

Madam Speaker, I think that the average American is in fact angry, and I believe that that average American has every reason in the world to be angry. What concerns me is very often our anger is taken out against the wrong opponent. But let us focus on why we should be angry.

Madam Speaker, in 1973, the United States reached a high point of its economic life with regard to the wages and benefits that middle-income and working people reached. Since that time, approximately 80 percent of the American working people have seen either a decline in their standard of living or economic stagnation. That means after 20 years of hard work, those people have gone nowhere economically.

Furthermore, what we are seeing is that the American worker, in order to compensate for the decline in his or her standard of living, is working longer hours. We are making lower wages. We are working longer hours. When you want to know why Americans are stressed out, why they are angry, why they are furious, we should understand that the average American today is working an extra 160 hours a year more in order to compensate for our falling standard of living.

Now, if middle-income people and middle-aged people should be worried, they are working longer hours, they are making less money, what about the younger people? And that is where the economy in the United States today looks extremely frightening.

The real wages of high school dropouts, that means people who did not graduate high school, plummeted 22 percent between 1973 and 1993.

For high school graduates who are entering into the job market, there has also been a precipitous decline in those wages. So what is going on is that as the standard of living of American workers declined in general, for the young workers it is becoming even worse.

But, Madam Speaker, we talk about increase in poverty in America, decline of the standard of living of American workers, the shrinking of the middle-class, the fact that 80 percent of our people are going nowhere economically except perhaps down. Is the economic crisis impacting all people? And the answer of course is no, it is not.

One of the very scary and unfair and unjust aspects of the American economy right now is that in many ways we are becoming two nations. The New York Times a few months ago reported that the wealthiest 1 percent of our population now owns 40 percent of the wealth of America. The richest 1 percent owns more wealth than the bottom 90 percent.

The gap between the rich and the poor is growing wider, and in fact it is today wider and we have a more unfair distribution of wealth than any other industrialized nation on Earth. For the richest people, these times are great times and we can understand why the columnists, who themselves make mil-

lions of dollars, or the owners of the TV stations are talking about a booming economy.

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It is booming, if you are making a whole lot of money. It is not booming if you are a middle-income or working-class person.

What I am also concerned about is that the nature of the new jobs that are being created are not only low-wage jobs, they are often part-time jobs. What we are seeing now is a proliferation of part-time jobs because companies would rather pay two workers at 20 hours a week without benefits than one worker 40 hours a week with benefits.

I wonder how many Americans know who the largest private employer is right now. People say, "Well, maybe it is General Electric, maybe it is General Motors, IBM." Wrong. The largest private employer today is Manpower, Incorporated, which is a temporary agency.

Very briefly, let me make some recommendations as to what we might want to do to address this very serious economic problem. No. 1, we have got to raise the minimum wage. Workers in America cannot continue to work for \$4.25 an hour. That is why so many of our working people are living in poverty.

No. 2, we need, in fact, a massive jobs training, jobs program, to rebuild this country. In my State of Vermont, all over America, there is an enormous amount of work to be done. Let us put people back to work at decent wages and rebuild this country.

A POSITIVE VIEW OF ROMANIA AND THE ROMANIANS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mrs. MORELLA). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. FUNDERBURK] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FUNDERBURK. Madam Speaker, while the Romanian Government has sometimes gotten bad press in the United States for its slow transition to democratic government and privatization, and its part-free elections and media—the Romanian people deserve recognition for their long suffering struggles and their contributions. This afternoon I want to give a tribute to the Romanian people.

There are over one million people from Romania living abroad in Western Europe, North and South America, and Australia/New Zealand. They have made a name for themselves in all fields with some winning Nobel prizes. One of my colleagues in this House, Congressman MARTIN HOKE, has a Romanian mother. Nearly half a million people originally from Romania settled in America, living in every State. One Romanian—Dr. Nicholas Dima—assisted me in preparing this historical sketch.¹ There are Romanian settlements in North Carolina and Romanian professionals

¹One Romanian hero, Father Calcin, who spent 16 years in Communist prisons for his religious faith is here today.

living in Durham, Buies Creek, Roanoke Rapids and other towns in the 2d district. Duke University has a Duke in Romania program, and professors and students from Romania can be found at many of our universities. Many Tar Heels have happily adopted lovely Romanian babies.

All of us in the Western World owe a debt of gratitude to the people of Romania because they provided a buffer zone which helped protect civilized Europe from the barbarians. When marauding hordes from the east threatened Europe, it was Romanians who almost alone in southeast Europe defended the west during the Middle Ages. They thus helped insulate western European civilization from destruction.

There are some 25 million Romanians living mainly in present-day Romanian and in the neighboring Republic of Moldova, formerly Bessarabia. Descending from the Dacians, one of the most ancient peoples in Europe, the Romanians have their linguistic roots in Rome (hence the name Romania), have deep cultural affinities with the west, and an unshakable admiration for America.

The country fell under the influence of the Romans almost 2,000 years ago, and the Romans gave the local population a new language, culture, and identity. When Roman soldiers withdrew from Dacia in the 3d century, the inhabitants of the country remained and survived as farmers and shepherds especially in and around the Carpathian mountain arch.

While the culture and language tied the Romanians to the west, the location of their land and the adoption of the eastern orthodox church connected them to the east.

The results of Romania's unique location and history are rich traditions and a beautiful culture. The Romanians developed an exquisite folk art, a fascinating folk music, and became one of the friendliest and most hospitable peoples in Europe. Unfortunately, the geo-political location of Romania has caused a lot of suffering for the people.

The Hungarians came to central Europe during the ninth century. They settled in current-day Hungary and began to move eastward into Transylvania, considered the cradle of the Romanian nation, between the 11th and 13th centuries.

While most Transylvanian Romanians stayed in their ancestral land, others crossed the Carpathian mountains where they met their brethren and founded Wallachia to the south around the beginning of the 14th century, and Moldova to the east in the mid-14th century. During the middle ages, these two principalities became the most important Romanian cultural and political centers. And while Moldova fortified the Dniester River to defend the country against the Tartars, Wallachia fought many wars to defend itself against the Ottoman Turks. In the end, however, both principalities had to sign special treaties with the Turks and to pay them tribute to keep their integrity.

During the late 18th and 19th centuries Tsarist Russia began to expand toward the Balkans. Claiming to liberate the Christians from the Turks, the Tsars were in fact aiming at Constantinople and the Mediterranean sea. After a war against Turkey, in 1812 Russia annexed the eastern half of Moldova, which later changed hands several times between Romania and Russia.

In 1859, Wallachia and Moldova united under the name of Romania, and the country

became the magnet for all Romanians. During World War I, Romania sided with her traditional friends, and fought against the central powers. In 1918, Transylvania, which at the time was annexed by Hungary, North Moldova (Bukovina) which was under Austria, and eastern Moldova (Bessarabia) which under Russia, joined with Romania. At long last, Romania became a modern nation ready to claim its place in the new Europe.

During the interwar years, Romania tried to build democracy and to modernize its economy. Nevertheless, the ascent of communism and fascism put an end to stability and hopes for a better future all over Eastern Europe. In 1940, following the Nazi-Soviet Pact, the U.S.S.R. invaded Romania and annexed again Bessarabia and for the first time northern Bukovina. One year later, Romania joined Germany and attacked Russia to reclaim its land.

At the end of the war, Romania was occupied by the Soviet Union which brought about the darkest era in the entire history of the nation. Romania with fewer native Communists than other countries suffered more than almost any other country under the Communist yoke. The full story of the misery, gulags, death and damage done by communism has not yet been reported and exposed. And most of those responsible have not yet been held accountable. Mercifully, the worst of the Communist era ended in December 1989. Many changes have followed, some of them positive and hopeful. Nevertheless, the economic, moral and spiritual damage caused by communism was staggering and will probably haunt Romanians for generations. [Now that Ceausescu's communism is gone from Romania, the only Romance-language speaking Latin country in the world remaining with a Communist dictatorship is Cuba under Castro].

Things have not been very good in Romania since the 1989 demise of the evil Ceausescu regime. The old Communists are still in power under a different name, but the country has made efforts to befriend the United States and to rejoin the West.

As one who spent 6 years of his life in Romania, as a student, research professor, USIA guide and United States Ambassador, I am a friend of the freedom-loving people who is concerned about their fate and their country's relationship with the United States. It is time to support the people of Romania. We should assist the true democrats in their efforts to democratize and privatize the country and bring the country closer to the United States and West. Democracy, stability, and prosperity in Romania would also be in America's best interests. I wish the Romanian people well and thank them for their contributions to America. May God bless the Romanian people and may God bless America, as we enter Independence Day week.

HANOI VISIT CANCELED

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

Mr. DORNAN. Madam Speaker, I come to the floor today under unprecedented circumstances. I had signed up for this special order earlier in the

week, had moved to cancel it this morning, because at this moment I was supposed to be taking off from Andrews Air Force Base on a congressional delegation to Hanoi. It was a delegation led by minority Members in the other body, the U.S. Senate.

Any minute, a page, Madam Speaker, is going to bring out my passport stamped this morning with a visa by the Vietnamese section, we do not have diplomatic relations with Vietnam, with a visa to go to Hanoi on this trip. Across my visa, I have just been informed by one of my staffers who speaks Vietnamese is the word "canceled" and my visa was canceled by a telephone contact of a U.S. Senator, a minority Senator, who was elected to this House in 1974.

Now, I have the press waiting for me out on the grassy triangle following the press conference by the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. SMITH] on abuses in Communist China. I hope it goes long enough that I can finish this special order and there will still be some press waiting.

Within a few feet of where the press conference will take place is my automobile with all of my bags in it. I packed five suits and enough clothing for 5 or 6 days in Vietnam, Hanoi. I had packed only one piece of reading, McNamara's disgraceful, evil book on Vietnam and how he knew before he even sent the first Marines in there that he had no plan or strategy for victory and would be squandering lives for whatever length of time it took, and it took 5 years under him and another 5 years before we had decided we were going to desert the democracy in South Vietnam.

Here is the press release which I will read, Madam Speaker, and that I am giving to the press in a few moments out in front: "For immediate release, June 30, 1995," precisely 20 years and 2 months since the Communist forces out of Hanoi conquered South Vietnam. We were unable to do for South Vietnam what we did for South Korea or France twice.

"Dornan denied visa for Vietnam. Washington, D.C. U.S. Rep. Robert K. Dornan, Republican, California, was denied a visa today by the Vietnamese Government after Senator," I am going to leave his name out at this moment, "instructed the Vietnamese to deny Dornan's visa, according to Vietnamese officials at the Vietnamese interest section in Washington, D.C."

I have just spoken to three eyewitnesses. One of them is an Air Force sergeant, an E-6, who was at the Embassy 9 o'clock this morning until 11:30, when the Senator's call intervened, a minority Senator, and this majority chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Personnel had my visa canceled. "Dornan, chairman of the Committee on National Security Subcommittee on Military Personnel, conducted oversight hearings last Wednesday," 11 hours and 35 minutes of hearings, about a 30-year record, I under-

stand, four different panels, brilliant testimony, "on the conditions that the Clinton Administration had set for normalizing political relations based upon resolving the remaining 2,202 cases of Americans still missing in Southeast Asia. Dornan had requested to participate in the minority Senator's led delegation, traveling to Vietnam over the July 4 recess, in order to gauge the level of Vietnamese cooperation and efforts to resolve the MIA issue, to investigate human rights abuses and the severe crackdowns on the advocates of democracy in now combined North and South Vietnam," all of it under communism, "and the crackdowns on religious leaders. During his Wednesday hearings, Congressman Dornan received testimony from U.S. Government officials, missing-in-action family members, former government investigators," and here is the passport, Madam Speaker. Thank you, Nathan, "and a former prisoner of war which cast doubts over administrative claims, Clinton administrative claims, of superb Vietnamese communist cooperation or unprecedented Vietnamese cooperation. U.S. Government officials from the Defense Department, from the U.S. State Department admitted to Congressman Dornan's committee that the Vietnamese were continuing to hold back key documents, key records and the remains of prisoners who are known to have died in captivity. The Senator who is leading a congressional delegation to Vietnam during the July 4, recess," now I am quoting from the Senator's own press release carried on the Associated Press wires at this moment, "to celebrate the 25th anniversary of this then-Hill staffer's efforts to expose the so-called tiger cages where Vietnam War," an old French prison out on an island in the mouth of the Saigon River, used extensively after Saigon fell, for the torture, death and abuse of people whom we had befriended and who had worked for us and trusted the world's leading democratic superpower that they would never be deserted.

They were put in these very small tiger cages years later. They are called tiger cages because they are below the ground, similar to French prisons all over their now-disappeared French colonial empire.

But, "On Friday, Vietnamese officials in Washington informed Dornan's office that the Senator," the minority Senator, "leading a single-party delegation now, because two staffers were also canceled off this trip." A senior staffer of the gentleman from New York [Mr. GILMAN] was denied his visa. Again, Vietnamese were forthcoming at the interference of the Senator's office, and a senior staffer of Colonel ROHRBACHER, a Marine major in the Reserve, who had been just recently put on Chairman GILMAN's staff, full chairman of International Relations, he was denied a visa. They had been going for a week. They are here on the Hill with their bags also.