September 28, 1996

The MAAA has successfully concluded a campaign to develop \$1 million to establish the USC MAAA Endowment Fund, and for the 1995–96 academic year, the USC MAAA included graduate students as scholarship recipients for the first time.

Raul has received numerous awards and honors in recognition of his selfless service to our community. Among those have been the Arizona State University Hispanic Alumni Association Recognition Award, the Bishop Amat High School Msgr. Thomas A. Kiefer Humanitarian Award, the TRW Career Opportunities for Youth Award, the Fiesta Educativa Award, the Mexican-American Opportunity Foundation Aztec Award, the National Hispanic Scholarship Fund Hispanic of the Year Award, the National Network of Hispanic Women Leadership Award, and honorary membership to the Society of Hispanic Professional Engineers. His membership in professional organizations includes the USC Skull and Dagger Society, the USC Mortar Board, Fiesta Educativa, Inc., Navidad En El Barrio, Ramona Convent High School, The East Los Angeles Community Union Scholarship Committee, McDonald's Scholarship Committee, and staff advisor to the USC Latino Business Student Association.

Raul and his wife, Marcia, currently reside in Upland, CA. Both his daughter, Tracie, and his son, Cesar, followed in their father's footsteps and attended USC.

Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I ask my colleagues to rise and join me in paying tribute to my friend, Raul Vargas, a man who has lived his life serving others and creating opportunities for our community's students.

EASTERN BALTIMORE AREA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

HON. BENJAMIN L. CARDIN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, September 27, 1996

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay special tribute to the Eastern Baltimore Area Chamber of Commerce on its 50th anniversary of outstanding service to the community.

The Eastern Baltimore Area Chamber is one of Maryland's most effective local chambers. In the chamber's early days, it was instrumental in establishing the first public library and first YMCA in Baltimore County. Over the years, the chamber's influence has grown to include its involvement in important policy issues such as critical area legislation and Baltimore County's master plan. In bringing together leaders from business, industry, and the community, the chamber has been at the forefront of economic progress in our area.

In addition, the chamber has been an invaluable resource in helping Baltimore city and Baltimore County businesses expand and grow. From historic preservation, to infrastructure improvements to the health of the Port of Baltimore, the chamber has taken a leading role in fostering a strong economic environment. The chamber's involvement has played a key role in the overall economic health of our entire region.

I urge my colleagues to join me in congratulating the Eastern Baltimore Area Chamber of Commerce on a job well done. The time and effort put forth by the chamber and its many members have enabled Baltimore County and Baltimore city to develop into a strong competitive economic region.

THE TRAVEL AND TOURISM PARTNERSHIP ACT

HON. RON LEWIS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 27, 1996

Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that, yesterday, this body strongly supported H.R. 2579, the Travel and Tourism Partnership Act. This bill will establish a public—private organization to promote the tourism industry, which employs many folks in my district and over 7 million Americans nationwide. By combining public resources and private sector know how, we can find ways to promote tourism in the United States, create jobs and improve our economy.

I suspect that many of my colleagues have not traveled to the Second District, so I want to extend an open invitation to visit some of our public and private attractions such as:

My Old Kentucky Home State Park, located near Historic Bardstown, KY.

We have beautiful vacation areas such as Taylorsville Lake, Rough River Dam Park, Green River Lake, Nolin Lake, Barren River

Come see the birthplace of one of our greatest Presidents, Abraham Lincoln, which is now a beautiful Federal park, in Hodgenville, KY.

Or you may want to visit the many cave attractions such as Kentucky Down Under and Kentucky Caverns, or the American Cave Museum and Hidden River Cave, and of course, Mammoth Cave in Edmonson County.

The Second District is also home to the one and only Corvette Museum in Bowling Green, the International Bluegrass Museum in Owensboro, and the Museum of Coca-Cola Memorabilia in Elizabethtown.

And you will want to experience Fort Knox, the home of the National Gold Depository and the General Patton Museum.

Two years ago, I used this bill as a model to establish a Travel and Tourism Roundtable within the Second District. Since that time, the roundtable has tried to meet on a quarterly basis, bringing together representatives from tourism associations, commissions, and attractions in the Second District. Our meetings have provided an important forum to discuss initiatives that will collectively promote our beautiful and historic area of Kentucky.

On October 7, our roundtable will host a day long seminar with discussions from national tourism industry representatives, State officials, and local tourism experts. Our seminar will provide an opportunity to discuss positive tourism efforts underway and to share ideas for the future. I am looking forward to this event which, in the spirit of H.R. 2579, will combine private and public tourism interests, establish better working relationships within the industry, and lead to positive solutions to advance tourism throughout the Second District.

Again, I strongly support the creation of a National Travel and Tourism Board to establish on the national level, the same successful cooperation we have seen so far in the Second District.

PUBLIC SERVANT PRAISED FOR YEARS OF SERVICE

HON. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, September 27, 1996

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise in remembrance of Joe H. Golman who passed away September 23, 1996 in Dallas, TX. Mr. Golman was a distinguished member of the Dallas City Council, Texas Legislator, businessman and a religious leader in the Jewish community. At an early age, Mr. Golman brought his vision of public service to the greater Dallas area. A year after losing a council election at the age of 23, Mr. Golman won appointment to the city plan commission. His successful and effective political career continued as he became chairman of the Dallas Zoning Board of Adjustment, city council, deputy mayor pro-tem and the Texas State Legislature where he served with distinction until 1973.

Mr. Golman was also at the forefront of economic development, entrepreneurship and commerce, serving Dallas' food service industry as president of Golman-Hayden, a produce brokerage and consulting service; and president of Circle T Foods Co. He was a member of the Greater Dallas, East Dallas, and Oak Cliff Chambers of Commerce and a member of the Salesmanship Club of Dallas for more than 50 years. Mr. Golman also fulfilled the true measure of leadership: Passing on the torch of leadership to young people in his capacity as a charter member of the Dallas Assembly, which sought to groom young city leaders. Political and business success did not remove his compassion, activity and energy from his religious beliefs. Mr. Golman was a life board member of the Jewish Community Center and as president of the National Jewish Welfare Board's southern region.

I wish to extend my condolences to his family and his many friends and supporters. Mr. Golman was the epitome of the true public servant and his years of unselfish contributions to the political, business, and religious environments of Dallas are very much appreciated by its citizens. His work will be sorely missed, but not forgotten.

RELEASE OF OBSERVER REPORT ON BOSNIAN ELECTIONS

HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, September 27, 1996

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, today the Helsinki Commission, which I Chair, is releasing its staff election observer report on one of the most important international events of the year—the September 14 elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Among their conclusions, the Commission staff state the following:

The elections cannot be considered free and fair, and were held prematurely because of limited international support for existing peacekeeping burdens.

The campaign period detracted the most from the election process, due to a lack of freedom of movement, association and expression, as well as the continued political activity of persons indicted for war crimes.

The provisional results, challenged by allegations of more ballots than voters, showed clear victories for the ethnically based parties originally brought to power in 1990. Whether the elections have set the stage for Bosnia's partition along ethnic lines, or for movement toward its effective reunification remains an open question.

The election administration was extremely complex and required significant outside help from the OSCE, which performed considerably well given the political and logistical circumstances in which it had to work.

Voter registration was also controversial, including on election day. Balloting nevertheless went relatively smoothly. There was some confusion in the transport and counting of ballots.

Mr. Speaker, holding the municipal elections in November as tentatively planned by OSCE would be a mistake. Not only would the administrative problems associated with the September 14 elections unlikely be corrected, the newly elected national institutions which must now begin to function should be free from the tensions and partisanship of another campaign period. And, a delay would allow time for Bosnian local leaders who support a unified, multiethnic Bosnia to compete fairly, and then help Bosnia build its democracy from the bottom up.

The Commission has, since 1992, taken the lead in the Congress in trying to shape a response to the war in Bosnia. Actively following and reporting on developments in the region, the Commission also has a particular interest in the effectiveness of the OSCE's organization of the Bosnian elections. The Commission held several briefings and hearings leading up to these elections, including hearing testimony from Bosnian elections officials, representatives of Bosnian political parties, OSCE mission chief Robert Frowick, special United States envory William Montgomery, and other experts. The Commission staff which compiled the election report benefited from being in various parts of Bosnia on election day, contributing to the large and important task of observing the voting and counting of ballots.

Bosnia-Herzegovina and most every country emerging from the former Yugoslavia will remain high on the United States foreign policy agenda through the end of this year and into 1997. I therefore encourage my colleagues to read the conclusions of the staff report, which I am submitting for the record, and contact the Commission should you wish a copy of the full report.

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE—CONCLUSIONS OF STAFF REPORT ON SEPTEMBER 1996 ELECTIONS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

On September 14, 1996, Bosnia-Herzegovina held its second multi-party elections since the collapse of the one-party Communist political system in the former Yugoslavia in 1989. These elections, however, were the first for that country since the break-up of the old Yugoslav federation and the warfare from 1992 to 1995 which accompanied Bosnia's emergency as an independent state. This fighting, largely directed against the civilian population, left an estimated quarter of a million people dead or unaccounted for, and half the original population of about 4.4 million displaced, internally or abroad as refugees. The warfare ended in December 1995 with the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina (hereinafter the "Dayton Agreement"), which divided the single Bosnian state into two entities with significant powers of their own. Even for those who survived the conflict in their own homes and villages, the economic, social and political upheaval associated with the war—let alone the almost universal personal loss of friend and/or family in it—made the holding of free and fair elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina virtually impossible, and filled any attempt to do so with risk.

Elections were held at the national and lower levels but did not include municipal elections, which were postponed. The election administration was extremely complex and required significant outside help from the OSCE, which performed well given the political and logistical circumstances. The campaign period detracted the most from the election process, due to insufficient freedom of movement, association and expression, as well as the continued political activity of persons indicted for war crimes. Voter registration was also controversial in preparing for elections, and remained a problem on election day itself. Balloting nevertheless went relatively smoothly, although the subsequent transport of counting of ballots was confusing and difficult.

Few have dared to characterize the September 14 elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina as free and fair. Voters generally had a free choice which could be secretly made when they stepped into the voting booth, but disenfranchisement and an intimidating atmosphere at certain locations detracted from this positive characterization. Moreover, on the basis of the campaign period alone, there was no doubt that the elections were not fair. Opposition parties had little chance to make their views known, let alone to counter aggressively the effects of years of war and propaganda on Bosnian voters from all ethnic groups. And, after the elections, questions regarding the total number of eligible voters make certification of the elections difficult.

The question, therefore, is not whether these elections were free and fair; they obviously were not. The question is whether the international community was wise to go forward with the elections within the timeframe mandated by Dayton. Based on the overwhelming nature of the victories for the ruling parties in the September 14 elections, there is little doubt that the results probably reflect the general will of the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina. With more time, during which more substantial efforts could have been undertaken to increase freedom of movement, of speech and of association, as well as to sideline more effectively those indicted for war crimes or otherwise responsible for the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

the result might have been different.
Some who argued for holding the elections on schedule suggested that surprises may result, but they did not. They claimed that the situation might actually worsen unless elections were held soon rather than later, but little evidence of that possibility has surfaced. They argued that parties to the Dayton Agreement must adhere to the deadlines, but, in doing so, Dayton's own prerequisites for effective elections were not sufficiently met. They pointed out that all parties in Bosnia-Herzegovina wanted the elections to proceed, but this argument ignored the fact that the ruling parties wanted the elections because they knew they would win; that some other nationalist parties believed the elections could facilitate partition; and that moderate parties were hesitant but felt helpless in countering the larger forces dominating their country's politics. Those who prepared for the administration of the elections deserve credit for their hard work, but additional time would have enabled them to sort out the problems that caused so much confusion around election day.

Therefore, the main argument for holding the elections by the Dayton deadline seems driven mostly by the international community's limited desire to continue to provide Bosnia's peace and security through IFOR. The current IFOR mandate expires at the end of 1996, and the elections were considered a prerequisite to any withdrawal. Indeed, OSCE Mission Head Robert Frowick succeeded in delaying the initial withdrawal process until after the elections were held. If this influenced the decision on when to hold the elections, then U.S. Government pressure on the OSCE to hold elections prematurely deserves criticism. However, the European critics who wish to place full responsibility with the United States should recognize that, for all its faults, only the U.S.-brokered initiatives for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina-both the Federation and the Dayton Agreement—have actually brought peace and produced some results. Also, not one government spoke within OSCE in opposition to holding the elections on September 14. Indeed, probably the greatest opposition came from non-government organizations based in the United States, which might have had greater success in achieving a postponement had some influential countries supported a delay.

Moreover, the peace process created by the Dayton Agreement may have largely run its course by September 1996, and this process needed something—the elections—to move to a new level. Pressure now rests on those elected to work together to resolve their problems, with less reliance on international involvement. If the international community at least maintains the resolve to prevent any party from resorting again to the use of force to achieve political ends, economic and other social forces may erode the political power of those now taking office and result in a more open, pluralistic society. This could even happen among Serbs, despite their present intention to become independent. Bosniacs, who have been the overwhelming victims, may actually become less willing to reconcile differences as a result. Bosnia's Croats can be expected generally to join with whichever side seems to have the upper hand. For all three, the pervasive fears and prejudices brought about by war and propaganda must be replaced by trust and tolerance if there is to be any hope of long-term success.

Unfortunately, the OSCE decided within days of the national and entity electionsand before finalizing and certifying the results of these elections—to proceed tentatively with more complex municipal elections in late November 1996, OSCE Coordinator for International Monitoring has personally expressed reservations about this decision. Some of the problems encountered with the national and entity-level elections can be corrected by that date, but the root cause of the original postponement-the registration of persons in specific localities—will be especially difficult to remedy. In the rush to organize the elections, other administrative mistakes are to be expected. Moreover, fledging Bosnian and entity institutions must now try to begin work in the context of a new campaign that will only encourage intransigence. Finally, postponing the local elections for six months or longer provides the best chance for opposition parties to score victories and build democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina from the bottom up. Comfortable with ethnically oriented leaders offering protection from the top, or reacting to the inability of these leaders to move the country forward, voters could be prepared by that time to vote on the basis of interests other than the need for ethnic cohesion. The ruling parties will be able to ride the wave of victory into local elections held in November 1996, reenforcing splits along ethnic lines.

Bosnia's future remains uncertain. A genuinely unified state could still emerge, or the state could be partitioned by its neighbors. To some degree, at least, further action by the international community could influence the direction in which Bosnia will head.

The OSCE's performance in organizing and conducting the elections has come under considerable criticism. While some of the criticism might be warranted, the OSCE de-

serves credit for having undertaken an extremely difficult task. Its leadership resisted those governments which sought to pressure it to act one way or another, and was relatively candid in assessing the situation leading up to the elections. In this respect, OSCE was a considerable improvement on the United Nations in its political work in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Finally, the OSCE can no longer remain on the sidelines for the

sake of its reputation. Perhaps the OSCE should have been given a larger role to play earlier. Considering the organization's direct involvement in restoring peace and stability to Bosnia-Herzegovina today, its effectiveness in bringing positive results to Bosnia-Herzegovina will depend largely on its ability to avoid repeating past mistakes and, like all international organizations, on the political will of its participating States.