

continues. Today, the CDC reports that since the passage of the Ryan White CARE Act in 1990, the number of American Indian AIDS cases has increased by approximately 351 percent. This is the largest growth rate of HIV in any population group nationwide. What is equally alarming is that Indian women in their first through third trimester of pregnancy were up to eight times more likely to be living with HIV than other rural populations of women.

There is also a general misconception that the health care needs of Indians with HIV are provided by the Indian Health Service. That is not the case. What is not generally known is that the IHS has an extremely limited capacity, in funding and services, to provide the necessary and delicate care often required by HIV victims. The act recognizes this by ensuring that Indians with HIV are not deprived of necessary services.

I know that the chairwoman and her staff have labored long and hard to address the concerns of the Congress in developing the Ryan White CARE Reauthorization bill. As the chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs I would like to commend her for her continuing concern for the Nation's Indian population and the passage of this critical legislation. And I'm sure she shares my hope, that one day soon we will find a cure for this tragic disease. But until then, it is the Congress' responsibility to ensure that all individuals with HIV receive the services needed to cope with this devastating illness on a day-to-day basis. Chairwoman KASSEBAUM has accomplished this, and for that, she has my praise.

#### KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL DEDICATION

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the Korean war was known as "the Forgotten War" to some because it followed so closely on the heels of World War II, and because it was in many ways overshadowed by the divisive Vietnam conflict. I never liked that expression, because I know too many people whose lives were forever changed by Korea. I prefer to think that the Korean war not as a forgotten war, but as an unremembered war. For too many years we ignored the great sacrifice made by millions of Americans in a rugged land far away from our shores. As of today, the Korean war is unremembered no longer.

This afternoon I was honored to attend the dedication of the new Korean War Memorial, and it is a worthy addition to our Nation's Capital. The memorial is centered around 19 haunting statues created by Vermont sculptor Frank Gaylord. His depiction of tired American soldiers marching in a loose formation toward a common goal manages to capture perfectly the heroic qualities of our soldiers without glorifying war.

While I was moved by the memorial and the ceremony today, the moments

I will treasure most occurred this morning at a breakfast I hosted for Vermont veterans and Mr. Gaylord. These Vermonters came from all parts of the State. They came by airplane, they came by car, and they came by 14-hour train ride. One group came after driving all night long. They came with their families, their foxhole buddies, and by themselves. Most of these Vermonters served in different units, and many had not met before today. They came to Washington to stand for hours in the terrible summer heat, all to pay tribute to events that happened over 40 years ago.

I realized this morning, as these veterans gathered in my office, that any inconvenience suffered by travel or weather meant nothing to them. Their sense of duty to comrades past and present brought them to Washington, and as long as there was life in their bodies they would come. The history books tell us that 46,246 Americans died in the Korean war, that 103,284 were wounded, and that millions more served. All of them are finally being recognized today. It is with humility that I offer my profound gratitude to those who answered the call and gave so much to preserve freedom.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that recent Washington Post articles about the Korean War Memorial be printed in the RECORD.

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

[From the Washington Post, July 22, 1995]

A MARCH TO REMEMBER, MOVING MONUMENT TO KOREA VETERANS SURPASSES THE TORTURED HISTORY OF ITS DESIGN

(By Benjamin Forgey)

When the Korean War Veterans Memorial is dedicated next Thursday—the 42nd anniversary of the armistice ending the war—veterans and their families will be celebrating an honor long overdue.

They can also celebrate a work of beauty and power. Given the tortured history of the memorial's design, this seems almost a miracle. But there it is. Situated on proud symbolic turf southeast of the monument to Lincoln, in equipoise with the Vietnam Veterans memorial to Lincoln's north, the Korean memorial is a worthy addition to the national Mall.

Despite some big flaws, our newest memorial is incredibly moving. And what could have been its most glaring weakness—a column of realistically sculpted soldiers in combat formation—turned out to be its major strength. Unheralded sculptor Frank Gaylord of Barre, Vt., created 19 figures that are convincing individually and as a group.

It is a case of art rendering argument superfluous. There were obvious dangers in the concept of a memorial featuring a column of battle-ready soldiers. If excessively realistic, they could be off-putting. If strung out in too orderly a row, they could be deadeningly static. And yet, if inordinately animated, they could be seen as glorifying war. Indeed, in one of Gaylord's early versions, they came perilously close to doing just that.

But in the end, none of this happened. Placed dynamically on a triangular field of low juniper shrubs and cast in stainless steel at a scale slightly larger than life, these gray, wary troopers unself-consciously invite the empathy of all viewers, veteran and non-veteran alike.

The sculptures and triangular "field of service" are one of three major elements in the memorial. With an American flag at its point, the field gently ascends to a shallow, circular "pool of remembrance" framed by a double row of braided linden trees. There also is a "memorial wall." Made of huge slabs of polished black granite, each etched with shadowy faces of support troops—nurses, chaplains, supply clerks, truck drivers and so on—the 164-foot wall forms a subtly dramatic background for the statues. High on the eastern end of the wall, where it juts into the pool of water, is a terse inscription: Freedom is not free.

The memorial was designed by Cooper-Lecky Architects of Washington—although, in an important sense, the firm acted like the leader of a collaborative team. Important contributions were made by Gaylord and Louis Nelson, the New York graphic designer of the memorial wall, and also by the Korean War Veterans Memorial Advisory Board and the reviewing agencies, especially the Commission of Fine Arts.

Not to forgotten are the four architects from Pennsylvania State University who won the design competition back in the spring of 1989—John Paul Lucas, Veronica, Burns Lucas, Don Alvaro Leon and Eliza Pennypacker Oberholtzer. This team dropped out after it became apparent that its original design would have to be altered significantly to pass muster with the advisory board, reviewing agencies and others. The team sued, and lost, in federal court.

Key elements of the competition design remain in the final product—particularly the central idea of a column of soldiers moving toward a goal. But the finished product is a big improvement over the initial scheme. It's smaller and more accommodating—not only was the number of soldiers cut in half (the original called for 38 figures), but also a vast open plaza was eliminated in favor of the contemplative, shaded pool. It's easier to get into and out of—the clarity of its circulation pattern is outstanding. Its landscaping is more natural—among other things, the original called for a grove of plane trees to be clipped "torturously," as a symbol of war. The symbolism of the memorial is now simple and clear.

Still, Cooper-Lecky and the advisory board went through many versions, and many heartbreaks, on the way to getting a design approved—and the finished memorial shows the strain of the long, contentious process. It cannot be said that this memorial possesses the artistic grandeur and solemnity of the Lincoln Memorial. It does not have the aesthetic unity of Maya Lin's Vietnam Veterans wall. It is not quite so compelling a combination of the noble and the everyday as Henry Merwin Shady's Grant Memorial at the other end of the Mall. But this is to put the new memorial in elevated company—together with the Washington Monument, these are our finest expressions of memorial art. To say that the Korean War memorial even comes close is a tribute.

Without question, its worst feature is a sequence of parallel strips of polished black granite in the "field of service." Unattractive and unneeded, they threaten to reduce the soldiers' advance to the metaphorical level of a football game. And on one side of the field, they end in obtrusive, triangular blocks of granite, put there to discourage visitors from walking onto the granite ribbons. The junipers may in time cover the strips—at least, one can hope—but these bumps, unfortunately, will remain bumps.

The wall gets a mixed review. A clever if somewhat shameless adaptation of Maya Lin's idea—with faces rather than names etched in—it honors support troops, who always outnumber those on the front lines. It

is beautifully made. The heads are real ones from photographs in Korean War archives, digitally altered so that the light source is always coming from the direction of the flag. The etching is wonderfully subtle: The faces seem to float in a reflective gray mist. The wall tugs the heartstrings, for sure, but it's also a bit obvious, a bit much. It has the feel of a superfluous theatrical trick.

Fortunately, the wall does not interfere too much with the sculpture, which from the beginning has been the primary focus of this memorial. It was an extraordinary challenge, one of the great figurative commissions of the late 20th century, and Gaylord came through. To walk down from the Lincoln Memorial and catch a first, apparitional glimpse of the soldiers, as they stalk from under the tree cover, is quite a thrill. Even from a distance and from the back, the gray figures are compelling.

And, as choreographed on that field, they become more compelling the closer you get until, with a certain shock, you find yourself standing almost within touching distance of the first figure; a soldier who involves you in the movement of the patrol by turning his head sharply and signaling—Beware!—with the palm of his left hand. He is a startling, daring figure and, with his taut face and that universal gesture of caution, he announces the beginning of a tense drama.

It is an old device, familiar in baroque painting and sculpture, to involve the viewer directly in the action by posture, gesture, facial expression. Gaylord adapted it masterfully here: The figures look through you or over your shoulders, enveloping the space beyond the memorial with their eyes. The air fairly crackles with the vitality of danger. The soldiers communicate tersely among themselves, too—in shouted commands or entreaties, and subtly connected gestures and glances.

The most critical contact, though, may be that first one, between the visitor and that initial soldier. His mouth is open—you can almost hear him hissing an urgent command. You slow down, and then you behold the field before you. There is fatigue and alertness everywhere you look. Each figure and each face is as charged as the next. Appropriately, the gray metal surfaces are not polished and shined. Gaylord's rough treatment of the matte surfaces adds to the nervous intensity of the piece.

It is quite a feat to give such figures such a feeling of movement—they're only walking, after all, and they're carrying heavy burdens. But Gaylord performed that feat, 19 times—he proved himself a master of contrapposto, and other time-honored sculptural technique. Underneath the gray ponchos and the weight of the stuff on their backs, these figures twist from hip to shoulder and neck. Some shift dramatically, some just enough, so that the ensemble takes on an extraordinary animation. Every gesture seems perfectly calculated to reinforce the irony. These ghostly soldiers in their wind-blown ponchos seem intensely real.

Dedicated to the concepts of service, duty and patriotism, the new memorial stands in sharp contrast to its companion across the Reflecting Pool. But the Korean and Vietnam memorials make a complementary, not a contradictory, pair. In honoring the sacrifices of soldiers in Vietnam, Lin's great V-shaped wall invokes a cycle of life and death, and physically reaches out to the Mall's symbols of union and democracy.

The Korean War Veterans Memorial is more straightforward, and speaks directly of a specific time and place. Yet it attains an unmistakable universality of its own. Gaylord's soldiers (and Marines and airmen) served in Korea, yes. But they also stand unpretentiously for the common soldiers of all wars.

[From the Washington Post, July 23, 1995]

# OUT OF HISTORY, ONTO THE MALL, KOREAN WAR MEMORIAL TO BE DEDICATED

(By Anthony Faiola and Lena H. Sun)

In the nation's capital, the forgotten war is forgotten no more.

The \$18 million Korean War Veterans Memorial opens Thursday on the National Mall, honoring the men and women who fought in an international conflict many Americans still view as an afterthought, lost between the scope of World War II and the upheaval of Vietnam.

The stoic arrangement of stainless-steel statues, a mural wall and a circular reflecting pool officially takes its place as the fifth major memorial on the Mall, southeast of the Lincoln Memorial and across from the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. It arrives after seven stormy years of lawsuits and conceptual bickering that almost doomed the project.

"This is not a graveyard or a glorification of war," retired Col. William Weber, 69, said as he surveyed the 19 statues of white, black, Korean and American Indian soldiers that make up the core of the memorial. When reflected in the black granite mural wall, their numbers double to 38—symbolizing the 38th parallel established as the border between North and South Korea in 1945.

"It is a remembrance of a group of veterans who have fallen into their twilight years and who are still tragically forgotten by too many people" in this country, said Weber, who lost his right arm and leg to a hand grenade in Korea and is among those veterans who doggedly lobbied for the memorial.

More than four decades after the war ended, organizers of the memorial are trying to make up for the lack of public recognition. There will be six days of ceremonies and events, beginning tomorrow, to honor America's 5.7 million Korean War-era veterans and those from the 21 other countries who served under the banner of the United Nations command in Korea.

The three-year Korean War was an inconclusive, bloody conflict, the first modern war in which the United States had to accept a compromise solution in the form of an armistice agreement. The conflict intensified the Cold War mentality, destroyed Korea and solidified the divisions between North and South Korea.

More than 54,000 U.S. military personnel and more than 58,000 South Korean military personnel died in the war, according to the U.S. Army Center for Military History. Millions of Korean civilians perished; virtually every Korean family was affected.

For many ordinary Americans, the conflict is best known because of the adventures of Hawkeye and Hot Lips in the popular movie and television series "M\*A\*S\*H" two decades later. But during the war, there was little front-page coverage. When the soldiers returned home, they slipped back into society. There were no parades, no celebrations.

"I came back on a Friday, and I started back up at work the following Monday," said Raymond Donnelly, 67, of Arlington, a machine-gunner with the 24th Infantry Division who spent 10 months on the front line before returning to a printing apprenticeship in Massachusetts.

President Clinton and South Korean President Kim Young Sam, who is arriving on a state visit Tuesday, will preside over the dedication of the memorial Thursday, the 42nd anniversary of the armistice. Officials are expecting a crowd of about 100,000 many of them Korean War veterans and their families, as well as representatives of the countries that fought under the U.N. command. Retired Gen. Chang Pae Wan, who com-

manded the defense of Seoul during the war, will lead the South Korean delegation, which will include about 400 veterans.

Among the other highlights of the week's events is a troop muster of war veterans—only the second such mass gathering of troops in U.S. history—that will be addressed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

In the Korean American community have criticized South Korean participation in the memorial, however. Of the \$18 million raised in private money, nearly \$3 million came from U.S. subsidiaries of South Korea's largest companies, including \$1 million each from Samsung and Hyundai.

Richard Nahm, an interpreter who writes for Korean-language newspapers published in the United States, said the South Korean government should pay more attention to domestic problems, such as polluted drinking water and the recent collapse of a Seoul department store that killed 450 people, instead of encouraging companies to contribute to a memorial that primarily honors U.S. war dead.

A spokesman for the South Korean Embassy dismissed the criticism. South Korea had considered canceling Kim's trip to Washington because of the department store collapse but decided to proceed because the visit had been long planned, he said.

The memorial reflects the primary role of U.S. ground troops, featuring seven-foot statues of combat-ready soldiers as one of its key elements. The soldiers are spread over a field of juniper bushes. Behind them is a 164-foot wall with the faces of nurses, cooks, chaplains, other support troops and even the canine corps. The photographic images were culled from Korean War archives and sandblasted onto the black granite.

Opposite the mural are the names of all the countries that served under the U.N. command. The field slopes up to a circular "pool of remembrance."

The Korean War Veterans Memorial didn't come easily.

Its creation was rooted in the frustrations of a group of Korean War veterans, including members of the 25th Infantry Division, that in 1985 made a pilgrimage to Seoul to confront their ghosts, said Dick Adams, past president and a board member of the Korean War Veterans Association Inc., which was founded in 1985.

"We were not like the vets of Vietnam," Adams said. "We were the forgotten people of a forgotten war, and we weren't ready to let ourselves go down in history in that way."

The group was further stirred to action a year later when the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was dedicated. On Oct. 28, 1986, their efforts paid off: President Ronald Reagan approved a resolution authorizing the American Battle Monuments Commission to erect a Korean War Veterans Memorial on the Mall.

The generosity of the private sector in donating money was challenged by setbacks, however.

An initial design contest was won in 1989 by four professors from Pennsylvania State University. They sued the federal government and lost after the design was altered by D.C.-based Cooper & Lecky Architects, the architects of the Vietnam memorial.

The memorial was reconfigured. The number of statues was cut from 38 to 19. Instead of lining up in a single file, for easy visitor access, the larger-than-life statues were placed in a field of juniper bushes to create the air of rough terrain and to remove them from the public's reach.

The memorial will be open to the public at 4 p.m. Thursday and will remain open 24 hours a day. Organizers say the wait will be

long for those who wish to visit the memorial immediately because of the large crowd expected at the dedication.

By last week, the advisory board was receiving about 2,000 telephone calls an hour because of overwhelming interest in the memorial and related events, a spokesman said.

For local veterans, such as Donnelly, the memorial will be a final resting place for his memories. Besides the fear and the fighting, there is the food that Donnelly will always associate with the war: the Spam, Babe Ruth candy bars, black olives and saltine crackers he and other soldiers devoured when they were not on the front line.

His most enduring the memory is of the bone-chilling winter cold, when temperatures often plunged well below zero.

"That's why I say the first miserable rotten night we have here, when it's cold and rainy and snowy," Donnelly said, "I want to go down [to the Mall] and walk through those statues, because that's what it was like."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Michigan.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, what is the pending business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are in morning business, I believe.

If there is no further morning business, morning business is closed.

#### CONGRESSIONAL GIFT REFORM ACT OF 1995

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senate will now resume consideration of S. 1061 which the clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1061) to provide for congressional gift reform.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Mr. LEVIN. I thank the Chair. S. 1061 is the so-called Congressional Gift Reform Act; is that correct?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I am pleased we have now returned to the gift reform issue, and before us is the congressional gift reform bill which has been cosponsored by Senators COHEN, GLENN, WELLSTONE, LAUTENBERG, FEINGOLD, BAUCUS, and MCCAIN.

I ask unanimous consent Senator BINGAMAN be added as a cosponsor of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the request is agreed to.

The Senator from Michigan has the floor.

Mr. LEVIN. I thank the Chair. Was my unanimous consent agreement relative to Senator BINGAMAN adopted?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes, it was.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, this bill will put an end to business as usual when it comes to gifts that come to Members of Congress and to our staffs and employees. It will end the so-called recreational trips for Members who play in charitable golf, tennis, and skiing tournaments. It will put an end to the meals paid for by lobbyists and others, put an end to the free tickets to sporting events, concerts, and theater events.

Under the current congressional gift rules, Members and staff are free to accept gifts up to \$250 from anybody, including lobbyists. Gifts under \$100 do not even count. So we are free to accept an unlimited number of gifts from anybody as long as they are worth less than \$100 in value and we do not even have to disclose them. And meals do not count either. They are unlimited, regardless of their dollar value, and do not have to be disclosed either. Members and staff are free to travel to recreational events such as golf, tennis, and ski tournaments.

That is the status quo. That is business as usual. It simply is not acceptable anymore. The public has lost too much confidence in Congress. More than half of the American people surveyed think that decisions in Washington are made by special interests.

The other day we adopted lobby reform, which is the first of three major steps that we must take in the area of political reform to help restore public confidence in this institution.

The next two steps are bigger steps. One relates to gifts and the other relates to campaign finance reform. Last year, when we debated this gifts bill, we had Washington restaurants telling us that if lobbyists could not take Members out to meals, the restaurants in Washington, a lot of them, would close. People were saying that the Kennedy Center would go under if lobbyists could not buy tickets for Members of Congress.

What a terrible indictment that all would be, if it were true. Can it really be that we accept so many free meals and tickets that entire industries are dependent upon our continuing to accept such gifts? I hope not. And I believe not.

S. 1061, which is the gift reform bill now at the desk, contains tough new congressional gift rules that were included in last year's lobby disclosure bill. This bill, our bill, would prohibit special interests from paying for free recreational travel, free golf tournaments, tennis tournaments, ski holidays, and put an end to unlimited football, basketball, and concert tickets.

Members of this body will no doubt remember, just as the public will no doubt remember, just how close we were to resolving this issue in the last Congress, when the conference report on S. 349 was killed by a last-minute filibuster. At that time, the opponents of the conference report raised a number of substantive concerns relating to the lobbying reform portion of the bill, which we now have successfully addressed in separate legislation. However, the opponents of the bill at that time stated strongly and repeatedly that they had no objection whatever to the gift provisions in the bill. Those are the same gift provisions that come before us today.

As a matter of fact, the majority leader, Senator DOLE, stated that he supported the gift ban provision. "No lobbyist lunches, no entertainment, no

travel, no contribution to the defense funds, no fruit basket, no nothing. That is fine with this Senator, and I doubt many Senators partake in that in any event," the majority leader said. And other Senators made similar statements of their commitment to the quick enactment of strong gift rules.

On October 6 of last year 38 Republican Senators cosponsored a resolution, Senate Resolution 274, to adopt a new tough gift rule included in the conference report that I referred to on S. 349.

The bill before us today contains these same rules changes that the vast majority of us voted for just a year ago in May 1994, and said that we still support it last October.

So now we are going to be put to the test. If we really mean what we said last May and again last October, did we mean it when we said we wanted to put an end to the unlimited meals and tickets and recreational travel, or is it going to be business as usual in this town?

The issue here is whether we can even go out to dinner with lobbyists. The question is who is paying? Who is paying for the theater tickets? Who is paying for the tickets to ski slopes?

This issue and related issues have been thoroughly debated over the last few years. It came close last year, and we are coming close again this year. This issue is not going to go away until we do the right thing. The issue will not go away until we enact new, tough gift rules. The issue will not go away until the gifts go away.

We do not need these gifts. We addressed this bill in the spirit in which we ran for office. We are going to do what the public wants us to do, and that is to get this issue behind us once and for all with strong, new gift reform.

Mr. President, later on this afternoon I expect that an amendment is going to be offered in the form of a substitute. This substitute will bring us even closer to the executive branch rule on gifts. That rule is pretty simple rule—no gifts over \$20 and few aggregate gifts even under \$20 so that you cannot accept anything over \$50 total from one source in 1 year. That is the executive branch rule. It has worked. It is simple. It is understandable. And that is what will be in the substitute. It is going to be a simpler approach than is in the underlying bill because the substitute will not make a distinction between whether or not a gift, food, whatever is received here or back home. The underlying bill made that distinction because it took a slightly different approach on the basic issue of what gifts are acceptable.

But the substitute which will be offered makes no distinction between whether the gift comes from lobbyists or nonlobbyists. It is a \$20 rule the way it is in the executive branch.

So you do not need those kind of distinctions because of the simplicity of the rule, and the fact that it has