

say truthfully today, and I have spoken out, I have antagonized some of my so-called fellow Democrats both here and at home. So what? As we used to say, if the shoe fits, put it on.

So we will see a great, and growing and greater anger in this country. It does not take a genius to predict that. I have seen it. I have had it told, and I have visibly registered. I pride myself in coming from a level that I have never lost contact with the society back home, and I know of the frustration. I know that when people lose hope, then we have trouble. We will see a general revolt as people demand a fair share of the wealth they have helped to create.

□ 1845

As they demand a secure future for themselves and their families, as they demand a decent environment to live and work in.

Mr. Speaker, I hope and pray not to see that. I have seen it in my youth, and I recall to this day the bitterness and the anger and how the scars remained for at least some generations there. True, the Lord has been kind and has preserved me to witness the emergence from those dreary days, but I am fearful, I must confess.

I am never one to have been governed by fear. Fear, I think, is the big enemy all along. I have always tried to act not in reaction to fear, but with as detached and as cool as possible a judgment would enable me to see.

Those who think they saw agitation in the civil rights struggle, those who think they saw unrest during the Vietnam period, did not live through the squalid and violent times through the 1930's as I have, when the Army drove squatters from the Washington areas here with violence, when States tried to keep America from crossing their borders to find work, and when people did not hesitate to fight and die for the right to unionize, or even to protest.

I would not want to see the kind of deprivation that causes that, not again, when there is no need. God has blessed us. We must deserve that blessing too, and make sure that we have wisely and charitably and with consideration made use of this gift of plenty.

Mr. Speaker, if we are to avoid repeating history, I say to my colleagues, we must all listen better. We must all show compassion, and we must all show more concern for ordinary people than I have seen thus far this year, or indeed in recent years. Most of all, we must have a passion for justice that I see as almost entirely missing from this body today. A passion, a passion for justice, not just a desire or a hope, but a passion for justice. An unquieted, uninterrupted passion for justice. I have not seen it, unfortunately, not lately.

To those I say that the American people have never lost their thirst and passion for justice. It is there. They are crying out for it, maybe in a temporary wilderness, maybe not, and sooner or

later, one way or the other, they will be heard.

LOOKING BACK TO VIETNAM

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CRAPO). 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. Thank you, Mr. Speaker. Obviously, I am going to be the last speaker, and most of our colleagues are in automobiles and airplanes heading back to their districts across the country. I will be shortly myself back on the trail. I want to be respectful of our hard-working reporters of official debate. They are understaffed by three people at the end of the week, and this has been a particularly arduous week for them. They can begin a well-deserved rest after they put in the several, more than several hours compiling all of the records today at the end of the day.

So I do not intend to take the hour. I had thought I was going first. Next week is going to be more hectic than this week, and the week after that, before we take our August break, is going to be one rapidly-moving treadmill. But I have something that I must get out to the American people through C-SPAN. There are not many folks in the gallery tonight, and I want this on the record. I will send the written RECORD to people. But it is important.

As with most of my presentations, I will put a bit more energy into it to hold onto my audience than the two preceding presentations. You always like to have a good lead-in with a lot of energy and an exciting topic so you do not lose the C-SPAN audience to the evening news, which is filled with more terror and modern American controversy.

I have promised people in all 50 States, as I have been out there on the campaign trail, that I will do something about McNamara, Robert Strange McNamara's insulting book, cruel book, ripping open the wounds of Vietnam, rending the hearts of now aging mothers and dads and beautiful young widows that are now in middle age with grown up children, and children who were toddlers that are not in their thirties, early forties, late twenties, with families of their own who are still trying to find answers for the agony of Vietnam. Both POW/missing-in-action groups are in town, the League of Families and the Alliance of Families of our missing. I made promises to them.

I believe that of all people to end up in the White House, William Jefferson Blythe Clinton was the last human being of all the 42 Presidents, or anybody who has ever run for President, to normalize relations with war criminals in Hanoi who broke every single paragraph and line, who violated every letter of the spirit and the intent of the Paris peace accords worked out be-

tween Le Duc Tho, war criminal, and Henry Kissinger, never described as naive, but certainly naive in this case; they violated all of it. The Communist rulers in Hanoi today, and we see other Members of the other Chamber, the United States Senate, going over there on John F. Kennedy's funeral airplane, literally Kennedy's Air Force One that brought his broken body home from Dallas, the very plane that Lyndon Baines Johnson became President on, the 36th President of the United States, sworn in on that airplane.

That airplane, on a nonbipartisan trip, all members of one party, all of them liberals, all of them with \$12.50 of per diem in their pockets, on their way to Hanoi and Saigon to congratulate the war criminals for their victory over at least three of the dominoes, South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos.

Mr. Speaker, I have been doing a lot of thinking about my last two special orders where I said I had made an historical statement on this floor, and that I was going to stand by it. My words were taken down, my speaking privileges were removed for the day. I could have appealed the ruling of the Chair. In retrospect, I thought it would have been an easy party line victory that was an historical statement that I used against Mr. Clinton.

I have rethought it, and I said I would do it again on the floor, and I probably will not. There are many ways to discuss history without using words and trying to understand why decent men who are parliamentarians found three simple words worthy of being stricken from the RECORD.

Let me approach this gingerly. Here is the U.S. Constitution. A handful of us carry it around with us almost every day, try to have it every day. Here is article 3, section 3. It gives the definition of treason against the United States.

When the Constitution was written, the United States were always spoken of in plural. As any historian will tell you, this ended with the Civil War where we became truly one union, one entity. So I will explain this as I read section 3, article 3. It said, Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them. "Them" means the plural of the handful of States that existed then, the 13 agricultural Colonies of the original United States. It shall consist only in levying war, and war is capitalized, against them. Or, in adhering to their, all 13 States, Enemies, with a capital E, giving them Aid, with a capital A, a simple word, and Comfort, with a capital C.

So there is where the term came from. Aid and Comfort, capital A, capital C, and adhering to their enemies, plural. New sentence: No person shall be convicted of treason unless, on the testimony, for some reason testimony is capitalized, of two witnesses, witnesses capitalized, to the same overt act, two witnesses to an overt act, of

giving aid and comfort to enemies, or a confession in open court.

Now, this says, the Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no retainer of treason shall work, corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attained. A rather archaic 1787 language.

Now, because of those words, to put those three words together, enemy in any juxtaposition with two very simple words we use all the time in medicine, giving aid or giving comfort, it constitutes an inference of treason. I never intended to give that inference on the day after the State of the Union, and I have never even applied it to Jane Fonda, because without a declaration of war, which we had in neither Korea or the Vietnam war, we were in the peculiar position of seeing Americans do whatever they felt like to demoralize our troops in the field who were shedding blood, or to assist a Communist cause anywhere in the world and describe it as a nationalist cause, and many people felt that.

With the emergence of McNamara's book, an arrogant and self-serving piece of writing, and not very good quality writing, at that, and Clinton, in answer to a CNN reporter, Wolf Blitzer by name, that this gave him vindication for what he did overseas during the Vietnam war, it is a stunning offense and hurt to everybody who lost a loved one in the decade of Vietnam's bloodshedding or anyone who is in a wheelchair today, or left a limb behind in Vietnam, or saw a young boyhood friend blown to pieces or die slowly in their arms.

Mr. Speaker, I have several books here that I want to recommend for Americans to read if they think they are qualified to debate me on this subject of our Commander in Chief or Vietnam.

□ 1900

When I was in Des Moines, IA, last March, a Vietnam veteran gave me this book, "Working-Class War," by Christian J.G. Appe, subtitle: American Combat Soldiers in Vietnam. It is a perfect historical piece to describe that Vietnam was fought by working-class kids, the sons, and in the case of the 80 females' names on the wall, Army nurses, almost every one of them, that it was a war where the middle class of America gave up their sons; very few, very few from the Ivy League schools.

The best and the brightest, I believe, were the ROTC students, the graduates of West Point, Annapolis, and the Air Force Academy of Colorado Springs who, by the very volunteer nature of their going to the academies to get a commission, or the ROTC, or the OCS, that they were the best and brightest, standing up to communism in that period.

What triggered my thought response to Mr. Clinton was his reference in the State of the Union, with the Medal of Honor winner sitting up here, who had

won the Medal of Honor 6 days past his 17th birthday in the battle of Iwo Jima, he made reference to the cold war, that we have won the cold war. When somebody says "we," they are including themselves in that process.

I cannot think of a single, solitary effort in his entire life that Mr. Clinton gave or performed to have added to the success of what President John F. Kennedy called the long twilight struggle against communism. There are other Members in this Chamber and in the Senate who I do not believe lifted a tiny pinkie in their entire lives to contribute one scintilla of effort to winning that cold war. There are those who never wore the uniform, voted for a strong defense budget, or gave support to our men in uniform; verbally, town hall meetings, with just nothing much more than respect.

There are women, of course, who have never been subject to a draft in this country, mothers who gave their sons, sisters who saw their brothers go off and supported them, wrote to them, kept their morale up, and there are people who are 4-F, God's call, who worked in the defense industry, gave money, or paid their taxes willingly. You can come down a long thermometer of effort to find some tiny contribution, but there are Members of this Chamber and the other body, and Mr. Clinton, who did nothing. If you did nothing, that is better than contributing to the other side.

Mr. Speaker, here is McNamara's ugly, hurtful, self-serving book called "In Retrospect." Let me put something in retrospect. When you read this book, you learn what has stunned me for years, that Mr. McNamara resigned after 7 years in the position of Secretary of Defense, the architect of this war, almost the sole architect, as President Johnson never, ever had a feel for military affairs.

In spite of the fact that he wore a Silver Star to his grave, he did not earn that Silver Star. The B-26 Martin Marauder that he was on on a mission for Sam Rayburn as a Congressman on a leave of duty to be a lieutenant commander, starting at the top is nice, in the U.S. Navy, to bring back some firsthand information for Speaker Sam Rayburn, the aircraft that he was on by name the Harried Hare, H-A-R-E, turned back with a generator problem before it had seen any combat. It was never fired upon. The log shows 1 hour and 5 minutes, about 30 minutes out to the north coast, heading toward the north coast of New Guinea to bomb Lei, came back before it got over the Owen Stanley Mountain Range.

For that he was awarded a Silver Star by PR types in General McArthur's campaign, I am sure MacArthur never knew this, and he accepted this, knowing in his heart he had done nothing but fly a short mission that never went into combat. Even if it had, what was he doing except being hunkered down in the back of an airplane? Men have given their lives to

get a Bronze Star with V for valor and have paid for it with their life or their limbs or the health of their body for the rest of their lives.

LBJ let McNamara run rampant for 7 years with this noble cause, as Ronald Reagan always referred to it and still does, and still do I, this noble cause, crippled politically in this Chamber, the other Chamber, and mainly at the White House under LBJ and under Nixon, who by his own admission, on a television show to David Frost, said "The biggest mistake I made in my career, Mr. Frost, was I did in 1972 in Vietnam what I should have done in 1969. I should have done it all in 1969 my first year in office, and maybe there would not have been killing fields in Cambodia, 1 to 2 million people dead, no 68,000 people executed by death list of our Vietnamese allies, no 100,000 or 200,000 killed in Laos, no 750,000 drowned or torn apart by sharks or human sharks called pirates on the South China seas or along the Thai or Vietnamese coast." All of that agony and grief was caused by Nixon waiting to win a second term, raw ego. But Nixon accounts for 18,000, 19,000 names on the wall.

The other 39,000 to 40,000 are LBJ's, so LBJ gave McNamara his head. McNamara resigned on leap year day, February 29, 1968. He was so clever, he thinks, although David Halberstam told me in a radio discussion with me that he does not think McNamara was very bright, and that was the key to the whole thing, in spite of his academic achievement, or his 2 months as president of Ford Motor Co., or less than 90 days, anyway.

He writes in this incredible self-serving book that in his resignation ceremony at the river entrance of the Pentagon, he was supposed to have a fly-by. Who is going to give him a fly-by? Vietnam vets, veterans of aerial combat over Southeast Asia? Maybe a Korean ace thrown in there? What were they going to use, F-100's that I flew in peacetime, or F-4 Phantoms, which were used by Marines, Navy, and Air Force? What were they going to fly for him? F-105 Thunderchiefs, that he decimated the whole 1,000-plane fleet against the hills and thud ridge of the Red River Valley of North Vietnam, so much so that the aircraft picked up a name by the pilots of "the Thud" itself, that big, beautiful long Tunderchief? Is that what was going to fly a tribute to Robert Strange McNamara—that is his mother's maiden name, by the way—it really is strange. I feel like calling him Robert Evil McNamara, as does historian Col. Harry Summers. I will call him that. I have called him that.

He resigns on the day that only pops up every 4 years, Presidential years, interestingly, February 29, 1968. Well, God rained on his parade. There was weather, no fly-by. Everybody was drenched. They went inside, and then he took his what appears to be lovely

wife, Marge, and off they go to Aspen, Snow Mass at Aspen.

I took my young kids there, my two young sons, and three daughters stayed home, a month after Saigon fell, to show them millionaire Robert Strange McNamara's home on the ski run at Snow Mass at Aspen, and it was an energy crisis period, and there were tiki lights, burning gas lights, all around this millionaire's hideaway at Aspen.

That is where he went for all of March 1968, and Mr. Speaker, March is when our hospitals in Vietnam and Laos and in the Philippines and Tripler hospital in Hawaii were filled with more wounded than any point or month during the entire war. There were more amputees and double amputees and triple amputees and young men dying in those hospitals and dying on the air shuttle hospital planes back to Hawaii and other hospitals, more people being returned broken to their families, more names were put on that wall in the month of February and March, when he is skiing in Aspen, than any other 2-month period of the entire war.

As a matter of fact, in the first 10 days of the Tet offensive of the month he resigned, I remember the figure, it is pretty easy, 1,111 Americans killed in action. He did not want to touch it, because he was quitting that month. He had given his notice to President Johnson, who let him pick his departure date, Leap Year Day, months before.

I remember Johnson telling Walter Kronkite, in a goodbye or finale audio interview, that McNamara made a speech in Canada that we could never win the war. That is what this book is basically about, only he made that decision in 1963 before we had had any Americans—two dozen were killed in action when he decides we cannot win it, and 58,000 end up paying with their lives, and 100,000 others with broken bodies.

There is a page in here, interestingly, page 105, listen to this. I read this on the floor last week. I feel like doing it every month until I retire from here. He is in Washington, returning from Vietnam, and Kennedy is not in the grave 26 days. This is 1 day shy of Kennedy's assassination day, November 22. This is December 21, 1963. He comments on a secret program that is about to be launched bailing out courageous young South Vietnamese officers into North Vietnam. We did it all that next Spring, and every one of them was captured and tortured to death. Is that fascinating? McNamara sent all these people north to be tortured to death, young Vietnamese officers. In this whole book, he treats our Vietnamese allies in the South disgracefully, either by ignominiously dismissing them, or talking about how corrupt they are, as though the heroes are the Communists up in Hanoi.

He says, McNamara, quoting from his book directly, page 105: "Upon my return to Washington of December 21, I

was less than candid when I reported to the press. Perhaps a senior government official could hardly have been more straightforward in the midst of war." He is calling it a war, and it is December, 4 days before Christmas of 1963, 2 dozen men are killed in action. That was over a 2-year period. Jim Davis, the first man killed, on this exact date, December 21 of 1961, so it is 2 years since the first man was killed and we are still under 30.

He says: "I couldn't have been more straightforward in the midst of a war. I could not fail to recognize the effect discouraging remarks might have on those we strove to support—the South Vietnamese—as well as those we sought to overcome—the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese. It is a profound, enduring, and universal ethical and moral dilemma: How, in times of war and crisis, can senior government officials be completely frank to their own people without giving aid and comfort to the enemy?"

Mr. Speaker, there is the term that got me in trouble, "aid and comfort to the enemy." He is applying that just about a Secretary of Defense at a press conference, being too candid with the press and then transmitting the truth to the American people. Let us flash forward. I will keep this little newspaper clipping at this point in McNamara's book for the rest of my life. Some great-grandchildren will remove it some day and say, "Interesting similarity."

Let us flash forward from December 21, 1963, to May 20, 1995. Here is Mr. Clinton, challenging the NRA to donate the proceeds of that controversial letter that was stupidly and offensively written about bucket helmets and jackboots, when it should have merely been written combat helmets and combat boots.

Why were we using M-1 tanks, two of them, M-2 Bradley fighting vehicles, 4 of them, they wanted 14 to assault the compound of a religious cult that was accumulating weapons and seducing young children, children as young as 10, but the women were obviously hostage prisoners, and there were 24 little babies left in there when 51 days later they hit it again, but obviously it was in violation of posse comitatus to use tanks that were not available to Mogadishu 6 months later, let alone all these Bradley fighting vehicles that could have blown through simply-made roadblocks, that caused Rangers to bleed to death all night because we did not have one Bradley or one Abrams tank 6 months later, 5½ months later in Mogadishu.

Here is the article in the liberal Washington Post, by Ann Devry, and the title again: "Clinton Challenges NRA to Donate Letter Proceeds." Listen to this. He says, "The money should be given over," which is an interesting point, because they, the NRA, made the money by attacking the police. They admitted they did the wrong thing, the NRA, and they ought to give

the money up. Interesting, Clinton, who has fought the antigun control forces of the NRA through his Presidency, added "I hope the NRA knows by now that anyone who pretends that police officers are the enemy is only giving aid and comfort to criminals, who are the real enemy."

□ 1915

So Clinton likes that term now, aid and comfort to the enemy, the enemy being criminals, if you are criticizing police officers. So, I wonder does he think, it seems to be a Democratic theme at the hearings that two of our subcommittees have joined together to have and that they are having on the Senate side about this atrocity at Waco, and then we will get around to the atrocity, even worse, because of greater loss of life at Oklahoma City. But does Clinton think our hearings are giving aid and comfort to criminals in the street?

Is everybody who belongs to the NRA a criminal for wanting to own, under the Second Amendment, for their own self-defense weapons? Because, as I said in that same speech where four or five of my words were removed, the Second Amendment has nothing to do with hunting. It is not about hunting; hunting mallard ducks or bears or stags or anything. It is about political freedom.

As I said, it is about situations like Grozny in Chechnya, or Bosnia. I did not mention Bosnia, but I did mention 1776. Somebody has to dissect this McNamara book that so cavalierly uses this term from article III, section 3 of the Constitution about aid and comfort.

Now, I took off our computer screen in our office's WordPerfect thesaurus, it is the computer thesaurus on all of our word processors, to look for synonyms for "aid" and "comfort." And I got Roget's II Thesaurus, and I decided never again would I use that term, even about Jane Fonda or even about people who, like Tom Hayden, a State senator in California, in violation of our State Constitution, which is far more specific than our beautiful Federal Constitution, because it does not say that you need a declaration of war.

It says anybody that assists or gives aid and comfort to any fighting force in conflict with our men must never be allowed to serve in office in California. And I went there the day years ago when we almost threw Hayden out as an assemblyman. The vote was 36 to 33; 11 people did not have the guts to show up for the vote.

Now, he is in the State senate, serving against our Constitution. Again, somebody who gave aid and comfort to Hanoi. And, unfortunately, we only have 17 Republicans. If he were in the assembly today, he would be thrown out by our California Constitution.

So if you take "aid" and look for a synonym, in Roget's II Thesaurus it says "help." That is a verb. Or a noun: "help" or "helper."

For "comfort," verb. "Console, solace, soothe, relieve." Noun: "consolation, solace." Synonym for enemy: Simple, "opponent, foe." It did not even have "adversary"; that is too neutral.

You come down to our computer thesauruses, Mr. Speaker, on your own office word offices, to get rid of that word, "aid." You can use "aid, abet, assist, succor, sustain." There is a good word. If you need a noun, which is the way I used it, "assistance, relief, support, comfort, assistant, attendant supporter."

If you are looking for another word for "comfort," which the word computer uses perfectly as a synonym for "aid," you could use "cheer, console, reassure, soothe." If a noun is needed, "consolation, solace, succor, contentment, abundance, luxury." It goes off the point here.

"Enemy," they use in the thesaurus, "adversary, antagonist, betrayer, foe." A song I learned to sing at 8 years of age: "Let's remember Pearl Harbor as we did the Alamo, let's remember Pearl Harbor as we go to meet the foe." In that case, Japan and Germany and Italy. "Nemesis, opponent, rival."

So if I want to talk about Jane Fonda going to Moscow, which she did on the way to Hanoi and on other trips, of course, coming back from Hanoi, if I want to talk about Jane Fonda going to Moscow or Beijing, which she did later when she decided that Russia was not nice to her when she was making Doll House. The unions abused her when she was making the Ibsen movie, I do not think anybody ever saw it in Moscow studios. She decided China was the place of the future, Beijing. She didn't like that much either. She is used to a millionaire lifestyle.

But suppose we said Jane Fonda went to Moscow to help the foe in Hanoi; to sustain the communist forces in Hanoi; to give them assistance and to support. Suppose we said Jane Fonda went to Moscow to sustain and support, to give cheer and to reassure the foe of our fighting forces in Vietnam.

Now, of course she sat in a gun pit, she made radio broadcasts. And when our POWs were released in 1973, and the issue was still in doubt as to whether South Vietnam would prevail as a democracy with 44 newspapers in Saigon, of course there is one now, a communist rag, she called our colleague, PETE PETERSON, on that side of the aisle, and SAM JOHNSON on this side of the aisle, and Senator McCain, on the Republican majority side in the Senate, she called them liars, professional killers, and hypocrites.

If you are scratching your head, Mr. Speaker, colleagues or Americans watching the proceedings, by hypocrite, she meant how could they fight in a war and then, if they were tortured, not expect to be tortured. She knows nothing about the Geneva Convention, so that is hypocritical.

When Bill Clinton went to Moscow, and here is a book I recommend: Clin-

ton Confidential, a Climb to Power, by George Carposi. He and I have chatted on the phone. He wants to show me his research on page 64 to explain this paragraph, and it answers the question that Congressman JOHNSON, Congressman HUNTER, Congressman DORNAN and Congressman CUNNINGHAM, the three of us from California, SAM from Texas, could not get answered on this House floor in September and October. Nobody would phone in this information to our offices, and we were each taking over a thousand calls a day: Why did Clinton go to Moscow for only 2½ days at 27 degrees below zero, 10 inches of snow cover.

And I am at the airport with four wives of missing-in-action heroes, one Marine three Air Force, and we are under arrest. And Ross Perot is cooling his heels in Denmark, at 40 years of age, a billionaire with a 707 filled with food and medicine for the POWs delayed from Christmas. Came all the way around the world, across the Pacific, Vientiane, Laos, down through India, up through Europe and into Copenhagen waiting for clearance as the Russians promised in the Russian embassy, for him to fly it in, even without him on the airplane, even with a Russian crew, to go to Moscow where they would go fly it back to Hanoi.

He never got into Moscow. I was kicked out of the airport. Four of us out of five, including me, coming down with pneumonia, because there was no heating in the old hotel where they locked us up.

What was Clinton doing? Broke. No money. Freezing cold. And he arrived all by himself on New Year's eve with no money. Here is the answer, page 64: Clinton's activities in Moscow remain a mystery in full. He has never discussed with the media ever, ever, Mr. Speaker, to this day, either that trip or his travel to at least one other known defector country, Norway. The defector from NATO, as far as our effort in Vietnam is concerned. However, one phase of his short visit to Moscow has been ascertained.

Clinton attended the January 2, so-called peace rally and banquet held in the National Hotel's ballroom. That is where he was put up, for free, I guess. That had as guest of honor, U.S. Senator Eugene McCarthy, the Minnesota Democrat that was defeated in 1968 by Vice President Humphrey.

There are no other details of Clinton's trip to Moscow, which presumably ended when he boarded another Aeroflot jet, he came down by train from Leningrad, just the next day and the plane took him to Prague, where he stayed for 4 days.

Now, Moscow was far more interesting in that period than Prague, but he stayed for 4 days with an Oxford classmate, Jan Kapold, and that family. Jan's grandmother and I discussed this with a Czechoslovakian gentleman at this hall today. I had forgotten her name and he knew it right off of the top of his head. The woman whose

party threw Jan Masaryk, the Czech hero during World War II, out of the window and called it a suicide.

Jan, one of his classmates at Oxford, her grandmother was Maria Smernova. Not even a Czech. She was a Rumanian, I found out from this gentleman. And this author, George Carposi of this book, Clinton Confidential, went up to the Czechoslovakian consulate in New York and found out that she was truly the founder of the Communist party in Czechoslovakia just after World War II. The murderers Jan Masaryk.

And she was its first president, a position she still held when Clinton stayed with them in Prague in 1970. And the book gets more interesting than that on every level; Whitewater, personal life, everything.

Mr. Speaker, that is the sixth book that has come out last year. And if people want to check with me about why I wear a Clinton countdown watch that shows 473 days until a glorious election, I hope, November 5, 1996, when the Grand Old Party controls, hopefully, again this distinguished body of parliamentarians and the House of Lords, as I lovingly call the U.S. Senate.

If we can control the White House and sync up those three bodies of power, maybe we can begin to roll back \$5 trillion worth of debt that has been heaped on my nine grandchildren and my five grown children and my Sally and me and we have a 10th grandchild well on the way. Maybe we can do that.

But to do it, we cannot do this with kid gloves, as my Navy-attack, torpedo-bomber-pilot, 58-combat-mission friend George Bush tried to do. We have to take the gloves off. Honorably, Marquess of Queensbury debate rules, looking for the proper synonyms of "sustenance" and "solace" and "comfort" and "sustaining" and find other words for Hanoi than the word I, unfortunately, used. Use "foe," "adversary," "Communist killer," "war criminal"; a lot of other ways to describe this.

And you are going to have to read some other books if you want to be one step ahead of me. I have not found one Congressman or Senator yet who has read The Rise of Bill Clinton, that is the subtitle, On The Make, by Meridith Oakley.

This book is by a young female reporter who is shown here with Bill Clinton as the attorney general back in 1978; a picture with young Meridith Oakley who followed his entire career. That came out less than 2 years ago.

And then it was followed by Bob Woodward's book, "The Agenda." How many Congressmen and Senators have read this? Look at this fascinating confrontation on page 287. Senator BOB KERRY, medal of honor winner, arguing with Clinton over the greatest tax increase in the history of civilization. In all of recorded history, nothing has been as massive as the Democratic-engineered tax increase of the summer of 1993. Not a single Republican on this

side of the aisle, or in the other body, voted for it.

KERRY does not want to vote for it, the Medal of Honor winner who left a leg on an island in Vietnam. Clinton pleads with KERRY that he needs his vote. "My presidency is going to go down now," he said sharply, by now shouting at the top of his voice. KERRY comes back, "I do not like the argument that I am bringing the presidency down."

Hey, this is by a Pulitzer Prize winner. Maybe commander and hero of advocacy journalism, Bob Woodward. His name is as big as the title on the book. In the paperback it says "Bob Woodward's The Agenda." He is a hot author.

He has Kerry saying, "I don't like the argument that I am bringing the presidency down," he shouted back getting fed up. Clinton shouted that the defeat would do precisely that. KERRY could not flee from his responsibility.

By the way, Mr. Speaker, KERRY eventually voted for the big tax increase, but he extracted a good price; the commission that our colleague, CHRIS COX was on that JUDD GREGG of New Hampshire cochaired, where KERRY and JUDD GREGG, two U.S. Senators said, in 20 years there will only be three lines in the U.S. budget: interest on the debt, Social Security, and Medicare. No Coast Guard lighthouses, no Marine Corps, no tower operators, crime running wild in the streets. Just three items. KERRY extracted that from him.

Clinton shouts "You are going to wreck my presidency." And KERRY says, bottom of page 287, The Agenda, "I really resent the argument that somehow I am responsible for your presidency surviving," KERRY bellowed, is the word Bob Woodward chose.

Clinton comes back. The ultimate four-letter word, there are pages in the Chamber, the ultimate four-letter word followed by the pronoun "you," Clinton yelled. Turn page. When I read this book I could not hardly move fast enough to see if what KERRY's rejoinder was; whether he was going to echo the President. He did not.

KERRY felt he always tried to be respectful of the Commander in Chief, but he also wanted to defend himself and he continued shouting back. Clinton pressed on two themes. He had to have KERRY's vote. "I need it," he said at one point plaintively. "I need it." He also said that if KERRY denied him the vote, KERRY would wreak national havoc.

I've got the responsibility for me," KERRY replied. Now he is not shouting. "I have got my vote. My vote matters. I vote based upon what I believe is right" always have. I don't particularly on big issues like this, like to shave it and so that's where it is." "Fine," said Clinton brusquely. "Okay. If that's what you want to do, go do it." Both crushed their phones down.

□ 1930

Interesting verb. Crushed their phones down. Clinton was irate, turned to his advisers after the conversation and said, "It is going to be a no." No was a yes. Got to read the Agenda. This is the one that talks about purple rages, lava flowing from the top of his head, the Commander-in-Chief treating George Stephanopolous like an abused wife. Book two, Agenda.

Then out came—let me get these two straight now. Yes, inside the White House, Ronald Kessler, seen him do several interviews, best-selling author of the FBI and inside the CIA. Subtitle: The Hidden Lives of the Modern Presidents and the Secrets of the World's Most Powerful Institution.

It was the revelations of the Kennedys that sold the book. And Inside the White House, the cooks talk, the butlers talk, the Secret Service talks, the hired help talk. And what the revelation says is what the British would call is all about unseemly speech in front of the hired help and explosions and domestic quarrels. Book three.

Book four. Young picture of handsome Bill Clinton looking for all the world like Mickey Rooney with a lot of hair, honest, open, innocent face, looks like a Dornan in a way. Biography of Bill Clinton, first in his class. And it does not mean that he graduated first in grade school, high school, college. It means he was first of the baby boomers to achieve such raw naked power.

Another winner of a Pulitzer Prize, David Moraniss, M-O-R-A-N-I-S-S. I ought to give the publishers on these.

On the Make, Regnery; Bob Woodward, Simon and Shuster; Inside the White House, Pocketbooks; First in His Class, back to Simon and Shuster again.

Seen a lot of interviews with this man. This was serialized for 4 days, 3 or 4 days in the liberal Washington Post. Fascinating book. Read this and you will understand why there is chaos in our country and why every other week Clinton alternates in a race back to the center or back to his liberal core of beliefs.

And in between all of this, Mr. Speaker, and my colleagues, if you read this book, POW, written in our bicentennial year or written for over a 3-year period, researched over 5 or 6, published in 1976 by John G. Hubell, H-U-B-E-L-L, association with Andrew Jones, and Kenneth Tomlinson, this book, POW, will tell you about why the Vietnamese are war criminals.

You will read lines like this from one-term Senator Jerry Denton, a more honorable and decent man I have never served with at either Chamber. He was so tortured, the white heat coursing through his body, the white, red-hot pain, that he was sure his spine would snap. Jerry had never known pain to equal this.

SAM JOHNSON, the same. Do not understand that you could suffer such pain and not lose consciousness.

Stockdale, same thing. Robby Reisner, same thing.

And these men, the ones that are most tortured, the ones that won the Medal of Honor, the Medal of Honor with valor written across it, the only word on the Medal of Honor, by sustaining unbelievable torture so as not to make a broadcast, they begged William Jefferson Blythe Clinton, do not normalize relations with the war criminals.

I came across a quote from Senator Denton the other day. They are all—all the POWs are going to have a reunion in Annapolis this weekend. I was going to go up there, and then I talked to one, and they said, "We are really just going to have a few beers and share some good memories and some awful memories." And they said, "We would love to have you, but no politics." And I decided, no, that is their moment. This is just that incredible band of brothers that suffered so under the war criminals that are now laughing in our face in Hanoi.

If you read this working-class war, read POW, you do not have to read such else about Vietnam.

This week coming up, we will dedicate the Korean War Memorial, the war that I joined at 19 and was mercifully on my to pilot training when it ended so I never had to shoot at another mother's son or end up broken or a POW.

My dad always told me about World War I. His prayer was, "Take me to heaven, Lord, but don't burn me and don't cripple me." And his prayers were answered, although he had three wounds, two of them for poison gas.

I was raised in a military family. I understand what sacrifice is all about. The brave die but once, cowards die a thousand times.

And those that did not understand that this cold war was exactly what Kennedy called it, a twilight struggle against what Pope Pius the 11th called the intrinsic horrible evil of communism, those who did not want to join any noble cause or any part of that struggle against communism, they can laugh themselves all the way to Hanoi and back, all the way to Havana and back, all the way to Moscow and back, all the way to Beijing and back, but they still in the end have to live with themselves and their delusions that we were the imperialist interventionist, evil bad guys, we were the enemy of Vietnam.

I remember that Pogo line being thrown in my face by college, smart-ass punks saying, we have met the enemy, the enemy is us, we are the evil ones. Ho Chi Minh is George Washington. He is the arrow. I can hear Clinton repeating all of that at the teaching he did at London while he was giving a class at Oxford. On the way back, he told them, "Get lost. I can do anything I want."

Senator McCain told about the war, and I have got to rake JOHN over the coals for that, that normalization was

a 48 Hours story. No, Senator, it is not a 48 Hours story.

The Committee on Rules gave us our day in court today. We will have a debate on this floor about no money going toward setting up a U.S. embassy in an enemy-foe-adversary-opponent capital where the war criminals, those who actually got the blood of our men on their hands, lieutenant colonels and the majors, they are now the ones that are the colonels and the generals in the political military/political leaders.

The war criminals have taken over, the ones that are not dead that are older, like General Giap who sent 13- and 12-year-olds into battle to die, who had a thousand people, most of them civilians, executed along the Pearl River during McNamara's cowardly bug-out month, during February 1968, 5,000 people executed. That was under Giap's order.

Giap is the one who sent hundreds of thousands of young peasant children to die against B-52s that McNamara was using improperly in this 7 years of his crime.

I had a major, Army major, he is now a U.S. Congressman from Indiana, come up to me and say, Mr. Chairman, he is on my personnel committee, why can we not subpoena Kissinger and Eagleburger and current Secretary Winston Lord to tell us why everything went wrong with the Paris Peace Accords, why we never got a single live prisoner back from Laos, not one? A couple before the war really spooled up who escaped, and one after in 1974, but who—civilian was shot down after the war was won. It was over in Vietnam. Why did we not get back 399 men shot down in Laos?

And I said, you know, it is a simple idea. I said, we should have Kissinger. We will not have to subpoena him. He is a good man. He will come. So will Larry Eagleburger. I know Larry. So will Winston Lord. He did not come this time, but he will next time. He knows I am ready to subpoena anybody who does not want to come and face up to this ugly book of McNamara's.

Then STEVE BUYER came to me, Congressman BUYER of Indiana, just a few days ago. He wrote me a letter. He says:

"Why can't we subpoena Robert Strange McNamara to come before the full National Security Committee and answer for this book? Why can't he help us write laws so that no Defense Secretary or no President ever again will allow American fighting men to be called 'detained by a hostile power' instead of 'prisoners,' why he will allow our people to be treated as criminals and air pirates instead of respectful fighting men following the orders of their country?"

You notice, Mr. Speaker, we never called Scott O'Grady a prisoner of war for the 6 days he was missing. We did not hardly have a title for him. They gagged on the words "detained by hostile power." They did not know what to call it. Was it a hostage?

What penalty have the Bosnian Serbs paid for destroying a \$125 million piece

of American equipment and trying to kill one of our officers? Nothing.

Instead, we are starting to put men in there with a man who avoided serving his country three times and the last time had an induction date of July 28, 1969, politically suppressed, reversed, obliterated, and mauled by a Governor, Senator Fulbright, by the draft board and by completely deviously telling the commander of the ROTC at Arkansas that he fully intended to join the ROTC unit, which obviously he did not, was already making plans to go back to Oxford and set up demonstrations on October 15, on October—and November 15.

Remember that it was Hanoi who called Clinton's organized November 15, 1969, demonstrations the fall offensive. That was a Communist title from the foe in Hanoi. The adversary, opponent, the killers of our Americans, the foe of the Hanoi called it the fall offensive and Clinton was part of the fall offensive. Sympathetic, coordinated demonstrations against the United States of America in Stockholm, Oslo, Helsinki, he visited all those capitals within days, in Moscow, London, Paris, New York, Washington, D.C., and I think in Atlanta, I know in L.A., San Francisco, and I know in Chicago, all coordinated worldwide.

I have just had an intelligence officer write to me that the Communists in Hanoi were obsessed with their image synching because Jeremiah Denton, POW, some day to become a U.S. Senator from Alabama, had tapped out with his eyelashes the words torture.

And then Bob Frischman came back. I met with him after he had been debriefed, had no elbow, saw his picture in prison holding up his arms, one arm with no elbow, let his wounds heal improperly. He was released early for some public relations reason. And Bob Frischman came back and told the horror stories of torture.

I do not know why my friend, Melvin Laird, served here for almost three decades, maybe more than that, he was Secretary of Defense under Richard Nixon, replacing Clark Clifford's 1-year tenure who replaced McNamara after McNamara's 7. He went through the 7 days of January, 1969, all of February, all of March, all of April, and all of June.

I was dying during this period because I knew what was going on in Hanoi. On July 10, 1969, Mel Laird had a massive press conference at the Pentagon, full world-court press, and said, "Our men are being tortured in Hanoi, some to death."

The story built through August, September, October, November, December, January, February, and this intelligence officer is sending me intercepts that he had in Tan Son Nhut.

Monday, I toured the NSA for 4 or 5 hours, National Security Agency. That is where we listen to everything around the whole world. NSA was as big then as it is now. They were listening to all the communist traffic that they were

obsessed with, covering the torture stories. And did they find a hero in a Hill staffer who served in this House and has now gone to the Senate? They sure did. He went down with a Government camera, Government film that he later sold to Life Magazine and took pictures of the so-called tiger cages on Con Son Island, 125 miles southeast of Saigon and said, "Well, we are brutalizing them." They had their story.

Life Magazine published these purloined Government pictures, and that story began to go around the world feeding people like Jane Fonda. At that time, she was still going to orgies with Roger Vadim in Paris, but it ricocheted around the world that oh, my God, the Americans are torturing people just like the Vietnamese, so they are all hypocrites. One story cancels out the other.

PHIL CRANE told me this week that as a freshman Congressman he was in Taiwan on a fact-finding trip by himself. He got a call from Saigon, headquarters at Tan Son Nhut. Come on down here, Congressman, and we will send you out to the Con Son tiger cages to show you that they have been cleverly photographed, and they are not the brutal places of imprisonment used to counter the stories of our men, truthful stories of being tortured and beaten to death.

And PHIL CRANE told me he will get the pictures for me, that he brought them to the House floor here all blown up, late 1970s showed them. Said he will give them free to any of the press but not to Life Magazine.

□ 1945

Some people published them as a big story in "Human Events" they are sending me Monday, and PHIL CRANE did his best as a freshman Congressman to try to counter the damage done to our fighting men in prison in Hanoi by the efforts to say that we did to them what they were doing to our men, and it just was not true.

I will never forget Jane Fonda when we returned the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong prisoners across the divide on the DMZ, the 17th parallel. Jane Fonda said, "Well, you notice that all of these men are on crutches, and they're amputees, and none of our prisoners have a single amputation because they killed everybody or allowed them to die if they lost an arm or a leg." We patched up the North Vietnamese prisoners. That was obvious to a premed student, to a high school or grade school kid, that people survived our captivity with arms and legs gone, but not a single American came home with a limb missing or in bad mental state. If an American lost his sanity in prison, Irkle Beale, J.J. Connell, they were taken off and either murdered or allowed to die. Some of their remains have come home, and some of their remains have not come home.

So, if anybody out there across America wants to discuss this with me, they have got a lot of reading to do. It

is fascinating reading. It is current history. It is current events. It will give you an understanding and a feel for the men and women who wear the uniform, not just in our military services, but in the Coast Guard and in all of our law enforcement agencies, marshals, sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, cops up and down the line in all cities, American towns, and villages, and hamlets, people who will give their life not just for your life, but for your property.

Read this material, and you will understand why BOB DORNAN is sometimes aggressive, sometimes passionate, always dedicated, and always wanting to keep my eye focused on changing the leadership at the top to sync up with the worthy people up and down the chain of command like the 19 men who died in Mogadishu on October 3, 4, and 6, 1993, deaths that I predicted on this House floor in September and October of 1992, that I said would happen if we put someone into the White House who did not understand this dangerous world we live in.

I wanted to speak shorter than this, and I apologize to the official reporters, but obviously to this American this is very, very important, and I would point out, Mr. Speaker, and those that try to keep some modicum of civility here on this House floor, that I did not mention a book called "Passion and Betrayal," which was the sixth book called "Passion and Betrayal," which was the sixth book to come out in the past 18 months because I believe that book should be called "Lust and I Got Just What I Deserved" because you cannot make a credible case with a bimbo against somebody who traffics in that kind of person.

So I do not recommend reading what the Washington Post recommended people read because they said it was the first long-awaited Presidential pornography and it is about time was the reviewers smart-aleck attitude in recommending that dumb book. Do not waste time. Do not look for articles in Playboy or Penthouse, although somebody told me there is even a factual article in Penthouse last month and the month before, that you really can get away with saying you read the articles. Do not do that. Read these five books. Read the McNamara book. Try to get it from a library. Do not give him any money. And read "Working Class War," and you will understand why some of us are passionate, and it is not a 48-hour story.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. GOODLING (at the request of Mr. ARMEY), for July 20 after 6 p.m. and for today, on account of illness.

Mr. DREIER at the request of Mr. ARMEY, for today, on account of personal reasons.

Mr. CRANE (at the request of Mr. ARMEY), for today, on account of illness in the family.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mrs. SCHROEDER) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. OWENS, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. KAPTUR, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. PALLONE, for 5 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

(The following Members (at the request of Mrs. SCHROEDER) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. CONYERS.

Mr. JACOBS.

Mr. SERRANO.

Mr. JOHNSON of South Dakota.

Ms. HARMAN.

Mr. MCNULTY.

Mr. NADLER.

Mr. LIPINSKI.

Ms. NORTON, in two instances.

Mr. MILLER of California.

Mrs. MALONEY.

Mr. COLEMAN.

Ms. JACKSON-LEE.

Mr. RICHARDSON.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. GOSS) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. CRANE.

Mr. GOODLING.

Mr. BLUTE.

Mrs. ROUKEMA.

Mr. COOLEY.

Mr. GILMAN.

Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey.

Mr. PACKARD.

ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. THOMAS, from the Committee on House Oversight, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title, which was signed by the Speaker:

H.R. 1944. An act making emergency supplemental appropriations for additional disaster assistance, for anti-terrorism initiatives, for assistance in the recovery from the tragedy that occurred at Oklahoma City, and making rescissions for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1995, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 7 o'clock and 50 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, July 24, 1995, at 10:30 a.m.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from

the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

1238. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting his request to make available appropriations totaling \$100,000,000 in budget authority for the Department of Health and Human Services for the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program and to designate the amount made available as an emergency requirement pursuant to section 251(a)(2)(D)(i) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985, as amended, pursuant to the provisions of Public Law 103-333 (H. Doc. No. 104-102); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

1239. A letter from the Director, Office of Management and Budget, Director, Congressional Budget Office, transmitting a joint report pursuant to section 329 of the Riegle Community Development and Regulatory Improvement Act of 1994; to the Committee on Banking and Financial Services.

1240. A letter from the Chairman, Nuclear Regulatory Commission, transmitting a report on abnormal occurrences at licensed nuclear facilities for the first quarter of calendar year 1995, pursuant to 42 U.S.C. 5848; to the Committee on Commerce.

1241. A letter from the Director, Defense Security Assistance Agency, transmitting a copy of Transmittal No. E-95 which relates to enhancements or upgrades from the level of sensitivity of technology or capability described in section 36(b)(1) AECA certification 91-19 of May 25, 1991, pursuant to 22 U.S.C. 2776(b)(5); to the Committee on International Relations.

1242. A letter from the Archivist of the United States, National Archives and Records Administration, transmitting notification to Congress that Floyd B. Justice, the inspector general of the National Archives and Records Administration, has accepted a position with the Department of State's Office of Inspector General, pursuant to Public Law 95-452, sec. 8E(e) (102 Stat. 2524); to the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight.

1243. A letter from the Deputy Executive Director, Reserve Officers Association of the United States, transmitting a copy of the report of audit for the year ending March 31, 1995 of the association's accounts, pursuant to 36 U.S.C. 1101(41) and 1103; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

1244. A letter from the Administrator, Federal Aviation Administration, transmitting the Administration's report on a study on reflectorization of taxiway and runway markers, pursuant to Public Law 102-581, section 126(b) (106 Stat. 4885); to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows;

Mr. MCINNIS: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 197. Resolution providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 70) to permit exports of certain domestically produced crude oil, and for other purposes (Rept. 104-198). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. WALKER: Committee on Science. H.R. 1814. A bill to authorize appropriations for environmental research, development, and demonstration activities of the Environmental Protection Agency for fiscal year 1996, and for other purposes; with an amendment (Rept. 104-199). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.