xxxx
TERENCE A. CARR, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN H. CARROLL, xxx-xx-xxxx
DONALD T. CARTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL E. CARTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL S. CASEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
GARY A. CASSANO, xxx-xx-xxxx
BURTON A. I. CASTEEL, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERTO M. CATALDO, xxx-xx-xxxx
NIV E. CAVIAR, xxx-xx-xxxx
RYAN C. CECIL, xxx-xx-xxxx
LAURA S. CHAMPION, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHELLE L. CHAPMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
ELIZABETH A. CHARLES, xxx-xx-xxxx
AMY M. CHOLISTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
GRANT C. CHRISTIANSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
DOUGLAS H. CHUNG, xxx-xx-xxxx
HOWARD T. CLARK, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES M. CLARK, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD A. CLARK, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANDREW A. CLARKE, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL S. CLAY, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL J. COBB, xxx-xx-xxxx
DEREK K. COLE, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID M. COLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
WAYNE J. COLTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
KATHARINE F. COMBS, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL M. COMEAU, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY G. COMPTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERTO M. CONCEPCION, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS R. CONKLIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM K. CONNOLLY, xxx-xx-xxxx
DONALD C. CONROY, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL R. CONTRATTO, xxx-xx-xxxx
KYLE W. CONWAY, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANTHONY G. COOK, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL E. COOK, xxx-xx-xxxx
JON A. COOPER, xxx-xx-xxxx
FRANK J. J. COPRIVNICAR, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY M. CORCORAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
RODNEY R. CORNWELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
ALEXANDER COS, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHARLES H. COUGHLIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT M. CRAFTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS D. CRIMMINS, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID W. CROFT, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL D. CROGHAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
RANDALL G. CUMBERWORTH, xxx-xx-xxxx
SCOTT M. CURTIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
BEACHEL S. CURTIS, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN J. CZACHOR, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANIEL D. DAETZ, xxx-xx-xxxx
DARIN D. DAGGETT, xxx-xx-xxxx
GREGORY D. DALLAS, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARION D. DALLISON, xxx-xx-xxxx
ERIC M. DALTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOEL C. DALY, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN P. DANTZLER, xxx-xx-xxxx
LESLIE J. DARBY, xxx-xx-xxxx
BENJIMAN W. DAVIS, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN S. DEANDRADE, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH D. DEANE, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH L. DECARO, xxx-xx-xxxx
KATHLEEN M. DECKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
LOUIS J. DEFELICE, JR, xxx-xx-xxxx
SOPHIE M. DEFREITAS, xxx-xx-xxxx
KENNETH G. DEGRAAF, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK T. DEGRANGE, xxx-xx-xxxx
KIRK J. DEJESUS, xxx-xx-xxxx
LUCINDA A. DELACRUZ, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID A. DELMONACO, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAVIER A. DELUCCA, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANDREW D. DEMBOSKY, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD A. DENNERY, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANDREW M. DENNIS, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY S. DENNIS, JR, xxx-xx-xxxx
ERNEST V. ALL DESHAYES, xxx-xx-xxxx
LAYLA DESTAFFANY, xxx-xx-xxxx
SCOTT V. DETHOMAS, xxx-xx-xxxx
TED A. DETWILER, xxx-xx-xxxx
NELSON W. DEUTSCH, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK J. DEVINE, xxx-xx-xxxx
KRISTEN E. DEWEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT W. DICKENS, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN K. DIMENTO, xxx-xx-xxxx
WARREN L. DINGES, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANIEL R. DIRNBERGER, xxx-xx-xxxx
THAI D. DO, xxx-xx-xxxx
TODD J. DOLBIER, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID R. DORNBURG, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAULA K. DOW, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL D. DOWIS, xxx-xx-xxxx
CONRAD A. DRAIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES H. DRAPE, xxx-xx-xxxx
RONALD K. DREWKE, xxx-xx-xxxx
MATTHEW R. DUBOIS, xxx-xx-xxxx
RAYMOND A. DUDLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT D. DUNCAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRENT A. DUNN, xxx-xx-xxxx
MAYNARD DUNNING, xxx-xx-xxxx
DONALD P. DURALIA, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM M. DUSKAS, xxx-xx-xxxx
CRAIG E. DYE, xxx-xx-xxxx
LARRY L. EARLS, JR, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN J. EARLY, xxx-xx-xxxx
BARBARA A. EAST, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARY J. EDWARDS, xxx-xx-xxxx
HERBERT O. EHRESMAN, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY D. EICKMANN, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN D. EIKEN, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANN M. EISSLER, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM G. ELDRIDGE, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRIAN I. ELLIOTT, xxx-xx-xxxx
RUSSELL C. ELLIS, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS E. ENGLE, xxx-xx-xxxx
WESTON S. ERB, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES A. FAIN, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
SHAWN C. FAIRHURST, xxx-xx-xxxx
ERIC V. FAISON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JORGE E. FALCON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAY R. FALTIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
JUDSON R. FANCHER, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANIEL E. FANDREI, xxx-xx-xxxx
KENT W. FATTORE, xxx-xx-xxxx
LAWRENCE G. FERGUSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
LINDA D. FERRE, xxx-xx-xxxx
KARL E. FETH, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRIAN M. FILO, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHARLES J. FINLEY, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES B. FINNEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANIEL B. FISCHER, xxx-xx-xxxx
DOUGLAS S. FISCHER, xxx-xx-xxxx
LUCILLE J. FISH, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL A. FISHER, xxx-xx-xxxx
ALBERT H. FITTS, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL T. FITZGERALD, xxx-xx-xxxx
GERALD W. FLAUGHER, xxx-xx-xxxx
EDWARD W. FLEUREN, JR, xxx-xx-xxxx
PATRICK M. FLOOD, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT C. FLYNN, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD P. FOJTIK, xxx-xx-xxxx
PETER S. FORD, xxx-xx-xxxx
GARY W. FOSTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN P. FRASER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MATTHEW FRAUENFELDER, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD J. FREDDO, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID R. FRESELLA, xxx-xx-xxxx
SCOTT G. FRICKENSTEIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
FREDERICK H. FROSTIC, xxx-xx-xxxx
DON C. FULLER, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
DWIGHT D. I. FULLINGIM, xxx-xx-xxxx
KATHLEEN E. A. FULTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY A. GALLINO, xxx-xx-xxxx
AKSHAI M. GANDHI, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAYE A. MAR GANDY, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRIAN W. GARCIA, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT L. GARCIA, xxx-xx-xxxx
NICHOLAS A. J. GENTILE, xxx-xx-xxxx
LYNN M. GEORGE, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID A. GERDA, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN K. GERMANY, xxx-xx-xxxx
KENNETH M. GIBADLO, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM W. GIDEON, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANIEL M. GILLESPIE, xxx-xx-xxxx
LAURA M. GILLIG, xxx-xx-xxxx
VINCENT J. GILLIS, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANDREW B. GILLSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
GREGORY GIONDOMENICA, xxx-xx-xxxx
RANDLE A. GLADNEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAY D. GLASCOCK, xxx-xx-xxxx
HOWARD T. GLEASON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES D. GLOSS, xxx-xx-xxxx
AMY K. GODESKY, xxx-xx-xxxx
PATRICIA A. GOODALL, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT G. GORDY, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS J. GOULTER, JR, xxx-xx-xxxx
TED W. GRADY, xxx-xx-xxxx
SCOTT B. GRANADO, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT S. GRAY, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM J. GRAY, JR, xxx-xx-xxxx
LAINIE L. GREENFIELD, xxx-xx-xxxx
TIMOTHY L. GREENWELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
SHANNON L. GREGORY, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM J. GREGORY, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEVIN P. GRIFFIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEITH M. GRIMES, xxx-xx-xxxx
GEOFFREY L. GRIZZARD, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY H. GROBMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD S. GROGGEL, xxx-xx-xxxx
GARY A. GROSS, xxx-xx-xxxx
ELIZABETH A. GRUPE, xxx-xx-xxxx
KRYSTAL L. GUENTHER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES S. GUERIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID R. GUIO, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL D. GUMINSKY, xxx-xx-xxxx
QUINN A. GUMMEL, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEPHEN C. GUNN, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK F. GUTCHER, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID A. HAASE, xxx-xx-xxxx
OTTO D. HABEDANK, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT E. HAGSTROM, xxx-xx-xxxx
GARY D. HAINES, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT M. HAINES, xxx-xx-xxxx
EMMANUEL HALDOPOULOS, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN D. HALL, IV, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN R. HALL, xxx-xx-xxxx
KARL D. HALL, xxx-xx-xxxx
WESLEY P. HALLMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
KENT C. HALVERSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
SCOTT A. HAMILTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
SCOTT R. HAMILTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHRISTOPHER J. HAMM, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS E. HANCOCK, xxx-xx-xxxx
DONALD B. HANKS, JR, xxx-xx-xxxx
PATRICK M. HANLON, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT M. HANLON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOEL T. HANSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
KRAIG M. HANSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY A. HARDER, xxx-xx-xxxx
PHILLIP D. HARDIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
FORREST B. HARE, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM E. HARKINS, xxx-xx-xxxx
RODNEY W. HARRELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
EDDIE C. HARRIS, xxx-xx-xxxx
KARIO D. HARRIS, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM B. HARRIS, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
PATRICK E. HARRISON, xxx-xx-xxxx
RUSSELL J. HART, JR, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD B. HARTSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
STACY K. HARUGUCHI, xxx-xx-xxxx
TIMOTHY C. HASSEL, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRIAN E. HASTINGS, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANIEL B. HAUCK, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK J. HAYES, xxx-xx-xxxx
PATRICK W. HAYES, xxx-xx-xxxx
EMILE L. HAZEUR, JR, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANDREW D. HEALY, xxx-xx-xxxx
EDMUND J. HEBRON, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEVIN J. HEER, xxx-xx-xxxx
TODD D. HELLINGS, xxx-xx-xxxx
TWAIN M. HENRY, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT E. HENSLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
ELIZABETH M. HICKOK, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES R. HICKS, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEVIN W. HIGGINBOTHAM, xxx-xx-xxxx
HELEN E. HILL, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY F. HILL, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN W. HILL, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRADLEY T. HOAGLAND, xxx-xx-xxxx
SEAN D. HOEFLICKER, xxx-xx-xxxx
SCOTT A. HOLLISTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL A. HOLLMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN T. HOLLOMAN, JR, xxx-xx-xxxx
MONICA A. HOLZHAUER, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEVIN A. HOPPIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID E. HOPSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
RODNEY A. HOUSER, xxx-xx-xxxx
CLARK L. HUNSTAD, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRIAN S. HUNT, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID A. HUNT, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHRISTOPHER W. HURLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
MATTHEW M. HURLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
DONALD F. HURRY, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBIN M. HUTCHENS, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEVIN A. HUYCK, xxx-xx-xxxx
ALFRED A. IANNACCONE, xxx-xx-xxxx
RONALD L. JACKSON, JR, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES A. JACOBSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM R. JACOBUS, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRIAN L. JAMES, xxx-xx-xxxx
DARREN V. JAMES, xxx-xx-xxxx
RAYMOND T. JAMES, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN P. JAMES, xxx-xx-xxxx
BENJAMIN F. V. JANES, xxx-xx-xxxx
RYAN A. JARA, xxx-xx-xxxx
SEAN E. JEFFERS, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES G. JINNETTE, xxx-xx-xxxx
RONALD S. JOBO, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRET D. JOHNSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
GREGORY N. JOHNSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
LEIF M. JOHNSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK A. JOHNSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
CARLA R. JONES, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID H. JONES, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK A. JONES, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES F. JORDAN, JR, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY T. JOURNEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN W. JUDY, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL P. JUNK, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL A. JURRIES, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS E. KAFKA, xxx-xx-xxxx
RONALD J. KALANQUIN, JR, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID L. KALIVODA, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANIEL A. KALTENBAUGH, xxx-xx-xxxx
TIMOTHY J. KANE, xxx-xx-xxxx
EDWARD J. KARLSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
GREGG E. KASTMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL J. KASUDA, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL K. KATO, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN P. KEAGLE, xxx-xx-xxxx
SHAWNA E. KEASLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
TODD A. KECHTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY S. KEES, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID W. KELLER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JACEN P. KELLER, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEITH L. KELLER, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANTHONY D. KELLY, xxx-xx-xxxx
ERIC W. KELM, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD D. KEMP, xxx-xx-xxxx
KENNETH L. KEMPER, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRIAN A. KENDALL, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEVIN B. KENNEDY, xxx-xx-xxxx
BRIAN T. KENSINGER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARTIN W. KERBER, xxx-xx-xxxx
ERIC D. KESLER, xxx-xx-xxxx

TAEWON KIM, xxx-xx-xx...
DAVID R. KING, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL J. KING, xxx-xx-xxxx
LISA M. KIRK, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEPHEN D. KISER, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS G. KITCHENS, xxx-xx-xxxx
ANDREW J. KITTLESON, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID A. KIVIOJA, xxx-xx-xxxx
KELLY KLEIFGES, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS G. KLOPOTEK, xxx-xx-xxxx
ALLEN S. KNAPP, xxx-xx-xxxx
GREGORY A. KNAPP, xxx-xx-xxxx
MATTHEW A. KNAPP, xxx-xx-xxxx
ERIC K. KNIGHT, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHNNA M. KNIGHTLY, xxx-xx-xxxx
DARREN F. KNIPP, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS J. KNOLMAYER, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHRISTOPHER J. KNOTTS, xxx-xx-xxxx
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GARY J. WILEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY W. WILKINSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAY A. WILLARD, xxx-xx-xxxx
BERNARD M. WILLI, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHRISTOPHER S. WILLIAMS, xxx-xx-xxxx
CRAIG E. WILLIAMS, xxx-xx-xx...
LISA A. WILLMAN, xxx-xx-xx...
TIMOTHY J. WILLWERTH, xxx-xx-xxxx
FREDERICK M. WILMER, II, xxx-xx-xxxx
DELBERT E. WILSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
SARA M. WILSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
SCOTT P. WILSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN O. WILSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
THEODORE D. WILSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
ERIC D. WINGER, xxx-xx-xxxx
MARK B. WISER, xxx-xx-xxxx
ERIC P. WOHLRAB, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
CRAIG A. WOLF, xxx-xx-xxxx
DONALD J. WOOD, xxx-xx-xxxx
JILL R. WOOD, xxx-xx-xxxx
HENRY A. WOODS, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
KENNETH C. WRAY, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHRISTOPHER M. WRIGHT, xxx-xx-xxxx
CYNTHIA A. WRIGHT, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANIEL D. WRIGHT, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
STEVEN C. WRIGHT, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEVIN J. YANDURA, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANIEL S. YENCHESKY, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOSEPH F. YEZZI, xxx-xx-xxxx
TIM Y. YOSHINAGA, xxx-xx-xxxx
KYLE E. YOUNKERS, xxx-xx-xxxx
MICHAEL T. YOUNKIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
WOODROW W. YOUNTS, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
JEFFREY A. ZEMKE, xxx-xx-xxxx
PAUL S. ZIEMBA, xxx-xx-xxxx
WAYNE L. ZORN, xxx-xx-xxxx

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED ARMY NATIONAL GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES OFFICERS FOR PROMOTION IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 593(A) AND 3385:

ARMY PROMOTION LIST

To be colonel

TRAVIS H. ACKLIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
LARRY C. BEAM, xxx-xx-xxxx
VINCENT P. BENEVENTO, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID J. BYRON, xxx-xx-xxxx
ERIC E. DAWSON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JESSE D. DUMAS, xxx-xx-xxxx
WAYNE C. DUNLAP, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES T. ELLIS, III, xxx-xx-xxxx
RICHARD E. GILLESPIE, xxx-xx-xxxx
HOWARD L. GOODWIN, xxx-xx-xxxx
JACK E. HIHNALA, xxx-xx-xxxx
DWAIN A. JAMES, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM G. JAMES, xxx-xx-xx...
JIM H. KINNEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
HARLEY A. KRULL, xxx-xx-xxxx
EDDIE E. LANE, xxx-xx-xxxx
RODGER L. MCALISTER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN P. OLJAR, xxx-xx-xxxx
GARY H. PENDLETON, xxx-xx-xxxx
LAWRENCE F. PHILLIPS, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES H. ROSCOE, xxx-xx-xxxx
JACK W. SCHLUKEBIER, xxx-xx-xxxx
RONALD H. SKILLICORN, xxx-xx-xxxx
HENRY F. WARD, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEITH E. WILLEY, xxx-xx-xxxx

CHAPLAIN

To be colonel

JOHN W. HEMANN, xxx-xx-xx...

MEDICAL CORPS

To be colonel

MAURICE M. ACREE, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
ORIN H. BRUTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN J. CIRELLI, xxx-xx-xxxx

ARMY PROMOTION LIST

To be lieutenant colonel

GLENN M. APPE, xxx-xx-xxxx
PHILIP L. ARTHUR, xxx-xx-xxxx
GERALD D. ATTAWAY, xxx-xx-xxxx
DENNIS N. BEAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT C. BLUMBERG, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
MAX E. BREWER, xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIE E. BUFFINGTON, xxx-xx-xxxx
EDDY L. CHARLES, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS W. CONNER, xxx-xx-xxxx
CHARLES E. DAVIS, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES M. DEICHERT, xxx-xx-xxxx
KENT M. FREISE, xxx-xx-xxxx
DONNIE F. GARRETT, xxx-xx-xxxx
DAVID J. GRIFFITH, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
LARRY W. HALTOM, xxx-xx-xx...
EDWIN T. HAMLIM, xxx-xx-xxxx
KEVIN A. HESS, xxx-xx-xxxx
BARON G. HIGNITE, xxx-xx-xxxx
HAROLD R. HOLLISTER, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
LEON N. JAMISON, xxx-xx-xxxx
GARY L. JONES, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN A. JULIAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
RANDALL E. KRUG, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT J. LABADIE, xxx-xx-xxxx
KENT A. LARIMER, xxx-xx-xxxx
HALDON E. LINDFELT, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
DENNIS J. LORD, xxx-xx-xxxx
THOMAS P. LUCZYNSKI, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN M. MARKS, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT G. MASKIELL, xxx-xx-xxxx
MAGNUS MEIER, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT C. METZ, xxx-xx-xxxx
CURTIS L. NEWCOMB, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES P. ONEIL, xxx-xx-xxxx
KARSTEN E. OVERA, xxx-xx-xxxx
FREDERICK G. PINTO, xxx-xx-xxxx
STANLEY R. PUTNAM, xxx-xx-xxxx
DOUGLAS B. SHERROW, xxx-xx-xxxx
TERRY E. SMITH, xxx-xx-xxxx
THEODORE V. SPANGLER, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
WILLIAM H. SQUIRES, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
ROY E. STURGILL, xxx-xx-xxxx
TOM W. THOMAS, xxx-xx-xxxx
EVERETT R. WEAVER, xxx-xx-xxxx
JAMES M. WHEELER, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
GARY C. WHITNEY, xxx-xx-xxxx
DEAN A. YOUNGMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx
JOHN C. ZIMMERMAN, xxx-xx-xxxx

CHAPLAIN

To be lieutenant colonel

DONALD W. HILL, xxx-xx-xx...

ARMY NURSE CORPS

To be lieutenant colonel

STEVEN A. ROSE, xxx-xx-xxxx

MEDICAL CORPS

To be lieutenant colonel

RUBEN T. AGRA, xxx-xx-xxxx
JASPER L. BOOKER, JR., xxx-xx-xxxx
BRIAN A. PALAFOX, xxx-xx-xxxx

MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS

To be lieutenant colonel

BILLY A. GARNER, xxx-xx-xxxx
DANA H. GRAU, xxx-xx-xxxx
ROBERT P. THOMAS, xxx-xx-xxxx

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED COMMANDERS IN THE LINE OF THE NAVY FOR PROMOTION TO THE PERMANENT GRADE OF CAPTAIN, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 624, SUBJECT TO QUALIFICATIONS THEREFOR AS PROVIDED BY LAW:

UNRESTRICTED LINE OFFICERS

To be captain

ROBERT JAMES ABBOTT
FRED EUGENE ADCOCK
DAVID JOHN ALEXANDER
RALPH MART ALFORD, JR
TERENCE LEE ANDERSON
EDWARD PATRICK ANGLIM
HUBERT EDWARD ARCHAMBO, JR
WILLIAM ERIC ARMSTRONG
STEPHEN ALAN ARNDT
JOHN CHARLES AURIEMMA
BERNIS HAYES BAILEY
TIMOTHY LOUIS BAKER
PHILLIP MONROE BALISLE
THOMAS DANIEL BARNES
RONNIE LEE BARROW
JOHN CRAIG BATHGATE
LARRY CLIFFORD BAUCOM
LOUIS WILLIAM BAUER
DENIS FRANCIS BEAUGUREAU
MALCOLM EDWIN BELLAMY, JR
ALBERT EUGENE BENNETT, JR
RODNEY LINGO BENSON
THOMAS JEROME BERNSEN, JR
NORMAN GLEN BERREE
KEITH PAUL BERSTICKER
WILLIAM F. HALSEY BERTHIAUME
JOHN WILLIAM BONNETT
DALE EARL BOSLEY
RAYMOND JOHN BOUCREE
JOHNNIE M. BOYNTON
STEVEN ERIC BRIGGS
DONALD COLLINS BROWN
ROBERT GEORGE BRUCE
TONEY MICHAEL BUCCHI
DAVID LEE BUNNELL
ROGER RONALD BURBRINK
WILLIAM BUSCHING
CHARLES THOMAS BUTLER, III
BRIAN VIVIAL BUZZELL
NEIL FRANCIS BYRNE
WILLIAM ANDERSON CAIN
DAVID ROBERT CARLSON
JOHN MICHAEL CARTER
KENNETH CHARLES CECH
MICHAEL BRYAN CHARLEY
WARREN CRAIG CHEWNING
RICHARD DEAN CHILDERS
ROY CALVIN CHRISTIAN
ALBERT THOMAS CHURCH, III
MICHAEL RAY CLAPSADL
RICHARD ELDON CLAYTON
THOMAS FREDERICK CLEVERDON
DAVID PAUL COCOLIN
RICHARD LEWIS COLEMAN
CLIFFORD CRAIG COVINGTON
BARRY JOHN COYLE
CHARLES KENNETH CRANDALL, JR
THOMAS PAUL CRUSER
KEVIN PETER CUMMINGS
WALTER JAMES CUMMINGS
KENDALL WILLIAM CURTIS
LARRY WAYNE DARLING
JACK MICHAEL DAVIS
JOHN JOSEPH DEMLEIN, JR
LAWRENCE F. DIDDLEMEYER
RICHARD PATRICK DODD
FREDERICK JAMES DODGE
EDDIE LEE DUCKWORTH
KATHLEEN MARY DUGAN
RUSSELL ALEXANDER DUKE, JR
CARL BOULTER DUNN
BRUCE PETER DYER
RICHARD ALEXANDER EASON
DENNIS JAMES EGAN
IRA J. EICK
THOMAS JOHN ELLIOTT, JR
WALTER MICHAEL ELLIOTT
TERRANCE THOMAS ETNYRE
THOMAS HAROLD ETTER
STEVEN LOCK FAHRENKROG
JAMES MICHAEL FARLEY
GERARD MICHAEL FARRELL
MARSHALL RAY FENN
ALLEN ASHBEY FERBER
JEFFREY ALLEN FINLEY
LYND LACROIX FITZGERALD
JAMES FLAHERTY, JR
MARK OSTROM FLAHERTY
EARL JAY FOUGHT
ROBERT TIMOTHY FRANCE
LARRY JON FRANCISCO
SCOTT ALLEN FRY
GEORGE VICTOR GALDORISI
JOHN JOSEPH GALLAGHER
HARVEY JOHN GANNON, JR
JOHN EDWARD GANTLEY
CAROLINE WHARTON GEORGE
ROBERT LEE GIBSON
FRANK TYLER GIESEMANN
EDWARD FRANKLIN GORDON
ALAN ROBERT GORTHY, JR
FREDRICK IRVING GRANT
JOSEPH MICHAEL GREENE, JR
DON VOGTS HAHNFELDT
JOHN HAIGIS
JAMES WARREN HAMBURG
BAKER ROBERT HAMILTON
GREGORY LEE HANSEN
JAMES LEROY HARRIS
STEVEN ADOLPH HAZELRIGG
JOHN LEWIS HENDERSON
JOSEPH GERARD HENRY
WILLIAM FREDRICK HICKMAN
WILLIAM HILTON HOBGOOD
PHILIP GRAHAM HOWARD
FRANK WILDER HUDSON, JR
EDWARD ECHERD HUNTER
JOHN RUDOLPH HUTCHISON
WARREN HARPER IDE, JR
CLYDE JAMES IHRIG
LLOYD SCOTT JACOBSEN
GARY BURTON JAMES
JAMES ROBERT JARRELL, IV
WADE COOK JOHNSON
CHARLES LORING JOSLIN, III
RICHARD WILLIAM KALB
HERBERT CHARLES KALER
JOHN JAMES KEARLEY
KRAIG MICHAEL KENNEDY
HOWARD KEITH KLINE
TIMOTHY WILLIAM LAFLEUR
PHILIP CHARLES LAME
RAYMOND JOHN LATURNO, III
WILLIAM JOSEPH LAZ, JR
RICHARD BRUCE LEAR
DAVID CORNELL LEESTMA
BILLY LAROY LEWIS
LINCOLN H. LIPPINCOTT, II
JACK LANE LONDOT
JANICE MORTON LUCIE
DONALD STEWART LUEBBECKE
PATRICK CHARLES MACKIN
TERRY EDWARD MAGEE
LEON FRANCIS MAHONEY
MICHAEL DENNIS MALONE
LORRAINE FLORENCE MANNING
ROBERT STANLEY MARTIN
GEORGE GARY MAXWELL
GREGORY L. MAXWELL
JOHN DAVID MCAFEE
MICHAEL JAMES MCCULLEY
DAVID GARTH MCCULLOUGH
JAMES FRANCIS MCFILLIN, JR
GEORGE STEVE MCINCHOK, JR
JAMES ROBERT MCKENZIE
JAMES JOHN MCTIGUE
JAMES WALLACE METZGER
GEORGE MCCULLAR MOORE
KEITH TENNANT MOORE
JAMES WESLEY MORELAND, III
ERNEST LEWIS MORRIS, JR
THOMAS GRIFFITH MOSER
DAVID KING MOUSSETTE
ROBERT DENNIS MULLINS
JAY MAURICE MUNNINGHOFF
HELMUTH CARL SCHLICHTING, JR
GARY WERNER SCHNURRPUSCH
ALBERT ZALIG SCHWARTZ
BARRY FREDERICK SCHWOERER
JAMES F. SCURRIA
DANIEL THOMAS SHERRANGE
WILLIAM ANDREW SIGLER
ROBERT G. SIMPSON
JERRY BRIAN SINGLETON
JAMES PATRICK SINZ
KENNETH DUNCAN SLAGHT
EARL RAMON SMITH
JOHN VINCENT SMITH, JR
MILTON WAYNE SMITH
JAMES WALTER SPEER
HAROLD GEORGE STANBRIDGE
BARBARA JO STANKOWSKI
THOMAS WILLIAM STEFFENS
JAMES MELL STEPHENSON
DONALD HENDRIX NASH
GARY STEVEN NELSON
LARRY DON NEWSOME
TERRY RANDALL NOLAN
BRIAN JOHN OCONNELL
JOHN THOMAS OCONNELL, JR
GERALD JAMES ODONNELL
ROBERT BERNARD ODONNELL
MARGARET MARY OMALLEY
JOHN ONEILL, JR
LAWRENCE EDWARD OSBORN
MARGARETHA ISABELLA OSKAM
THOMAS GORDON OTTERBEIN
RICHARD LEE OWENS
ROBERT HAROLD PALECK
DAVID VANCE PARK
DANIEL MATTHEW PARKER
CHARLES COOPER PETERSON
HOWARD ALDRIDGE PETREA, JR
JOHN ALLEN PETTITT
JAMES MICHAEL PIOTROWSKI
JAMES FREDERICK PONZO
RICHARD WAYNE POTTER
ROBERT JAMES PRESTRIDGE
TERRY JAMES PUDAS
LYNN DAMARIS PULLEN
ROBERT LEE RACHOR, JR
JAMES ANTHONY REAGHARD
JOHN WILLIAM REDDINGER, JR
CHARLES BUCHANAN REIGNER
RICKIE GENE REYNOLDS
GEORGE SAMUEL RHODES
THOMAS RUSSELL RICHARDS
ANDREW SPENCER RIDDILE
MICHAEL GLENN RIEGEL
FRANCIS ALBERT ROBERTS
PETER GARETY ROBERTS
JOHN ALLEN ROE
DAVID OWEN ROSE
RAYMOND PARKS ROSE
ARTHUR NORMAN ROWLEY, III
JOHN ALEXANDER RUSSACK
THOMAS GORDON RUSSELL
ARBOTH ANDREW RYLANT
EDWARD A. SACCIO
WILLIAM HENLEY SADLER, III
GRANT WILLIAM SASSEN
CHARLES ALFRED SCHAEFER
JOHN ZIGMAND STEPIEN
JAMES DOUGLAS STEVENS
DANIEL JOSEPH STONE
DAVID WILLIAM STROMQUIST
RALPH EDWARD SUGGS
PAUL FRANCIS SULLIVAN
PHILIP FRANK SWAIN
EDWARD LEE SWARTZ
ARTHUR GREGORY TEVES
THOMAS STEPHEN THERRELL
STEVEN GARLAND TINSLEY
JAMES ROCCO TOMANELLI
DENNIS JAMES VANBUSKIRK
WILLIAM DONALD VANCE
MARK TOMPKINS VANDERBERG
JOHN WILLIAM WADDELL
ROBIN YORK WEBER
MICHAEL CLARK WEIN
NEAL WILLIAM WEISBERG
STEPHEN THOMAS WESSELHOFF
JOHN STANTON WHITE
DANIEL LEE WHITFORD
HAROLD ALDRICH WILLIAMS
THOMAS CLOUD WILLIAMS, JR
CHARLES HOWARD WILSON
GEORGE MICHAEL WILSON
MICHAEL FREDERICK WINKLER
LEE THELL WOMACK, JR
ROSS ALAN WORD
MICHAEL JESSE WORLEY
CONSTANTINE LOUIS XEFTERIS
DOUGLAS ALAN YESENSKY
CHARLES BRUCE YOUNG
JOHN ROBERT YOUNG
WILLIAM DAVID YOUNG
STEPHEN WAYNE ZAVADIL
GREGORY MICHAEL ZORBACH

ENGINEERING DUTY OFFICERS

To be captain

EULOGIO CONCEPTION BERMUDES
ALAN F. BEUERLEIN
CHARLES PIERSON BINGAY
DAVID ROSS BURGESS
JAMES MANN CARNEY
PAUL REGINALD COCHRAN, III
NEIL JON COLLINS
JEFFREY DURNELL CONNERS
WILLIAM ALONZO DEWEY
RICHARD PAUL FISKE
LAYNE WALTER GOOD
RICHARD DANA HAMLY
JOSEPH GLADE HOLYOAK
ANTHONY JOSEPH MANCINI
JOHN ROBERT MCNAMEE, JR
DAVID COTTRELL MOSBY
GREGORY RICHARD PATCH
KEVIN PATRICK PERKINS
MICHAEL ROBERT REED
ROBERT PAUL SCHACK
LARRY RALPH SHARP
JOHN WALLACE SIMMONS, II
WILLIAM GOODWIN SPEED, JR
DEAN ORVILLE TRYTTEN
GLENN RICHARD WHALEY
BRUCE ARNOLD WILLIAMS

AERONAUTICAL ENGINEERING DUTY OFFICERS (AERONAUTICAL ENGINEERING)

To be captain

CHARLES LYNN BUTLER
MICHAEL ALFRED COSGROVE
DWIGHT ELLIS DENSON
JOSEPH WENDELL DYER, JR
JOSEPH WILLIAM HADDOCK, III
ROGER DALE HILL
GARY KAZUYOSHI IKUMA
EDWARD MIHALAK
ROBERT TROY SCHAUM
RAY MCKENNA UMBARGER

AERONAUTICAL ENGINEERING DUTY OFFICERS (AVIATION MAINTENANCE)

To be captain

JEROME SCOTT BRANUM
THOMAS RICHARD DARNELL
DEAN REESE MERRILL, JR
MARTIN WILLIAM REAGAN
PHILIP TITCOMB SMILEY
THOMAS FREDERICK SNYDER

SPECIAL DUTY OFFICERS (CRYPTOLOGY)

To be captain

ROBERT GREGORY DIMUZIO
HUGH FRANCIS DOHERTY
PHILLIP LEE GLENN
LAWRENCE CARL SCHAFFER, JR
RONALD MAURICE TAYLOR

SPECIAL DUTY OFFICERS (INTELLIGENCE)

To be captain

JOHN RANDALL BENTZ
RICHARD VERNON GRAGG
JOHN VREELAND HORTON
JOHN UNDERWOOD LILES, JR
AMOS BERNARD MADREN
EDMOND DEAN POPE
ELDON CARL SWANSON, JR

SPECIAL DUTY OFFICERS (PUBLIC AFFAIRS)

To be captain

MICHAEL WEBB DOUBLEDAY
JOLENE KAY KEEFER
JAMES PATRICK MITCHELL
ROBERT STEPHEN PRUCHA
DAVID WILLIAM THOMAS
JEFFREY STEVEN ZAKEM

SPECIAL DUTY OFFICERS (OCEANOGRAPHY)

To be captain

RICHARD SCOTT HILLYER
RALPH JEFFREY LADOUCE
DONALD ALAN MAUTNER
JAMES MURRAY MCDONALD

LIMITED DUTY OFFICERS (LINE)

To be captain

OLEN CHARLES AKINS
JOSEPH KING DEUTSCH
ERNEST RICHARD OROURKE
WILLIAM JOSEPH PHILLIPS, JR
ALBERT JAMES ROSS, JR
STERRIE LEON WEAVER