

The writhing bodies on fire,
 The relentless pain of dying,
 The screaming agonies,
 The sudden death,
 Or to mild the bitter hatred
 That burns within the hearts of those
 Who lost their friends and relatives.
 Let God judge the dead—
 We shall judge the living enemy
 So that never again
 Shall barbarism rise,
 And never again
 Shall living hearts
 Bear such griefs.

And you who did not fight but live,

LISTEN:

Those of you
 Who profited from this war:
 These words and the dead
 Shall seek you out,
 And lay their ghostly hands
 Upon your hearts
 And hold them fiercely,
 Cursing the thing you were and are;
 For on your hands
 Is a stain
 No conscience
 Will forget.

And you,
 O Statesmen,

LISTEN:

Let us not forget the price we paid:
 The blood soaked land and sea, the un-
 marked grave,
 The splintered death of treacherous air-raid,
 The prayers of those who trusted in God to
 save.

And let us not forget the crimes of those
 Who talked of peace, then turned to treach-
 erous ways.

Judge hard, and send them to a damned
 repose,

With crosses down to warn all future days.
 We are the living counterpart of the dead
 Who raise their Cross in silent silhouette
 Against the sky for all the world to see.
 Let us resolve to resurrect these dead
 That they may judge the crimes through us.

And let

Them write, O Statesmen, Their Peace,
 Their Victory!•

OPPOSING CUTS IN INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

• Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, on September 29, I was unable to voice my opposition to the amendment proposed by Senator INOUE that reduced funding for international broadcasting. There are many programs and institutions worthy of support, but I believe it was self-defeating to augment one at the expense of another, which is one of the most valuable instruments of American foreign policy—Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

I come to this issue with a good deal of experience as to the importance of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. The Radios, as they are commonly called, have set standards for objective journalism and analysis that are emulated and respected by news organizations and media across central Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Many of the millions worldwide that listen to our U.S.-supported broadcasters live in countries where information and news continue to be controlled by the government. In these parts of the world, government information bureaus, government wire

agencies, government radios and television channels continue to constrict the free passage of ideas.

In an attempt to find offsetting funds in the bill, the sponsors of this amendment—naively and recklessly, in my opinion—would hobble an important instrument for promoting U.S. interests abroad. Last year, the Foreign Relations Committee, which authorizes funds for the Radios, debated and eventually agreed on a sensible plan to restructure and streamline the broadcasting programs.

As we speak, Mr. President, U.S.-supported international broadcasting is becoming a more efficient and effective operation. The drastic cuts in this amendment, if left as is, will undermine the reform effort and will almost certainly force the elimination of important radio services around the world.

Let's go over the International Broadcasting Act that this Congress enacted last year with bipartisan support as part of the State Department authorization bill. First, the act consolidated all the U.S. international broadcasting services and created a new broadcasting Board of Governors, which is now in place.

Second, the plan called for reductions in Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty broadcasts to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union by one-third. In the last year, over 1,250 jobs in programming, news gathering, broadcasting, and support services have been eliminated.

Moving the headquarters of Radio Free Europe from Munich to Prague this fall, when completed, will reduce personnel costs by one-third. President Havel of the Czech Republic generously offered the Radios the use of the former Czechoslovak Parliament building at a symbolic fee of \$12 per year.

Overall, the plan will save well over \$400 million by 1997.

Moreover, Congress has directed that the funding of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty be assumed by the private sector by the end of the century. The radios are taking this seriously; indeed, the move to Prague is a step on the path to privatization. The research arm of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty has already been privatized.

Mr. President, the president's fiscal 1996 request for international broadcasting is 20 percent lower than the 1994 level. The committee appropriation of \$355 million is \$40 million less than the President's request and \$30 million less than the amount authorized by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In other words, international broadcasting is already facing severe reductions that will force the elimination of language services and hours of broadcasting.

This further cut to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty could irretrievably damage our ability to broadcast to areas of the world where the United States has important national security interests. It is my firm belief that in

the post-cold war world the United States must retain diversity and choice in the means by which it conducts its foreign policy. Gutting the radios—on top of the drastic cuts to State Department operations in the bill—would severely limit U.S. flexibility in promoting our goals overseas.

Once again, Mr. President, allow me to explain to my colleagues why the freedom radios are still as important today as they were during the last 40 years. Leaders such as Vaclav Havel, Lech Walesa, and Boris Yeltsin have all testified to the valuable contribution of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in the demise of communism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Democratic government and market economies have not yet fully taken root in these parts of the world. The radios now offer a dual role: to provide a model of how an independent media should function, and to keep honest those who might seek to reestablish repression of the press. A survey of leaders of the former Soviet empire by the open media research institute found that nearly three-quarters of the respondents felt strongly that Western radio broadcasts were still needed.

Some 25 million listeners still tune in to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. The radios provide critical information to the people of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe about the events in Chechnya and the former Yugoslavia. As you know, controlling the media and spreading disinformation are key strategies of the Bosnian Serb leaders, and in several new democracies there is only partial news freedom.

While Voice of America tells America's story, the radios act as surrogate media in the absence of free and independent media in the former Soviet empire, in Cuba, and now in Communist Asia. They fill the information gap—in the local languages—where governments deny citizens the fundamental right spelled out in article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "To seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

Mr. President, Congress has already authorized a plan to restructure and economize the radios. The Appropriations Committee has subjected the programs to further spending reductions. I believe that additional cuts for U.S.-sponsored international broadcasting would be contrary to American interests abroad, and I urge that the amendment be dropped in conference.•

VISIT OF POPE JOHN PAUL II

• Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to the visit of His Holiness, Pope John Paul II, to the United States over the past several days. In the space of just 5 days, the Pope left a lasting impression in the lives of millions of his faithful followers, including many people from the State of Connecticut, thousands of

whom journeyed to New York to see the Pope in person.

As the Rev. Aldo J. Tos, pastor of St. Joseph's Church in Greenwich Village said, "Let us say the stone has been dropped into the pools of humanity. We await the ripples." In the hope of stirring the pools and encouraging the ripples, I ask that the text of the Pope's homily at the Mass at Camden Yards in Baltimore on Sunday, as compiled by the Associated Press, be printed in the RECORD following my remarks. In that homily, the Pope speaks of timeless virtues with a timely message, asking us, "How ought we to live together?" In seeking an answer to this question, can society exclude moral truth and moral reasoning? Can the Biblical wisdom which played such a formative part in the very founding of your country be excluded from that debate?"

Mr. President, we are at a moment in our history when society is engaged in serious debate over the place of moral truth in public policy, especially as we grapple with the deteriorating condition of aspects of our culture. The debate is alive in this Chamber, affecting our views and our votes on a wide range of government laws and programs that have an impact on the behavior and destiny of the people of this and other nations. As we participate in that debate, we would do well to keep these words of Pope John Paul in mind: "It would indeed be sad if the United States were to turn away from that enterprising spirit which has always sought the most practical and responsible ways of continuing to share with others the blessings God has richly bestowed here."

The spirit of America (the "extraordinary human epic," as the Pope proclaimed) has been lifted up by the visit of this wise and holy man, and I hope his words will echo in millions of hearts and inspire many to do great things. As Pope John Paul II said, "Every generation of Americans needs to know that freedom consists not in doing what we like, but in having the right to do what we ought."

The text follows:

TRANSCRIPT OF POPE JOHN PAUL II'S HOMILY
AT CAMDEN YARDS, BALTIMORE, OCTOBER 9,
1995

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Christ, each day, the church begins the Liturgy of the Hours with the psalm which we have just prayed together: "Come, let us sing joyfully to the Lord." In that call, ringing down the centuries and echoing across the face of the globe, the psalmist summons the people of God to sing the praises of the Lord and to bear great witness to the marvelous things God has done for us.

The psalmist's call to hear the Lord's voice has particular significance for us as we celebrate this Mass in Baltimore. Maryland was the birthplace of the church in colonial America. More than 360 years ago, a small band of Catholics came to the New World to build a home where they could "sing joyfully to the Lord" in freedom. They established a colony whose hallmark was religious tolerance, which would later become one of the cultural cornerstones of American democracy. Baltimore is the senior metropoli-

tan See in the United States. Its first bishop, John Carroll, stands out as a model who can still inspire the church in America today. Here we held the great provincial and plenary councils which guided the church's expansion as waves of immigrants came to these shores in search of a better life.

Here in Baltimore, in 1884, the bishops of the United States authorized the "Baltimore Catechism," which formed the faith of tens of millions of Catholics for decades. In Baltimore, the country's Catholic school system began under the leadership of Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton. The first seminary in the United States was established here, under the protection of the virgin mother of God, as was America's first Catholic college for women. Since those heroic beginnings, men and women of every race and social class have built the Catholic community we see in America today, a great spiritual movement of witness, of apostolate, of good works, of Catholic institutions and organizations.

With warm affection, therefore, I greet your archbishop, Cardinal Keeler, and thank him for his sensitive leadership in this local church and his work on behalf of the bishops' conference. With esteem I greet the other cardinals and bishops present here in great numbers, the priests, deacons and seminarians, the women and men religious, and all God's people, the "living stones" whom the spirit uses to build up the body of Christ. I gladly greet the members of the various Christian churches and ecclesial communities. I assure them of the Catholic church's ardent desire to celebrate the jubilee of the year 2000 as a great occasion to move closer to overcoming the divisions of the second millennium. I thank the civil authorities who have wished to share this sacred moment with us.

(Remarks in Castilian, followed by this English translation) . . . I greet the Spanish-speaking faithful present here and all those following this Mass on radio or television. The church is your spiritual home. Your parishes, associations, schools and religious education programs need your cooperation and the enthusiasm of your faith. With special affection, I encourage you to transmit your Catholic traditions to the younger generations.

Our celebration today speaks to us, speaks to us not only of the past. The eucharist always makes present anew the saving mystery of Christ's death and resurrection, and points to the future definitive fulfillment of God's plan of salvation. Two years ago, at Denver, I was deeply impressed by the vitality of America's young people as they bore enthusiastic witness to their love of Christ, and showed that they were not afraid of the demands of the Gospel. Today, I offer this Mass for a strengthening of that vitality and Christian courage at every level of the church in the United States: among the laity, among the priests and religious, among my brother bishops. The whole church is preparing for the third Christian millennium. The challenge of the great jubilee of the year 2000 is the new evangelization: a deepening of faith and a vigorous response to the Christian vocation to holiness and service. This is what the successor of Peter has come to Baltimore to urge upon each one of you: the courage to bear witness to the Gospel of our redemption.

In today's Gospel reading, the apostles ask Jesus: "Increase our faith." This must be our constant prayer. Faith is always demanding, because faith leads us beyond ourselves. It leads us directly to God. Faith also imparts a vision of life's purpose and stimulates us to action. The Gospel of Jesus Christ is not a private opinion, a remote spiritual ideal, or a mere program for personal growth. The Gospel is the power which can transform the

world! The Gospel is no abstraction: it is the living person of Jesus Christ, the word of God, the reflection of the Father's glory, the Incarnate Son who reveals the deepest meaning of our humanity and the noble destiny to which the whole human family is called. Christ has commanded us to let the light of the Gospel shine forth in our service to society. How can we profess faith in God's word, and then refuse to let it inspire and direct our thinking, our activity, our decisions, and our responsibilities towards one another?

In America, Christian faith has found expression in an impressive array of witnesses and achievements. We must recall with gratitude the inspiring work of education carried out in countless families, schools and universities, and all the healing and consolation imparted in hospitals and hospices and shelters. We must give thanks for the practical living out of God's call in devoted service to others, in commitment to social justice, in responsible involvement in political life, in a wide variety of charitable and social organizations, and in the growth of ecumenical and interreligious understanding and cooperation.

In a more global context, we should thank God for the great generosity of American Catholics whose support of the foreign missions has greatly contributed to the spiritual and material well-being of their brothers and sisters in other lands. The Church in the United States has sent brave missionary men and women out to the nations, and not a few of them have borne the ultimate witness to the ancient truth that the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christianity. In my visits to Catholic communities around the world I often meet American missionaries, lay, religious and priests. I wish to make an appeal to young Catholics to consider the missionary vocation. I know that the "spirit of Denver" is alive in many young hearts.

Today, though, some Catholics are tempted to discouragement or disillusionment, like the prophet Habakkuk in the first reading. They are tempted to cry out to the Lord in a different way: why does God not intervene when violence threatens his people; why does God let us see ruin and misery; why does God permit evil? Like the prophet Habakkuk, and like the thirsty Israelites in the desert at Meribah and Massah, our trust can falter; we can lose patience with God. In the drama of history, we can find our dependence upon God burdensome rather than liberating. We too can "harden our hearts." And yet the prophet gives us an answer to our impatience: "If God delays, wait for him; he will surely come, he will not be late." A Polish proverb expresses the same conviction in another way: "God takes his time, but he is just." . . . (Remarks in another language, then English translation): Our waiting for God is never in vain.

Every moment is our opportunity to model ourselves on Jesus Christ—to allow the power of the Gospel to transform our personal lives and our service to others, according to the spirit of the Beatitudes. "Bear your share of the hardship which the gospel entails," writes Paul to Timothy in today's second reading. This is no idle exhortation to endurance. No, it is an invitation to enter more deeply into the Christian vocation which belongs to us all by Baptism. There is no evil to be faced that Christ does not face with us. There is no enemy that Christ has not already conquered. There is no cross to bear that Christ has not already borne for us, and does not now bear with us. And on the far side of every cross we find the newness of life in the Holy Spirit, that new life which will reach its fulfillment in the resurrection. This is our faith. This is our witness before the world.

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Christ: "The spirit God has given us is no cowardly spirit. . . . Therefore, never be ashamed of your testimony to our Lord."

Thus wrote St. Paul to Timothy, almost 2,000 years ago; thus speaks the church to American Catholics today. Christian witness takes different forms at different moments in the life of a nation. Sometimes, witnessing to Christ will mean drawing out of a culture the full meaning of its noblest intentions, a fullness that is revealed in Christ. At other times, witnessing to Christ means challenging that culture, especially when the truth about the human person is under assault. America has always wanted to be a land of the free. Today, the challenge facing America is to find freedom's fulfillment in the truth: the truth that is intrinsic to human life created in God's image and likeness, the truth that is written on the human heart, the truth that can be known by reason and can therefore form the basis of a profound and universal dialogue among people about the direction they must give to their lives and their activities.

One hundred thirty years ago, President Abraham Lincoln asked whether a nation "conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" could "long endure." President Lincoln's question is no less a question for the present generation of Americans. Democracy cannot be sustained without a shared commitment to certain moral truths about the human person and human community. The basic question before a democratic society is: "How ought we live together?" In seeking an answer to this question, can society exclude moral truth and moral reasoning? Can the Biblical wisdom which played such a formative part in the very founding of your country be excluded from that debate?

Would not doing so mean that tens of millions of Americans could no longer offer the contributions of their deepest convictions to the formation of public policy? Surely it is important for America that the moral truths which make freedom possible should be passed on to each new generation. Every generation of Americans needs to know that freedom consists not in doing what we like, but in having the right to do what we ought.

How appropriate is St. Paul's charge to Timothy! "Guard the rich deposit of faith with the help of the Holy Spirit who dwells within us." That charge speaks to parents and teachers; it speaks in a special and urgent way to you, my brother bishops, successors of the apostles. Christ asks us to guard the truth because, as he promised us: "You will know the truth and the truth will make you free." Depositum custodi! We must guard the truth that is the condition of authentic freedom, the truth that allows freedom to be fulfilled in goodness. We must guard the deposit of divine truth handed down to us in the church, especially in view of the challenges posed by a materialistic culture and by a permissive mentality that reduces freedom to license. But we bishops must do more than guard this truth. We must proclaim it, in season and out of season; we must celebrate it with God's people, in the sacraments; we must live it in charity and service; we must bear public witness to the truth that is Jesus Christ.

Dear brothers and sisters: Catholics of America! Always be guided by the truth—by the truth about God who created and redeemed us, and by the truth about the human person, made in the image and likeness of God and destined for a glorious fulfillment in the Kingdom to come. Always be convincing witnesses to the truth. "Stir into a flame the gift of God" that has been bestowed upon you in baptism. Light your nation—light the world—with the power of that flame! Amen.●

TRIBUTE TO BOBBY RAY MEMORIAL ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

● Mr. FRIST. Mr. President, tomorrow afternoon, several of my fellow Tennesseans will dedicate a new elementary school that honors a very special war hero from McMinnville. I will not be able to join them in this celebration but would like to take a moment to recognize the valor and determination of David Robert Ray and wish the students and faculty at Bobby Ray Memorial Elementary the very best in their new school.

A hospital corpsman second class [HC2c] in the U.S. Navy, Bobby Ray served in South Vietnam as a Marine medic. When this country called, he left his home in McMinnville to help his fellow countrymen who were fighting a foreign people on foreign soil. His life was dedicated to saving others, and he always did it with commitment and courage even as gunshots and mortar shells blasted around him.

On March 19, 1969, at the age of 24, Bobby Ray went above and beyond the call of duty. As enemy troops began a heavy assault on the Marines' Battery D, Ray began working on the serious and heavy casualties that fell from rocket and mortar blasts. As he treated a fallen marine, Ray himself became seriously wounded. Refusing medical help, he continued to provide emergency medical treatment to the other casualties. As the enemy drew closer, Ray was forced to battle oncoming soldiers while he administered medical aid. He did this until he ran out of ammunition and was fatally wounded. But before he died, Bobby Ray performed one more lifesaving act. He threw himself on the last patient he ever treated and saved him from an enemy grenade.

Hospital Corpsman Second Class David Robert Ray gave his own life to save the lives of many others. He became an inspiration to the soldiers in Battery D, who went on to defeat the enemy. For this ultimate sacrifice, the United States awarded Ray the Medal of Honor posthumously.

Tomorrow, Bobby Ray's family and hometown friends will gather in his honor to dedicate the Bobby Ray Memorial Elementary School. The students who attend this school will never know David Robert Ray—they are too young. But they will know of his dedication to serving his country and to saving the lives of others. Without ever meeting him, these children will know who Bobby Ray was, and hopefully, will learn from his incredible act of selflessness.

So, today, Mr. President, I would like to pay tribute to Bobby Ray, the man, the medic, the soldier, and the hero. And today, I wish to thank him and every American who has given the ultimate sacrifice to serve their country and their countrymen.●

LOU PANOS

● Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I am pleased to call to the attention of my

colleagues the establishment of a scholarship at Towson State University's School of Communications in honor of my good friend Lou Panos, dean of Maryland's journalistic community. The scholarship marks this distinguished Marylander's 70th birthday and I can think of not more fitting way for him to be honored.

Anyone who has had the good fortune to have worked with Lou in his many public capacities would immediately describe him as a solid professional and an unusually civil practitioner of his craft. He has combined with these sterling personal qualities his thoughtfulness and a sense of fairness which has consistently singled him out among his contemporaries. Lou Panos' long and distinguished career reflects his longtime commitment to public service. He has been involved in a wide range of public service: as a sergeant at arms in the U.S. Army, 1944-46, as a journalist, as press secretary to Gov. Harry Hughes, and as the director of public affairs for the Maryland Shock Trauma Center and the Maryland Institute for Emergency Medical Services Systems.

In view of Lou Panos' commitment to high personal and professional standards, this scholarship represents his dedication to opportunity and education. It is my hope that this scholarship will provide the chance for deserving young people to follow in his path.

I want to take this opportunity to congratulate all those who were involved in instituting this scholarship, Pautuxent Papers and Towson State University's School of Communications, and the friends and colleagues of this most amiable Marylander. I know that all of those involved in this tribute share in my deep appreciation for Lou's outstanding leadership over the years. On this important occasion, I am pleased to join in saluting Lou Panos for his renowned service and in wishing him the very best in the years ahead. ●

EDUCATION CUTS JUST AREN'T SMART

SLASHING EDUCATION HURTS PRODUCTIVITY,
CAUSES LONG-TERM ECONOMIC PAIN

● Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, we are confronting a crucial point in the history of our Nation. The next few decades could determine whether America has what it takes to adjust to a more competitive world with global markets. And quality education will be the key.

This Nation has enjoyed the greatest education system in the world. We cannot let up now, as the nature of our workforce changes. Global competition is putting greater and greater pressure on our workers, making it more important than ever that Americans have the educational tools they need to stay competitive and become even more productive.