

"The core of the problem, as General de Gaulle often said, is not whether we surrender this or that bit of sovereignty, but whether we do so on the same terms as Germany does," he said.

WE NEED ANSWERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. FOLEY). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. SAXTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SAXTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise with some reluctance, but with some determination, to raise some questions about a very serious matter that occurred a short time ago. Together with Captain O'Grady we all thank God upon his return. It was, in fact, a miracle that he has been returned to us seemingly unharmed, and for that we are all very, very grateful, but I think some questions need to be asked about the circumstances under which Captain O'Grady had found himself in the air within the range of a SAM SA-6 missile.

In reviewing some news reports and some quotes of some individuals recently, I was prompted to go back to a report that the House Republican task force on terrorism and unconventional warfare issued in June of 1993 about issues related to this subject. In that month we issued a report, and I would like to read a part of it because it has a direct bearing on this issue.

Part of the report says the Serbian forces operate four SAM regiments, with the main concentration of Serb air defenses around the Banja Luka Air Base, including one SA-2 regiment, one battery of SA-6's, and one battery of old triple-A anti-aircraft weaponry. Now this Banja Luka Air Base also has a facility located on it that repairs and upgrades SA-6 missiles. This was all confirmed in June of 1994 by a well-respected defense publication known as Jane's Defense Weekly when they confirmed all of the information we had in 1993. Unfortunately for us, I think, on June 2 General Shalikashvili, in being interviewed by the Senate Armed Services Committee, said, and I quote:

"We had absolutely no intelligence that Serb SAM's were in the area. For months," he said, "if not for years, there had never been detected an air defense site in that area," and he said the words "Banja Luka."

So I have very serious concerns about the fact that we knew this 3 years ago, that Jane's Defense Weekly reported it in 1994, and our top officials at the Pentagon seemingly had no idea that this in fact was the case, and so I think it raises some very, very important questions.

We read in the other news report more recently, June 13, after we released our report from 1993 just recently to the press, and that was reported that Ken Bacon, spokesman at the Pentagon, said at that time, "Finally, we were well aware of the Banja Luka facility where the Bosnian Serbs

repair and maintain surface-to-air missile systems. The F-16 that Captain O'Grady was flying on June 2 was shot down outside of the area known as the threat envelope of the Banja Luka SAMs."

Now the F-16, as far as I can determine from news reports and from other information that we have been able to gather, was shot down less than 40 kilometers from Banja Luka. It is important to know that these SA-6's are track-mounted vehicles along with a second track-mounted vehicle which carries the radar which integrates into the system, travels 30 or 40 miles per hour, and so certainly it should have been considered, in my opinion, within the envelope that short distance from Banja Luka, and it seems to me that anyone making plans to carry out these missions should have taken that into consideration.

So I think this raises at least three questions, maybe more:

No. 1, what intelligence did the field commanders have at their disposal while making these very, very important and life-threatening decisions?

No. 2, what were the operational policies, and where were they made? What were the operational policies?

Our information is that there were 2 F-16's, and normally, if there is a threat of surface-to-air missiles, there are five aircraft, including radar jamming aircraft. I believe F-4's, known as Wild Weasels, would normally accompany our F-16's on these types of missions to guard against the type of events that actually happened.

No. 3, was it not reasonable to assume that Banja Luka, less than 40 kilometers away, was in fact part of the dangerous envelope into which these airplanes were flying?

So I would just conclude, Mr. Speaker, by saying this:

In 1993 we were able to gain information that said this was a danger. Jane's Weekly reported in 1994 that this was a danger. Captain O'Grady was shot down proving that it was a danger, and we planned and carried out the mission anyway.

I would like answers to those questions. I have requested the same. I have requested Chairman SPENCE to hold hearings on this issue. I would like to know who is making these decisions, and where they are being made, and under what circumstances they are being made. We have other pilots, soldiers and sailors to think about. I believe this is a very serious issue.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York [Mr. OWENS] is recognized for 5 minutes.

[Mr. OWENS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

CORRECTIONAL PEACE OFFICERS MEMORIAL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California [Mr. DOOLITTLE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DOOLITTLE. Mr. Speaker, today I attended the annual memorial service held at the two Jima Memorial in Arlington, VA sponsored by the Correctional Peace Officers Foundation, Inc., as part of National Correctional Peace Officers Memorial Week. This service was held to commemorate the sacrifice of those correctional peace officers who died in the line of duty and to honor their families. I should like to submit for the RECORD the names of those individuals honored, together with the circumstances surrounding the individuals' deaths.

Inspector Stephen Stewart, Texas Department of Criminal Justice, Huntsville, Texas. Killed on January 7, 1994. Surviving: Wife, Debbie Stewart and three children, Clayton—age 22, Casey—age 21, and David—age 11½. Mr. Stewart was a Correctional Officer prior to promoting to Inspector. While transporting an inmate work crew, his vehicle spun out in gravel overturning the vehicle. Inspector Stewart was killed at the site.

Group Supervisor Arnold Garcia, Los Angeles County Probation Department, Dorothy Kirby Center Residential Facility, Downey, California. Killed on April 4, 1994. Surviving: Wife, Alma Garcia and four children, Christian—age 15, Fatima—age 11, Joseph—age 8, and Anthony—age 2. Supervisor Garcia was struck in the head with a desk leg and beaten to death by two wards who attacked him during the graveyard shift in the dormitory housing unit. The two wards were apprehended in a railroad yard trying to leave the area.

Correctional Officer Dennis Stemen, Allen Correctional Institution, Ohio Department of Corrections, Lima, Ohio. Killed on July 5, 1994. Surviving: Wife, Patty Stemen and four children, Elizabeth—age 9½, Johah—age 7½, Jordan—age 5, and Bethany—age 3. Officer Stemen was killed following a transportation detail of an inmate to a hospital for treatment. After dropping off the inmate at the hospital some hours from his institution, he and another correctional officer were asked to stay and work due to a shortage of correctional officers at the hospital. Later, they started the long drive back to their facility when the vehicle they were driving left the road causing Officer Stemen's death. He was killed when he was ejected from the State van.

Correctional Sergeant Marc Perse, Colorado Territorial Correctional Facility, Colorado Department of Correction, Canon City, Colorado. Killed on August 15, 1994. Surviving: Wife, Pam Perse. While a member of the S.O.R.T. TEAM, Sgt. Perse was killed during a rappelling training exercise which required him to rappel down a 90 foot tower. Sergeant Perse was killed when his equipment failed.

Warden Charles Farquhar and wife Doris Farquhar, State Cattle Ranch, Alabama Department of Corrections, Greensboro, Alabama. Killed on October 23, 1994. Surviving: Son Robbie and his wife Nita, and two grandchildren, Drew—age 11, and Charlie—age 5. Warden Farquhar and his wife Doris were assaulted by trustee inmates at the State Cattle Ranch, beaten to death and then burned in their house. Several inmates were also killed trying to come to the Farquhar's aid.

Correctional Officer Louis Perrine, Powder River Correctional Facility, Oregon Department of Corrections. Killed on November 17, 1994. Surviving: Wife, Marilyn and three children, Steven—age 29, Anthony—age 27, and

Audra—age 25. Officer Perrine was killed during the supervision of an inmate work crew. During heavy winter storms, he was trying to clear an area with a tractor/grader when it flipped, rolling over on Officer Perrine and killing him instantly.

Senior Correctional Officer D'Atonion "Tony" Washington, Georgia State Penitentiary, Federal Bureau of Prisons, Atlanta, Georgia. Killed December 12, 1994. Surviving: Mother—Delphine and Father Frederick. Officer Washington was alone in a housing unit when he instructed an inmate to move to another area and the inmate assaulted him and beat him to death.

Lieutenant Robert Boud, Essex County Jail Annex, Department of Public Safety, Caldwell, New Jersey. Killed on January 8, 1995. Surviving: Wife, Kathy and four children, Katie—age 17, William—age 15, Matthew—age 10, and Kimberly—age 22. Lieutenant Boud died of a heart attack immediately following an inmate altercation/struggle.

Correctional Officer Leonard Trudeau, Metro/Dade County Department of Corrections, Florida. Killed on January 16, 1995. Surviving: Ex-Wife, Brenda and one child, Christina—age 12. Officer Trudeau was enroute home following his shift when he came upon a vehicle accident. While assisting the involved motorists as a good samaritan, another vehicle happened upon the accident at too high a rate of speed and while trying to avoid hitting the already involved vehicle, the second vehicle hit the guard rail and hit Officer Trudeau.

Mr. Speaker, we owe these people who have made the ultimate sacrifice and their families who must live with the consequences of that sacrifice an unparalleled debt of gratitude. Our hearts go out to the families—the spouses, children, siblings, and parents—and our prayers go up to God in their behalf. May we honor the deceaseds' sacrifice by so living our lives that we each may do our part to make this country a better place in which to live.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas [Ms. JACKSON-LEE] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE. Mr. Speaker, in light of recent Supreme Court rulings that raise the hurdle of educational and economic opportunity for millions of minority citizens in America, I rise this evening to speak about the philosophical questions now facing this Nation with respect to affirmative action.

Many of us saw the headlines after Adarand was decided, and of course it behooves the national media to claim that affirmative action, or maybe equal opportunity, was dead. But let me begin with the general principles and philosophy of affirmative action by posing the simple yes or no question:

Does American society today provide all, all of its citizens, with an equal opportunity to succeed? I would imagine, if you were truthful, what your answer would be, and if you actually answer this question with a yes, you must be one of the following: unfortunately alarmingly uninformed, or maybe far less than forthright, or sadly a Republican Presidential candidate for office, or some of my Republican colleagues

offering antidiscrimination legislation in this body.

How else could one deny that which we all know in our hearts to be true, and that is that, while we are all created equal, we, by no means, are treated equally in our society.

As initially conceived by the Johnson administration and as put in place by the Nixon administration, bipartisan Federal affirmative action programs were never intended as and have never been applied as a knee-jerk set of quota rules and regulations. Nor have affirmative action programs ever sanctioned the hiring or promotion of unqualified individuals over those who are eminently more qualified. Who would abide by that?

Affirmative action has always been and remains a good-faith effort to help historically underprivileged Americans compete on a more equal footing in the areas of education, business, employment, housing, and finance, simply attaining the American dream. For if we are to ever attain our American ideal of a colorblind society, which many would raise in debates all across this Nation, carrying the flag and suggesting that all they want is a colorblind society, which is where all men and women, boys and girls, are judged solely by the content of their character, not the color of their skin, first stated, by the way, by Dr. Martin Luther King, then clearly we must come to terms with our less-than-egalitarian past.

While we focus on our brutal 400-year legacy of slavery that ended merely technically only some 30 years ago, with the passage of our Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts, or the "glass ceiling" that has kept women from achieving, like their male counterparts, in the American workplace, it is obvious that we must do more to include a wider variety of our citizens' talents, energies, and potential of all aspects of American life. The Bush administration established the Glass Ceiling Commission to keep track of report on minority employment and trends in American business.

Mr. Speaker as most of my colleagues know, the Commission's February report told us that 95 percent of the top executive jobs in America's top 2,000 corporations are still held by white men, many of whom I have had the opportunity to dialog with, heads of these corporations who have said we are still working and striving to create diversity at the higher levels.

That information can logically lead us to two possible conclusions: Either majority males are naturally superior to all human beings and, therefore, rightfully merit their positions, or there is still troublesome and pervasive discrimination at work in our society.

There are all kinds of discrimination. Let us be realistic. Some is subtle, even subconscious, such as when a majority male executive—who happened to be hired by a majority male executive—has to decide between two similarly qualified job applicants, another

majority male and perhaps a minority female.

By doing what statistics tell us he probably will; that is, hire the majority male, our executives have not necessarily engaged in overt, willful acts of discrimination, racism, or sexism. I am certainly saying and not suggesting that all majority male executives would do any of this. But the effect is the same. It occurs, it happens. Ninety-five percent of those positions are held by majority males.

And I should note, Mr. Speaker, as we all know, there are thousands of acts of overt and willful discrimination occurring every day, and we can bury our heads in the sand and pretend these virulent problems do not exist, or we can openly discuss our lingering racism and sexism in ways to improve and reform our affirmative action programs.

But rather than enter into a reasonable discussion of this critical national issue, many demagogues have chosen their scapegoats and now seek to exploit the economic anxieties of millions of Americans, and that is why the headlines, and the talk shows and the blame game.

The demagogues want Americans who are justifiably worried about a rapidly changing global economy to believe that the minorities are to blame for their economic woes.

They want us to believe that welfare mothers are to blame for all of America's troubles.

That hard-working legal immigrants should be distrusted.

And that all young African-American males are potential criminals and thus incapable of contributing to the strength of America.

This is shameless, this is nonsense. Mr. Speaker, I call upon this House, I call upon the Senate, I call upon the leadership of this Nation and all of the American people to answer the question of equality truthfully. Have we reached it? Absolutely not. Can we do it? Yes, we can. Can we do it together? Absolutely.

I challenge this society and America, Let's do it together and create a true equality for all Americans, real affirmative action.

MY ADVICE TO THE PRIVILEGED ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. GONZALEZ] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, serving in a body as unique as this is in the world, I believe the only such representative body in the world as our House of Representatives reveals, we still have the people exercising the ultimate decision as to whom they want to represent them in this most formidable and auspicious and important body known as our national legislative branch.