

As former U.S. Senator Mark Andrews once commented: "A republic is a do-it yourself kit." The effectiveness with which it operates is dependent on whether or not citizens are willing to accept responsibility to "do it" themselves.

It seems that a number of basic prerequisites must be met to preserve a republic.

And we're losing them.

First, citizens must be well-informed. They are not. We now have an entire generation of citizens whose primary source of news has come from television—an entertainment medium designed to feed viewers entertainment and not news. This medium requires that news must be entertaining to attract and keep an audience thirsty for fun. Every TV personality claiming to offer news—from Sam Donaldson to Rush Limbaugh—is really offering entertainment disguised as news.

Second, citizens must be future-oriented. They are not. Citizens oppose fiscal responsibility and other policies that require short-term sacrifices for long-term benefits. They want present gratification. (The latest example is popular support for a 75-mile speed limit that would burn up the world's limited oil supply faster.)

Third, citizens must function primarily from a rational perspective. They do not. Reason has given way to paranoia, anger, hate and a cornucopia of psychologically-based responses. It is no longer possible to deal with serious issues on a cognitive level.

Fourth, citizens must be public-regarding, i.e. place some value on sacrifice for community and support for the organized society. They are not. Organizations and institutions are literally collapsing as people are withdrawing into their shells. In reality, we have been disassociating ourselves more and more from family, religious and community organizations. Community and civic life is dying.

The degree to which citizens are informed, future-oriented, rational and public-regarding is the degree to which the republic will function effectively. As we lose these qualities, the republic's effectiveness will decline.

Because of the growing shallowness of citizen concern with affairs of the republic, the republic becomes more vulnerable to demagoguery, deception and disorganization. Politicians with the simple, easy answers will be preferred to those insisting on difficult decisions and sacrifice.

Even though it is over 200 years old, the future of the Republic is still conditional. Ben Franklin's big "if" should hang over us as a warning that republics have fallen in the past and this one will also go if citizens aren't willing to assume the perspective and commitment it takes to make the system work.

It's our republic—if we can keep it. ●

#### RECOGNIZING TED BONDA

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, over a period of years, one comes to know a great many people, some of whom make an impression, some of whom fade from memory.

It was some years ago that I met Ted Bonda. He made an impression. And over a period of years, we have remained in touch. Ted has had an unusual career. World War II interrupted his education and he never graduated from college, until recently when Cleveland State University awarded him an honorary degree. My hat's off to them.

Although Ted was not a college graduate, he was a member of the Cleveland

Board of Education for 5 years and president for 3 of those 5, an extremely challenging position. He also served as a member of the Ohio State Board of Regents for 9 years, 4 of which he served as its chairman, as well as 4 years as chairman of the Board of Fellows at Brandeis University, and a member of its board for more than 20 years.

But his community involvement was far greater than his educational involvement. Ted was a great lover of baseball who saved the Cleveland Indians from leaving the Cleveland community. He personally took over the leadership and the financial commitment to save the Indians who, as of today, are leading the American League Central Division by 18½ games.

His baseball exploits were recently described in the Cleveland Plain Dealer in an article by Russell Schneider called, "The Man Who Saved the Tribe." His generosity, compassion and old-fashioned goodness have been beautifully described in the same paper by Herb Kamm, former editor of the Cleveland Press. And the warm feeling of the Ohio Board of Regents for him is aptly described in a Plain Dealer article by Lou Mio in which the Board of Regents "called upon its accomplished and learned former chairman to deliver on his longstanding promise" to provide tickets the next time the Cleveland Indians play in the World Series. Bonda told them that at a time when a World Series for the Indians looked possible.

Ted Bonda has indeed made an impact. He is the kind of human being that every city in this country would be proud to have as a part of its leadership.

Mr. President, I ask that each of the articles be printed in the RECORD.

The articles follow:

TIME TO COLLECT—REGENTS TELL TED BONDA  
TO COUGH UP PROMISED TRIBE WORLD  
SERIES TICKETS

(By Lou Mio)

Alva "Ted" Bonda had a running joke during his nine years on the Ohio Board of Regents.

It went like this: "The next time the Cleveland Indians play in the World Series, you are all invited."

Ha, ha. Fat chance.

"He probably invited several thousand people during his nine years here," said William Napier, the board's vice chancellor. "Some people thought he was serious. Some did not."

Bonda, a former president of the Cleveland school board, had more than a hometown fan's interest in the Tribe. He owned the club in 1977 and 1978. But no matter. The Indians hadn't been close to the World Series since 1954.

Seen the American League standings lately? The regents have. That's why they unanimously adopted a resolution Thursday concerning Bonda. He had served four years as regents chairman, leaving the board in 1993.

First, they congratulated Bonda for his honorary degree from Cleveland State University and for his "irrepressible faith in his beloved city, its people and its baseball team." Then they got to the serious stuff.

"The Ohio Board of Regents hereby calls upon its accomplished and learned former

chairman to deliver on his longstanding promise; and . . . expresses its deep appreciation to Professor Bonda for the tickets—and for the instructive lesson . . . that good things do indeed come to those who wait."

Napier said he has Indians home and away baseball caps. "I'm ready as soon as I hear from him."

Bonda enjoyed a hearty laugh when he learned of the resolution.

"I told them every year for nine years because it was safe," Bonda said. "But this year I told them I can't do it. This year they really are going to win."

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 12, 1995]

#### THE QUALITY OF THE MAN

(By Herb Kamm)

Cleveland State University has measured Ted Bonda for an academic cap and gown, but it will take more than a piece of tape to measure the man.

CSU recognized a lifetime of good deeds by awarding Bonda an honorary doctorate of humane letters at its graduation ceremonies Sunday afternoon.

Humane? Bonda has ennobled the word. He is a towering figure of generosity, compassion and old fashioned goodness. He is truly a favorite son.

It may be trite to say so, but in honoring Ted Bonda, CSU honors itself. The recognition is long overdue, and it is to CSU's credit that it has taken upon itself to correct this omission.

Ted—they named him Alva Theodore at birth 78 years ago in the Cleveland he has loved and nurtured—has had a thing about education, possibly because his own formal schooling ended with his graduation from Glenville High School.

But it goes beyond that. Bonda sees learning almost as important to life as bread. It explains why, at a time when he could well have luxuriated in retirement, he took on the onerous duties of president of the Cleveland Board of Education; why he served on Ohio's Education 2000 Commission and the Ohio Board of Regents; why he has given so much of himself to Brandeis University as president of its National Fellows and a member of its board of trustees.

The great Depression saw to it that Bonda never went to college. But there are those who are endowed by Providence with compensating virtues: good sense, good judgment, good instincts. Ted is among them.

He of course has his critics. He brought so much passion to his role as president of the Cleveland Board of Education in the early '80s that he offended almost all his colleagues at one time or another.

Surely he has irritated others in pleading and fighting for his causes. Bonda tends to be impatient with those who are slow to see things as he sees them or to join his crusades.

And it stands to reason that he had his critics and rivals in business. A man doesn't lift himself up by his bootstraps, or make the journey from poverty to wealth, without courting controversy. But such foibles should matter little against Bonda's record of caring and doing, of his countless contributions to the civic and charitable missions of this community and some beyond it.

He has been known to step in where angels fear to tread, as when he was inspired, during his tenure as president of the Indians, to name Frank Robinson as the first black manager in major league baseball; as when he broke down another barrier and brought Fred Holliday to Cleveland as superintendent of schools.

Both deeds typified a commitment Bonda must have made early in life, because those

who know him have never known him to flinch in the face of prejudice.

The citation Bonda received, as the title of doctor is conferred on him, speaks of his "outstanding accomplishments in commerce," his "unwavering support of education" and his "tireless efforts to make Cleveland a better place."

Dr. Bonda has done it all, and then some.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, June 8, 1995]

THE MAN WHO SAVED THE TRIBE  
(By Russell Schneider)

If you're old enough to have been a fan of the Indians in the 1970s—make that the dreadful 1970s—surely the name Alva T. "Ted" Bonda will ring a bell.

And if you're not of that vintage, you are hereby notified that had it not been for Bonda's efforts and perseverance during those frustrating seasons from 1972-77, not only would the current Indians not be doing as well as they are, they also would not be the Cleveland Indians.

By the same token, neither would we have that downtown jewel called "Jacobs Field," or even Gateway's neighboring Gund Arena.

It was Bonda who pledged his personal finances and agreed to take command of the faltering franchise as its chief operating officer in 1973 when the club was not only insolvent, but also teetering near bankruptcy under the inept Nick Mileti.

As it was reported to the 50-plus investors/partners in the ownership of the Indians at the time, the club's losses were \$500,000 in 1972, \$1.4 million in 1973, \$500,000 in 1974, \$1.1 million in 1975, \$680,000 in 1976 and \$1 million in 1977 for a not-so-grand total of nearly \$5.2 million.

Despite the red ink that threatened to drown the franchise, it was Bonda who steadfastly refused to consider selling the club to Donald Trump, the wealthy New York developer.

Bonda insisted that Trump and other vultures offering to buy the sick franchise sign an agreement that they would keep the Indians in Cleveland. They all declined.

Thus, Bonda was stuck with the franchise, so to speak, and made the best of it, as Art Modell, then the Indians' landlord, acknowledged in a 1978 speech:

"The man (Bonda) is a miracle worker. He was able to successfully employ his talents to keep the banks and other creditors from closing in. He was able to sell small pieces of the partnership interests to new people to keep pumping the club with an infusion of capital.

"When a franchise—any kind of a sports franchise, be it baseball, football, basketball, hockey or what have you—is in trouble as the Indians were for so long, the quickest way to cure the trouble is to move it, or sell it and allow it to be moved.

"History is full of franchises moving to greener pastures, and as long as there is a New Orleans or a Washington—any major city with an empty stadium—there's always the prospect that somebody will come along and lift your franchise, move it away.

"But Ted Bonda never let that happen. No matter how dire the straits were, and they were very dire, he was able to keep the sheriff from the door, to keep juggling all the balls until something could be done.

"Above all, Bonda did an outstanding job of keeping the Indians franchise in a condition that would allow a new group to come in and take over," and keep the team in Cleveland.

Which is what happened on Feb. 3, 1978, when native Clevelanders F.J. "Steve" O'Neill purchased control of the franchise, ensuring it would remain in Cleveland.

When O'Neill died in 1983, his estate sold the club in 1986 to Richard Jacobs, under whose ownership the franchise has flourished, financially and artistically.

All of which is relevant now because, on Sunday, Cleveland State University will bestow the honorary degree of doctor of humane letters upon Alva T. "Ted" Bonda.

It is an honor well-deserved by a 78-year-old guy who was too poor to go to college, whose business career began as a clerk in a shoe store and as a parking lot attendant, and who became one of the most influential civic and political leaders in Ohio—as well as having saved the Indians for Cleveland in the '70s.

And if—when?—the Indians win the American League pennant, or even the A.L. Central Division championship, I can't think of anyone who'd be more deserving of the honor of throwing out the ceremonial first pitch than Ted Bonda.

Without his involvement 20 years ago, there probably wouldn't be major league baseball here.

P.S. In view of his recent and ongoing "no-threat" threat to sell the Browns and allow them to be moved to another city if taxpayers don't renovate the Stadium for his team, it would be prudent for Art Modell to re-read the comments he made in 1978 praising Bonda.

ORDERS FOR SATURDAY, AUGUST  
5, 1995

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in recess until the hour of 8:30 a.m., August 5, 1995; that following the prayer, the Journal of proceedings be approved to date, the time for the two leaders be reserved for their use later in the day, and the Senate proceed to the immediate consideration of H.R. 2020, the Treasury, Postal appropriations bill.

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

PROGRAM

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, following the opening statements on the Treasury, Postal appropriations bill, at 9 a.m., the Senate will begin 3 hours of debate on a committee amendment. All Senators can expect votes on or in relation to the postal appropriations bill or the DOD authorization or the Interior appropriations bill during Saturday's session. All Senators are reminded that a cloture motion was filed on the DOD authorization bill, therefore all first-degree amendments must be filed by 1 p.m. on Saturday.

If there is no further business—

Mr. HARKIN addressed the Chair.

Mr. DOLE. Does the Senator want to speak?

Mr. HARKIN. I would just like to make a statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa.

Mr. DOLE. I have the floor. I will put it in the final unanimous-consent request.

Mr. HARKIN. Five minutes.

ORDER FOR RECESS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent after the Senator from Iowa is recognized for 5 minutes, that the Senate stand in recess under the previous order.

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

The Senator from Iowa is recognized for 5 minutes.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION FOR FISCAL YEAR 1996

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, with all due respect to the majority leader, last year I remember standing on this floor about this time when we had one of the most important measures ever to confront the American people before the Senate on whether or not we would have a health care bill to address the real needs of people in this country. And my colleagues on the other side would not permit us to vote on it. Last year we were here trying to pass a health care bill of extreme importance to the American people, trying to hammer it out, trying to work out our differences. A lot of people here had travel plans to take their families on vacation. It got canceled.

Our colleagues on the other side of the aisle would not permit us to reach a conclusion of that health care bill. Amendment after amendment after amendment after amendment—they would not let us reach a final conclusion on the health care bill.

Oh, but now, now when the Pentagon bill is before us, when we want to abrogate the ABM Treaty, when we want to throw more lard, as my colleague from North Dakota said the other day—he said he cannot call it pork, that does a pig a disservice—putting in \$7 billion more than what the Pentagon wanted.

Oh, no, now we have to reach a conclusion on this. We cannot have the time to debate our amendments in full and open debate. Rush to judgment. Close it off. And threats that somehow we are going to be here until the 19th, 20th, or whatever.

I say to the distinguished majority leader, we heard that last year when the shoe was on the other the foot.

Mr. DOLE. We were here, too.

Mr. HARKIN. And the other side would not let us vote on the health care bill. They kept rolling out those amendments one after the other. Oh, but now there is something wrong with our side if we want to legitimately debate and amend this pork barrel bill, this bill that puts up walls that says you cannot take any money out of the Pentagon to help educate our kids, to help care for the elderly, to help put a little heat in the homes of our elderly people. No, we cannot do that, we put a wall around it.

Now they tell us we cannot debate it fully and fairly? I have amendments on this bill that I want to debate, having to do with space-based lasers and Star