

"That Senator might offer an amendment." I do not know of many committee chairmen who are not facing that every day; there is somebody who does not agree with them and might offer an amendment. Do we stop the wheels of progress in the Senate because one Senator says she or he is going to offer an amendment on the floor and debate it in an open fashion, exercising his or her rights as a U.S. Senator? It is beyond me.

So I hope we do not start that again. In other words, here I am on the floor saying I am not backing off. I am glad that the committee is meeting, but I am not backing off one bit. If they do not vote for public hearings, I will be back here with an amendment.

The American people believe there ought to be public hearings. A recent CBS News-New York Times poll showed that less than 50 percent of the people think there ought to be hearings on Waco again. They have held them before. Less than 50 percent of the people think there ought to be hearings on Whitewater because they have been held before.

But 60 percent of the people believe there ought to be hearings in the open on the Packwood case. It crosses over

parties. Republicans think there ought to be open hearings. Democrats think there ought to be open hearings. Independents think there ought to be open hearings. And the committee has the protection of rule XXVI. And in my amendment, if I have to offer it, it gives them the chance on a 4 to 2 vote to close the doors altogether. That is respectful of the committee.

So a lot of people are waiting for justice to be done. We are in the final investigative stage. In every case to reach this stage, there have been public hearings. There are those on this floor who would vote for public hearings for Waco. There were those on this floor who voted for public hearings on Whitewater. I am on that special committee. We now are in our second year of hearings on Whitewater. We are looking at the Vince Foster handling of the papers again. When we are finished with that, there is another phase to go. I voted for that because I feel it is not good for the country that there is whispering or people think there is somebody covering it up. Open the doors.

But, suddenly, those who are chomping at the bit for hearings on these subjects are saying, "Well, not on this. Not on this. Do not tell the Ethics

Committee what to do." I do not want to tell the Ethics Committee what to do. I want them to do the right thing. I stood on this floor last week and I listed every case. I feel it was a complete recitation of the precedents. Today I feel more strongly than ever that that is the right course.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the history of Senate misconduct investigations under current procedures.

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

HISTORY OF SENATE MISCONDUCT INVESTIGATIONS UNDER CURRENT PROCEDURES

In 1977, the Select Committee on Ethics overhauled its rules and established a three-stage procedure for investigating allegations of misconduct. Under the procedure, the Committee first conducts a "preliminary inquiry," and if warranted, an "initial review" follows. Only if the Committee finds that the allegations are supported by "substantial credible evidence" does the case enter the final phase, a formal investigation.

Since these procedures have been in place, every Ethics Committee case to reach the investigative phase has included public hearings. The following chart summarizes Committee action on misconduct investigations.

Senator/Sanction	Inquiry begun	Investigation begun	Hearings held
Bob Packwood/Case Pending	December, 1992	May, 1995	None.
Alan Cranston/Committee Reprimand	November, 1989	February, 1991	November, 1990-January, 1991.
David Durenberger/Censure	March, 1989	February, 1990	June, 1990.
Harrison Williams/Expulsion (Resigned)	February, 1980	May, 1981	July, 1981.
Herman Talmadge/Censure	May, 1978	December, 1978	April-July, 1979.

Mrs. BOXER. In the RECORD you will see, each and every time, public hearings, public hearings, public hearings, public hearings. Oh, they say this one might be embarrassing. I heard a colleague say, "The people are getting too much of the O.J. Simpson trial. Now they're going to get this."

What is the message here? If you commit an ethics violation, make it so embarrassing that you will be protected behind closed doors? I hope not. So here we are. We are moving ahead. I am very pleased that the Ethics Committee will be meeting Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. I will be watching and waiting and hopeful that they will hold a vote on the public hearings question. If some of them think we should not have public hearings, so be it. I will accept their opinion. I will not agree with it. And I will take the issue to the Senate floor. If they vote for public hearings, they still have the protection to close off part of those hearings if they feel it is necessary to do so.

The Senate is the people's Senate. We did not get here because we knew the boss and got hired. We got here because a lot of people voted to send us here. This is the people's Senate. This is not a private club. Shining the light of day on this matter and resolving it is very important, Mr. President. And I hope that next week we will hear good news out of the Ethics Committee. And I will await that news with bated breath. If there is no movement on this mat-

ter, I will be back with an amendment. I yield the floor.

Mr. GLENN addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Ohio.

KOREAN WAR

Mr. GLENN. I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for 6 or 7 minutes.

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

Mr. GLENN. Mr. President, we just came back from the dedication of the Korean War Veterans Memorial, and I just want to say a few words about that. It has been a long time since 1986 when we started this effort. A lot of people were involved; a lot of people worked very hard to see this memorial come to fruition.

Korea was sort of the forgotten war. I think there were several reasons for that. It came so closely on the heels of World War II, which was a war with many nations involved, global in scope. Then, all at once, here we were involved in Korea. The area of conflict was more geographically limited. But what transpired within the borders of Korea was every bit as violent as anything that happened anywhere in the world in World War II.

Now, I think it is a shame after the war—I always have felt this way after a war when people come back. When you leave for the war bands are playing, you are off for freedom, this sort of

thing. When you come back, sometimes the band is playing and the talk about freedom and protecting freedom is there, it is true. But when you are out there and you are in combat, the whole horizon of the world narrows down. And it is you and the people you are with in combat, its survival, and you take losses. Then you come back. Yes, it is "thank you" a little bit. But then it is sort of forgotten.

I think that was particularly true in Korea. Korea became the forgotten war, largely because it came so closely on the heels of World War II. And because, a few years later, Vietnam became such a divisive war, attracting so much attention on the national scene that Korea was really that forgotten episode out there.

I know it is not good to compare one war with another as far as losses go, not to those involved, whether families or friends, nor to the people who are out there getting shot at, wounded, and killed. I know you cannot compare one war with another and do it properly. But Korea, for the length of it, was one of the bloodiest wars that this Nation has ever fought. Vietnam was stretched out over a period of about 10 years. There were 58,000 Americans—58,000 Americans lost—killed in Vietnam. In 3 years in Korea we lost 54,000 Americans—some of the bloodiest fighting that ever occurred.

It was the Chosin Reservoir. In the annals of military history, particularly of the Marine Corps, Chosin Reservoir

and some of the things that happened there were almost unbelievable. Surrounded by 120,000 Chinese and North Korean troops, this small group of marines made their way out from the reservoir, bringing their dead along with them, piling in the back of the trucks, in the weapons carrier, and so on. They did not leave anybody up there.

Yesterday, in my office, I had the honor of pinning a Purple Heart on a gentleman who had been bayoneted at Chosin Reservoir and came out—they kept him on the hood of the vehicle to keep him warm. He got over to Japan and was in the hospital there. He never put in for the Purple Heart. His son wrote to me. We turned it over to the Marine Corps. They checked the records. Sure enough, no Purple Heart. Bayoneted 43 years ago, and I had the honor of pinning that Purple Heart on him in my office yesterday.

One of the things irritating to me is that, when people go out and fight a war, and they come back and want to have a memorial so somebody remembers down the road, they have to raise the money to put up the memorial themselves. Is that not ironic?

A grateful nation, yes. But not quite grateful enough to put up a memorial to the 54,000 Americans killed out there.

So some years ago, a number of people—I was one of them—got together and decided there should be a memorial; that this should not be a forgotten war. I played a very small role in it, I was not a leading part of it. We raised the money for it. As I say, I was a very tiny part, and I truly was. Gen. Ray Davis, a Marine Medal of Honor winner, wound up spearheading this effort, and he was the master of ceremonies at the dedication ceremonies just a little while ago.

For those who were there, we do not need a memorial. I do not need a memorial for Korea. Because those who were there—Senator WARNER is here on the floor, Senator CHAFEE was over there—those who were out there remember very, very well what happened. You remember an awful lot of things.

You remember the squadron commander getting shot down, seeing him bail out, seeing the plane crash, and you were not able to get him out of there.

You remember other people going down in flames. You remember people not coming out at a rendezvous point after a strike and having to write to their next of kin. That is the hardest part, I can tell you that. Anybody there can testify to it.

You remember getting hit and the airplane keeps on flying. My memory of things like that is very, very vivid, as though they just happened this morning.

So what I am saying is, for those who were there, we do not need a memorial. But I think it is important that the Korean Memorial is there.

The design of it is very good. It shows people slogging along. The fig-

ures there represent all the different services and all the nations that were out there, the 20 nations beside our own that were involved. This is a memorial to all of those who sacrificed so much, whether on the ground, in the air, or wherever they were. It is a memorial to all of them. It will be a symbol for my children, my grandchildren, my great grandchildren, my great, great grandchildren that the freedoms that we have, and our position in the world, did not just happen. It is not something that just was automatic. It is something that happened because there were an awful lot of people who went out, whether it was World War I, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, or elsewhere, and represented this country in conditions that were very, very tough.

So we do not need a memorial, perhaps for our generation, the generation that took part in Korea. When you meet someone who was out there, a handshake, a look in the eye, just knowing that they understand, is your memorial. But I think it is important that we have an impressive memorial, like the Korean Memorial, for those who come after. Maybe they can get some little bit of inspiration from it about dedication to country, loyalty, and patriotism.

These are the things that the memorial is all about. For those who were there, we do not need it. We have our own memories, a memory memorial that does more than the bricks, mortar, stainless steel, bronze, and marble down there on the Mall as a companion piece to the Vietnam Memorial.

I say as a companion piece because many Americans can remember being in Washington and standing on the Lincoln Memorial steps, looking down the reflecting pool toward the Washington Monument. Over on the left is the Vietnam Memorial, very impressive. Now, over on the right, is a companion piece, the grove of trees where the Korean Memorial is.

The bravery demonstrated in Korea, whether at Chosin Reservoir or elsewhere, was just as valorous as any other war in which Americans have fought. Truly, uncommon valor was a common virtue there, as much as it was in any other war.

I hope that our kids can get a little taste of that bravery, of what happened out there. That I see as the memorial's basic function.

So today perhaps the forgotten war is not quite as forgotten as people thought. I hope that, as people from all over this country come and see this impressive memorial, they, too, will have a small appreciation for what happened back in those days. The forgotten war is not forgotten. We have a beautiful memorial now. We are proud to have taken part in dedicating it today.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WARNER addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

HEROES

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I wish to commend our distinguished col-

league for those remarks. Indeed, I was privileged to join him, Senator CHAFEE, and a number of others from the Senate and the House today at the dedication of the Korean War Memorial.

If I may say, Mr. President, the remarks of this distinguished Senator reflect his hallmark, that is a man of humility, in terms of his own heroic service to his country, be it in the Marines in World War II, Korea, or in the aftermath in the space program.

The Senator mentioned valor in aviators, and I want to share with him one personal recollection of my squadron commander. I was but a communications officer, not a pilot, in the squadron, VMA-121. We had the old AD-1's. The Senator remembers that workhorse of an aircraft. He flew them himself.

This particular man's name was Al Gordon, Lieutenant Colonel, USMC. I was back in the "commshack" monitoring a routine mission taking off, and he was leading it, a flight of four aircraft. They took off and got about 30 miles away. They were still in their climb when he developed an engine fire. His wing man called quickly to tell him he was trailing smoke and to bail out.

The frantic conversation, which I learned, was that Colonel Gordon acknowledged his wingman's plea, but looked down and said, "There's a village. I'm carrying 8,000 to 10,000 pounds of bombs. I have to divert the aircraft from civilians before I go out."

But in so diverting, he lost altitude, and when he finally got out of his aircraft, there was not enough distance between the aircraft and the ground. His chute streamed, but too late. I had the misfortune of—well, maybe it is not a misfortune—but anyway, to go out and reclaim his body, this brave hero, and bring him back.

I had the opportunity when I was Secretary of the Navy, many years later, to finally find his widow and give her a small artifact and tell her the story of the bravery of her husband.

So this memorial does stand to those who did not come back and many who did, but bear the scars of the war. I just wish to say, Mr. President, how much I respect our distinguished colleague from Ohio and his remarks today.

Mr. DASCHLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. COATS). The minority leader is recognized.

REMEMBERING THE KOREAN WAR

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I, too, commend the distinguished Senator from Ohio and associate myself with the remarks of the Senator from Virginia because I believe the Senator from Virginia said it very well. We owe a big debt of gratitude to all Korean war veterans.

It is this memorial, I think, that perhaps puts that gratitude in proper light and emphasizes the remarkable contribution that each and every one of those veterans made to our freedom. We have the good fortune to serve each

day with three of those veterans. We just heard two of them. Senator WARNER, Senator GLENN, and Senator CHAFEE all served admirably during that difficult time. All came back to serve this country in other capacities with great dignity and extraordinary valor.

President Kim this afternoon, during the dedication, remarked again that freedom is not free. That statement reminded me of a comment made several years ago while I visited East Germany that democracy is something one either has to fight for or work at. But we do not have the luxury of doing neither. These three distinguished veterans of the Korean war understand the need to do both. They fought for freedom and, ever since returning, have worked at democracy. So I know I speak for all Senators in our expression of personal gratitude to them for their achievements and for the contribution that they have made to this country.

Mr. President, "The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting."

Those words, by the Czech writer Milan Kundera seem especially poignant today as America dedicates a memorial to those "forgotten veterans," which Senator GLENN so eloquently addressed, the men and women who fought and died in the Korean war. And it is a honor that is long overdue.

The other day, I had the privilege of visiting with two Korean war veterans from South Dakota, who had come to Washington this week for the dedication.

Don Jones was 22 years old when his foot was ripped apart by a hand grenade in North Korea on October 1952. He spent 6 months recuperating in a Tokyo hospital, and then he went back to Korea to fight some more.

Orville Huber was 24 years old when he was hit in the head by a piece of shrapnel in July 1953, just 2 weeks before the war ended.

They both won the Purple Heart.

After the war ended, they returned to South Dakota. There were no parades, no fanfare. When I asked them what they would like to hear the American people say after all this time about the sacrifices that they made in Korea, Orville responded simply: "We would just like to hear that people remember."

Perhaps the reasons the Korean war has receded in our memories is because it was unlike either the war that preceded it or the war that followed. Rationing brought World War II into every American home, and television brought the Vietnam war into our homes.

But Korea was different. Except for those who actually fought there, Korea was a distant land and, eventually, a distant memory.

So today, as we dedicate our Nation's Korean War Veterans Memorial, it is fitting that we remember what happened in Korea and why we went there in the first place.

The wall of the Korean War Veterans Memorial bears an inscription that reads: "Freedom is not free." It was repeated by President Kim yesterday in the joint session of Congress, and repeated again by the President of the Republic of Korea today during the dedication.

In the case of South Korea, the price of repelling Communist aggression and preserving freedom was very high indeed.

Nearly 1½ million Americans fought to prevent the spread of communism into South Korea. It was the bloodiest armed conflict in which our Nation has ever engaged. In 3 years, 54,246 Americans died in Korea—nearly as many as were killed during the 15 years of the Vietnam war.

Freedom is not free.

Nearly 1½ million Americans sacrificed part of their lives to preserve freedom in Korea—and more than 54,000 Americans sacrificed all of their lives. The nobility of their sacrifice, at long last, is now recorded for all of history at the Korean War Veterans Memorial.

Look into the faces of the 19 soldier statues that make up the memorial and you can feel the danger surrounding them. But you can also feel the courage with which our troops confronted that danger. So it is a fitting tribute indeed to the sacrifices of those who fought and died in that faraway land.

But there is also another tribute half the world away, and that is democracy—democracy—in the Republic of South Korea. Over the past four decades, the special relationship between our two nations that was forged in a war has actually grown into a genuine partnership. Our two nations are more prosperous, and the world is now safer, because of it.

As the writer said, "The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting."

The free world won an important battle in the struggle against power more than four decades ago when we beat back the forces of communism in South Korea.

Today, it is the responsibility of all those who value freedom to remember the struggle and the honor and the commitment of all of those who fought and who ought to be remembered in perpetuity. The Korean War Veterans Memorial is one way that we can truly live up to that responsibility.

Freedom is not free. We must recognize—and I hope future generations will always recognize—that democracy truly is something we must either fight for or work at.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

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

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

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I am assuming that we are going to be going to the gift ban reform very soon.

Since there is this break, I ask unanimous consent that I be allowed to speak as in morning business for up to 10 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate is in morning business.

The Senator is recognized to speak for 10 minutes.

MEDICARE'S 30TH ANNIVERSARY

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, on July 30, 1965, President Lyndon Baines Johnson traveled to Independence, MO, and he signed Medicare into law. That simple ceremony marked the beginning of a new era of health and economic security for America's seniors.

Prior to Medicare, only half of America's elderly had health insurance. Today, more than 36 million elderly and disabled Americans, including more than 630,000 Minnesotans, are protected by Medicare. Mr. President, Medicare is a program with overwhelming support in Minnesota among seniors, their children, their grandchildren, and all Minnesotans.

Many of us remember what it was like for seniors before Medicare. Many seniors lost everything paying for necessary health care, and many others simply went without it.

Mr. President, the Medicare Program, imperfections and all, made the United States of America a better country. Prior to Medicare, what often happened was that as people became elderly and no longer worked, they then lost their health care coverage. Many people could not afford good health care.

This was a program, along with Medicaid, that made our country more compassionate. It made our country a fairer country. It made our country a more just country.

I can say, Mr. President, having had two parents with Parkinson's disease—and the Presiding Officer and I have talked about Parkinson's disease before, and we both have a very strong interest and support for people who are struggling; I think the Presiding Officer has a family connection also with Parkinson's disease—for my mother and father, neither of whom are alive, Leon and Minnie, the Medicare Program, I think, was the difference at the end of their lives between dignity and just economic disaster. It is a terribly important program.

Mr. President, Medicare also is important to Minnesotans because we, as a State, I think, have had a great deal to do with its creation. Hubert Humphrey, Walter Mondale, and Don Fraser, among others, worked tirelessly on its creation.

This was a project of countless Minnesotans, advocates for seniors from all across our State, our universities, our communities, all came together during the early part of the decade of the 1960's, and finally culminating in 1965