isn't a new argument, but it is startling coming at this late date, when we can see the terrible effects of parochialism and tribalism around the world.

Lincoln saved us from Balkanization. He made sure that it is "the United States," not "these United States." Our debt to Lincoln is huge, and we should not be persuaded easily that it is better to have 50 different policies on the environment, civil rights, Social Security, health services and many other central government functions.

It is popular now to bash the government. But over the long haul of history the government has served us well. It isn't an accident that we are the premier country in the world, the only superpower. We achieved that status because we have a good system of government. Democracy isn't an easy system. There are all kinds of tugging and pulling as we continue to give everyone a voice.

Let's not kill the goose that laid the golden egg. Let's not turn the future of this country over to 50 state legislatures. Let's keep one nation, indivisible.

TRIBUTE TO RALPH MRAZ. FORMER BERWYN, IL, ALDERMAN

HON, WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 27, 1996

Mr. LINPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a dedicated former public servant from my district who recently passed away-Mr. Ralph Mraz.

Mr. Mraz served as an alderman in Berwyn, IL, as well as a market auditor for the U.S. Department of Agriculture for 35 years before his retirement. He also was co-founder of the Life and Savings and Loan Association of America.

However, he was best known for obtaining Mraz Park in Berwyn, which was named in honor of his father, Fred.

Mr. Speaker, I extend my condolences to Mr. Mraz's widow, Lucille, his children, grandchildren, and all his friends.

HONORING DANIEL J. O'CONNOR

HON. BILL BAKER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 27, 1996

Mr. BAKER of California. Mr. Speaker, when I was growing up in Oakland, CA, crime was something I only read about in the papers. Yet in our day, the grim realities of lawbreaking are all too commonplace in each of our communities.

That is why I am especially pleased to recognize the contributions of one of California's finest to making the bay area's streets and neighborhoods safer. Sergeant Daniel J. O'Connor began his law enforcement career in 1962 when he joined the Concord, CA police department. He was appointed to the Bay Area Rapid Transit [BART] Police Department in 1973, and achieved the rank of sergeant in 1976. His 34 years of service have been a testimony to his devotion to duty and his commitment to the people of California.

As he prepares to retire in March, it is my hope that he will be encouraged by many good memories of his years of faithful service. His friends on the force will miss him, and his example of fidelity and dedication will continue to remind those who have worked with him of the vital importance of service in the public in-

I wish Sergeant O'Connor the very best for many years of productive and enjoyable retirement, and am pleased to recognize this fine public servant in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

COMMENDING THE VETERANS OF UNDERAGE MILITARY SERVICE INC.

HON. OWEN B. PICKETT

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 27, 1996

Mr. PICKETT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to an often unacknowledged group of veterans that deserves recognition. Each of the members of this group joined the military and fought to defend this country before they were of legal age to do so. These brave and courageous young men have been represented in every war in which the United States has been involved. Most of the current members fought in World War II.

These veterans have established an organization of their own, entitled "Veterans of Underage Military Service, Inc." which is recognized as a nonprofit organization by the IRS and U.S. Postal Service. They have recently honored Adm. J.M. "Mike" Boorda, USN, the highest ranking underage enlistee on active duty, who joined the Navy when he was 16 years old.

The Second District of Virginia which I represent, is fortunate to be the home of one of the officers of the Virginia chapter of the Veterans of Underage Military Service, Inc., Mr. Thomas C. Hise. Tom Hise's work on behalf of this organization has contributed to the recognition it has received by obtaining laudatory proclamations from Virginia municipal and State governments.

Mr. Speaker, I request permission to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the House joint resolution adopted by the Virginia General Assembly commending members of the Veterans of Underage Military Service, Inc.

All Americans applaud the determination and patriotism shown by these underage enlistees and express gratitude and appreciation for their honorable service to our country.

COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY; HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 327

Whereas, throughout history, nations have called upon their youth to fight their wars, and it is inevitable that some young men and women under the age of 17, usually driven by strong patriotism, have enlisted in the armed forces; and

Whereas, in some instances, these youths were discovered and separated from the service, sometimes after they had already seen action and performed heroically; and

Whereas, the Veterans of Underage Military Service, Inc., was formed in 1990 to help such individuals who were frequently discharged from the service and stripped of their awards and their military benefits; and

Whereas, the primary goals of the organization are to contact all veterans who served in any branch of the United States armed forces when they were under 17 years of age and to advise and assist them in obtaining a proper discharge and their veteran's benefits;

Whereas, a secondary goal is to establish a historical record of underage veterans by publishing their names, their deeds, and their stories; and

Whereas, the organization currently consists of over 600 veterans who served in the armed forces before they were 17: and

Whereas, three Medal of Honor winners who enlisted before they were 17 have been identified: and

Whereas, the officers of the Virginia chapter of the Veterans of Underage Military Service, Inc., Bobby Lee Pettit and Thomas C. Hise, both served in the armed forces before they were old enough to enlist, legally; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Delegates, the Senate concurring, That the General Assembly commend the Veterans of Underage Military Service. Inc., for their attempts to locate and assist all underage veterans of America's

armed forces; and, be it

Resolved further, That the Clerk of the House of Delegates prepare a copy of this resolution for presentation to Bobby Lee Pettit, Commander of the Virginia chapter of the Veterans of Underage Military Service, Inc., as an expression of the support of the General Assembly for the worthy goals of this organization.

BRODER REBUTS EXCESSIVE **CYNICISM**

HON. BARNEY FRANK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 27, 1996

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I have long felt that the most damaging form of naivete is excessive cynicism. No where is that better illustrated than in the current grossly distorted discussion of the influence of campaign contributions on public policy. The view that campaign contributions dominate most policy outcomes is a dangerously mistaken one. It is a complete lack of sophistication about the political process masquerading as the ultimate tough mindedness. And it is not only gravely wrong to argue that campaign contributions are the major factor in most policy outcomes, it is self-defeating. To the extent that citizens do believe that elected officials care little about votes and public opinion, not to mention the merits of the issues, and instead are driven largely by campaign contributions in making decisions, those citizens will be discouraged from voicing the opinions which are in fact the single greatest influence in our public policy deliberations.

In his column in the Washington Post for Wednesday, January 31, David Broder very effectively makes this point with a trenchant and cogent analysis of the recent PBS "Frontline" program on campaign financing.

That program, entitled "So You Want To Buy A President" seems to have perpetuated the mythic view that campaign finance is all important in deciding public policy debates. David Broder who knows better, demonstrates the fallacy of this reasoning in his column. Because it is important that citizens not be encouraged to fall into the trap of believing that their efforts will have no influence in the face of campaign contributions, I ask that David Broder's very important article be printed here.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 31, 1996] "FRONTLINE'S" EXERCISE IN EXAGGERATION

(By David S. Broder)

As if the cynicism about politics were not deep enough already, PBS's "Frontline" last

night presented a documentary called "So You Want To Buy A President?" whose thesis seems to be that campaigns are a charade, policy debates are a deceit and only money talks.

The narrow point, made by Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.), an early dropout from the 1996 presidential race, about millionaire publisher Malcolm S. (Steve) Forbes Jr., is that "somebody is trying to buy the White House, and apparently it is for sale."

The broader indictment, made by correspondent/narrator Robert Krulwich, is that Washington is gripped by a "barter culture" in which politicians are for sale and public policy is purchased by campaign contributions.

The program rested heavily on a newly published paperback, "The Buying of the President." Author Charles Lewis, the head of the modestly titled Center for Public Integrity, was a principal witness, and Kevin Phillips, the conservative populist author who wrote the book's introduction, was also a major figure in the documentary. It dramatized the view asserted by Lewis

It dramatized the view asserted by Lewis in the conclusion of his book: "Simply stated, the wealthiest interests bankroll and, in effect, help to preselect the specific major candidates months and months before a single vote is cast anywhere....

We the people have become a mere afterthought of those we put in office, a prop in our own play.''

Viewers saw a number of corporate executives—no labor leaders, no religious leaders, no activists of any kind, for some reason—who have raised and contributed money for presidents and presidential candidates and thereafter been given access at dinners, private meetings or overseas trade missions.

It is implied—but never shown—that policies changed because of these connections. As Krulwich said in the transcript of a media interview distributed, along with an advance tape, with the publicity kit for the broadcast, "We don't really know whether these are bad guys or good guys. . . . I'm not really sure we've been able to prove, in too many cases, that a dollar spent bought a particular favor. All we've been able to show is that over and over again, people who do give a lot of money to politicians get a chance to talk to those politicians face to face, at parties, on planes, on missions, in private lunches, and you and I don't."

If that is the substance of the charge, the innuendo is much heavier. At one point, Krulwich asked Lewis, in his most disingenuous manner, "Do you come out convinced that elections are in huge part favors for sale, or in tiny part?"

And Lewis replied that while "there are a lot of wealthy people that do want to express broad philosophical issues," the "vested interests that have very narrow agendas that they want pursued see these candidates as their handmaidens or their puppets. The presidential campaign is not a horse race or a beauty contest. It's a giant auction."

That is an oversimplified distortion that can do nothing but further alienate a cynical electorate. Of course, money is an important ingredient in our elections and its use deserves scrutiny. But ideas are important too, and grass-roots activism even more so. The Democratic Leadership Council's Al From and the Heritage Foundation's Robert Rector have had more influence in the last decade than any fund-raisers or contributors, because candidates have turned to them for policy advice.

John Rother of the American Association of Retired Persons and Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition work for organizations that are nominally nonpartisan and make no campaign contributions at all. But their membership votes—so they have power.

The American political system is much more complex—and more open to influence by any who choose to engage in it—than the proponents of the "auction" theory of democracy understand, or choose to admit.

By exaggerating the influence of money, they send a clear message to citizens that the game is rigged, so there's no point in playing. That is deceitful, and it's dangerously wrong to feel that cynicism.

Especially when they have nothing to suggest when it comes to changing the rules for the money game.

At one point, Phillips said that the post-Watergate reforms succeeded only in having "forced them [the contributors and politicians] to be more devious." That is untrue. Those reforms, which mandated the disclosure of all the financial connections on which the program was based, also created publicity which, even Krulwich and Co. admitted, foiled the "plots" of some contributors.

And Krulwich, for his part, suggested very helpfully that "every high-profile politician agrees that some things have got to change. Change the limits. Change the rules. Change the primaries. Change the ads. Change enforcement. You gotta change something."

How about changing the kind of journalism that tells people that politicians are boughtand-paid-for puppets and you're a sucker if you think there's a damn thing you can do to make your voice heard?

A TRIBUTE TO MR. AND MRS. JAMES ADAMS ON THEIR 50TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. WILLIAM O. LIPINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 27, 1996

Mr. LIPINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to two constituents who are an inspiration to all those who say "I do"—James and Helen Adams.

Mr. and Mrs. Adams of Riverside, IL recently celebrated their 50th anniversary with a large party with dozens of their friends and family members.

However, the real celebration should be for a young sailor and his 20 year old fiance from Brookfield, IL who would not let even a world war from keeping them apart. With conflict still raging in the Pacific in June 1945, Jim Adams had planned to take advantage of a short leave to marry his sweetheart, Helen Jean Bennett. But, as is often the case in wartime. his leave was canceled and he was not able to get back home until December of that year, a few days before Christmas. Not only were there no churches available during the holidays for a wedding ceremony, there were no priests or preachers either. Finally, on New Year's Eve, a clergyman was found and the wedding took place in the bride's house.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate Mr. and Mrs. Adams on not only their 50th anniversary, but also their perseverance and devotion 50 years ago that prevented even a world war from keeping them apart.

TRIBUTE TO AUTHUR R. NASH, JR.

HON. VERNON J. EHLERS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 27, 1996

Mr. EHLERS. Mr. Speaker, it is with great delight that I take this opportunity to honor Art Nash for his many contributions to the State of Michigan through his work with the Department of State Police and the Department of Natural Resources. Art is retiring after 26 years of dedicated and loyal service to the Great Lakes State. His professionalism and exceptional work ethic will be sorely missed by those who have had the pleasure of working with him.

Art grew up in Dearborn, MI, and graduated from Fordson High School. He went on to Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, MI, where he obtained a bachelor of science degree in psychology and sociology in 1970. In addition to his academic pursuits, Art also participated on the varsity swim team and served as an officer of the Pi Kappa Alpha fraternity. He would later return to his alma mater to earn a master's degree in public administration in 1980.

Art's professional career began in 1970 when he took the oath as a trooper with the Michigan State Police. He served until 1977 in the department's uniform and criminal investigation division enforcing traffic laws, investigating criminal and civil complaints, and serving as an undercover officer for drug traffic investigations.

In 1977, Art's career path took him to another division within the Michigan State Police. For the next 17 years, Art was an integral member of the department's fire marshal division, playing an important role in the division's growth. As a member of the fire marshal division, Art rose through the ranks from detective sergeant in the First District Office to first lieutenant commander of the hazardous materials section. As first lieutenant commander, Art was responsible for administering the division's Hazardous Materials Enforcement Program. This also included the task of developing and implementing division policies and procedures.

In May 1994, Art said goodbye to the Michigan State Police and took his talents to the Department of Natural Resources where he served as chief of the Department's underground storage tank division. Though his work with the DNR was less than 2 years, his accomplishments were monumental. I am extremely appreciative of his efforts in the development of the underground storage tank regulatory program and his role in the creation of the risk-based corrective action plan for leaking underground storage tank sites. Michigan residents are fortunate to have had the expertise and knowledge that Art has to offer.

Art's commitments also extend beyond the workplace. He is a member of the St. Luke Lutheran Church in Haslett where he once served as president of the church council. In addition to support from his church Art has also been blessed with the love and support of his wife, Jennifer, and son, Kirk.

Mr. Speaker, there are some people you meet in life that you feel very privileged to know. Art Nash is one of those people. I am extremely thankful that I had the opportunity to work with this man of great character while I