

international nonproliferation obligations under them.

Indigenous development of ICBM capabilities is one way, but not the only or even most probable way, for other nations to acquire long-range missile capabilities. Given the willingness of regimes such as North Korea to trade in missiles and components, and Russia's refusal or inability to control the flow of missile components as well as scientific and engineering talent to Third World countries, the trend is clearly in the direction of more proliferation rather than less.

The Russian military is not immune to the tremendous societal strains currently underway in Russia. These strains, along with changes in military doctrine that increase reliance on nuclear weapons, call into question the sanguine assessment that the risk of a deliberate, accidental, or unauthorized ballistic missile launch from Russia remains low. Likewise, Chinese threats to use ballistic missiles raise troubling political and military concerns.

The intelligence community's recent downgrading of the long-range missile threat is premised on assumptions that are highly questionable. The latest intelligence community estimate of the long-range missile threat to the United States is at variance with previous intelligence estimates, the public testimonies and statements of acting and former U.S. intelligence officials, and the analysis of respected non-governmental experts.

The American people remain entirely vulnerable to a ballistic missile attack. As recent focus groups have reaffirmed, Americans are surprised and angered when presented with the knowledge that they remain unprotected against this threat.

FOOTNOTES

¹Secretary of Defense, "Annual Report to the President and the Congress," February 1995, p. 241.

²Testimony of R. James Woolsey, Director of Central Intelligence, before the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, 24 February 1993.

³Cited in "Proliferation, Potential TMD Roles, Demarcation and ABM Treaty Compatibility," report prepared by the National Institute for Public Policy, September 1994, p. 7.

⁴U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment, "Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction: Assessing the Risks," August 1993, p. 64.

⁵Institute for National Strategic Studies, "Strategic Assessment 1995: U.S. Security Challenges in Transition," National Defense University, 1995, p. 116.

⁶Director of Central Intelligence, "Emerging Missile Threats to North America During the Next 15 Years," NIE 95-19, November 1995.

⁷Letter dated 1 December 1995. In a similar vein, the former Deputy Director of the Ballistic Missile Defense Organization (BMDO), William Evers, has described the view of the intelligence community this way: "Russia, the former Soviet states, and China will not use [ICBMs] intentionally, will not launch them accidentally, and will not sell them." (Comments at a conference sponsored by the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc., 28 April 1995, reported in John Donnelly, "House Panel to Examine Russian Command and Control Issues," *Defense Week*, 26 June 1995, p. 1+.)

⁸Because NIEs are classified, a detailed discussion of their findings is not possible here. However, a comparative analysis of past and present NIEs indicates that the official assessment of the ballistic missile threat to the United States has been downgraded. The issue of politicization of intelligence is highlighted in Rowen Scarborough and Bill Gertz, "Missile-Threat Report 'Politicized,' GOP Says," *Washington Times*, 30 January 1996, p. A1+.

⁹International Institute for Strategic Studies, "The Military Balance 1995-1996," p. 281.

¹⁰"Libya: Gadhafi Ready to Use Missiles," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, 1 January 1996, p. 4.

¹¹Speech on 18 April 1990, reported by Tripoli Television Service, 19 April 1990, and translated in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: Near East and South Asia*, FBIS-NES-90-078, 23 April 1990, p. 8.

¹²Cited in "A Terrorist Talks About Life, Warns of More Deaths," *The Wall Street Journal*, 10 September 1990, p. 1.

¹³Cited in Thomas L. McNaughter, "Ballistic Missiles and Chemical Weapons: The Legacy of the Iran-Iraq War, International Security, Fall 1990, p. 6.

¹⁴See footnote 8.

¹⁵See, for example, R. Jeffrey Smith, "U.S. Waives Objection to Russian Missile Technology Sale to Brazil," *Washington Post*, 8 June 1995, p. A23; Fred Hiatt, "Russian Rocket Sale Strains U.S. Ties," *Washington Post*, 24 June 1993, p. A29.

¹⁶See R. Jeffrey Smith, "U.N. Is Said to Find Russian Markings on Iraq-Bound Military Equipment," *Washington Post*, 15 December 1995, p. A30. According to a U.S. official, Iraq's missile program "poses a threat to all of Europe." A U.N. official, noting that Iraq is seeking to develop a longer-range missile, stated, "Should Saddam build such a missile, it could easily reach London or Moscow." See Stewart Stogel, "Missile Plans by Iraq May Aim at Europe," *Washington Times*, 16 February 1996, p. A1+.

¹⁷Speech before the American Defense Preparedness Association, 18 May 1993.

¹⁸See, for example, Anna Bakina, "Strategic Missile Under Conversion Into Space Booster," *ITAR-TASS*, 17 July 1995, cited in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, "FBIS Report: Arms Control and Proliferation Issues," FBIS-TAC-95-004, 8 August 1995, pp. 38-39 "RSA To Turn Swords Into Plowshares," *Kommersant Daily*, 7 July 1995, p. 9, cited in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, "SS-19s To Be Converted into Rokot Space Carrier Rockets," FBIS Report: "Arms Control and Proliferation," FBIS-TAC-95-014-L, 4 August 1995, p. 97; Vitaly Chukseyev "Russia to Supply Boosters For U.S. Missiles," *ITAR-TASS*, 13 October 1995, cited in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, "Daily Report: Central Eurasia," FBIS-SOV-95-198, 13 October 1995, p. 30.

¹⁹See Bill Gertz, "U.S. Relaxes START, Raising Missile Fears," *Washington Times*, 9 November 1995, p. A1+.

²⁰Testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on International Security, International Organizations, and Human Rights, 28 July 1993.

²¹The Emerging Ballistic Missile Threat to the United States" February 1993, p. 1.

²²*ibid.*, p. 1.

²³Ballistic Missile Proliferation: An Emerging Threat," 1992, pp. 26-28.

²⁴Sidney Graybeal and Patricia McFate, "GPALs and Foreign Space Launch Vehicle Capabilities," *SAIC February* 1992, p. 18.

²⁵See Allen Levine's interview of Russian General Batenin, in "Soviet General Says Unrest May Spark Nuclear Terror," *Atlanta Constitution*, 16 October 1991, p. 2.

²⁶See Kurt Campbell, Ashton Carter, Steven Miller, and Charles Zrakat, "Soviet Fission: Control of the Nuclear Arsenal in a Disintegrating Soviet Union," Center for Strategic and International Affairs, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, November 1991.

²⁷Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Subcommittee on European Affairs, reported in Rowen Scarborough, "Russia Losing Nuke Control, Senators Told," *Washington Times*, 23 August 1995, p. A1+.

²⁸On the Russian nuclear alert in January 1995, see "Norwegian Science Rocket Puts Russian Defense On Alert," *Washington Times*, 26 January 1995, p. 16; "Russian Radars Alert Moscow After Detecting Missile Launch," *Agence France-Presse*, 25 January 1995; Vasily Kononenko, "Yeltsin Leaves Chechnya Behind in Lipetsk, But Takes the 'Black Attache Case' With Him," *Izvestiya*, 27 January 1995, p. 1; Nikolay Devyanin, "Football: All That Has Happened, Alas, Had to Happen," *Moskovskiy Novosti*, No. 7, 29 January-5 February 1995, pp. 1, 12.

²⁹See, for example, Alexei Arbatov, "The Mysteries of the Nuclear Button," *Moscow New Times*, No. 4, January 1992, pp. 20-23.

³⁰See Patrick E. Tyler, "As China Threatens Taiwan, It Makes Sure U.S. Listens," *New York Times*, 24 January 1996, p. 1+.

BELMAR ST. PATRICK'S DAY PARADE

HON. FRANK PALLONE, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 28, 1996

Mr. PALLONE. Mr. Speaker, on the afternoon of Sunday, March 3, 1995, the 23d An-

nual St. Patrick's Day Parade will move through the streets of Belmar, NJ.

Mr. Speaker, from its modest beginnings little more than two decades ago, the Belmar event has become the biggest and best-attended St. Patrick's Day Parade in the State of New Jersey, and one of the finest in the Nation. While not quite as big as the New York City parade, the Belmar event has steadily been attracting crowds of more than 100,000 people, drawn from the Jersey Shore area and throughout our State, surrounding States and other nations, including Ireland itself. Thousands of marchers are expected this year, including members of community organizations, elected officials, marching bands, floats, bagpipers, and leaders of Irish-American organizations. Both the participants and the many spectators always have a wonderful time.

The grand marshal this year is Mr. John F. Kelly of Sea Girt, NJ, a retired Elizabeth, NJ, police officer and a member of numerous community organizations. The deputy grand marshal is Rosemarie Plunkett Reilly of Belmar, the director of the Reilly Funeral Home. A previous grand marshal, Monmouth County Freeholder Thomas J. Powers, will again serve as parade commentator.

The Belmar St. Patrick's Day Parade was established in 1973 by members of the Jerry Lynch Social & Athletic Club. Mr. Lynch is credited with being the parade founder. The first parade, held in 1974, had club members marching in top hats and tails, followed by four marching bands, and numerous fire engines. That year, the crowd of spectators was not much bigger than the contingent of marchers. The first grand marshal was my predecessor, and a name well-known to many of the Members of this body: the late Congressman James J. Howard, a life-long resident of the Jersey Shore who took great pride in his Irish heritage. For their tireless efforts to ensure that the 1996 parade will be another memorable experience, I wish to pay tribute to all of the members of the Belmar St. Patrick's Day Committee, particularly the chairman, Dave Stanley.

Mr. Speaker, it is a great honor for me to pay tribute to the Belmar St. Patrick's Day Parade, a great and proud tradition of the Jersey Shore for Irish-Americans and people of all backgrounds.

TRIBUTE TO LOIS MCDANIEL

HON. EDOLPHUS TOWNS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 28, 1996

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, Lois McDaniel is a native of Batesburg, SC and embodies the philosophy that hard work pays big dividends. Lois attended South Carolina State College and Pace University's evening program. She currently serves as the calendar information officer for the Department of City Planning and secretary to the New York City Planning Commission for land use and zoning matters. In her capacity she conducts televised public hearings at city hall for the N.Y.C. Planning Commission.

Prior to joining the Department of City Planning, Ms. McDaniel served as executive secretary to the president of the Bedford-

Stuyvesant Restoration Corp. A homeowner in east New York since 1969, Lois has been involved in numerous civic activities within the Community Board 5 area. Her efforts have supported senior citizens, block associations, the Democratic Club of East New York and Union 1180.

Ms. McDaniel is actively involved in food drives for City Harvest's food distribution program for the homeless, and is also involved in numerous other charitable efforts. I am proud to acknowledge her efforts to serve the people of Brooklyn.

IN SUPPORT OF BLACK HISTORY MONTH

HON. MARTIN OLAV SABO

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 28, 1996

Mr. SABO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to express my strong support for Black History Month. This year, we are celebrating African-American women of yesterday, today, and tomorrow. In Minnesota, we are fortunate to have a fine tradition of civic leaders who have dedicated their lives to enriching the lives of others through their selfless contributions. Today, I'd like to recognize three, among many, of the African-American women in Minnesota who have become shining role models for us all.

In this brief history, the State of Minnesota has had many gifted leaders who were also African-American women. In 1923, Ethel Ray Nance (1899–1992) was the first black woman hired by the Minnesota Legislature and was the first black policewoman in Minnesota. During her long life, Ms. Nance was an activist in several civil rights organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP]. She also served as the director of research for the National Urban League.

In more recent years, Nellie Stone Johnson, who celebrated her 90th birthday in December, 1995, has been one of the most outspoken and thoughtful leaders in Minnesota's African-American community. Generations of Minnesotans owe Nellie a great deal for her dedication to community-building, to civil rights, and to economic fairness. In the tradition of Hubert Humphrey and Walter Mondale, Nellie Stone Johnson has been rock solid in her commitment to the most vulnerable in our society.

Finally, representing a new generation of African-American women leaders, Minneapolis Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton, elected in 1993, is the first African-American and the first female mayor of Minneapolis. Mayor Sayles Belton began her public service career immediately after college—when as a civil rights worker she traveled to Jackson, MS, to register voters. She later became the first African-American president of the Minneapolis City Council. As mayor, she has continued her efforts to strengthen families and children by focusing on education, crime prevention, and the economic development of neighborhoods in the city.

I am proud to say that these women, and many other African-Americans, have had an important impact on my life and the lives of many Minnesotans. I wish to thank them for

their service to the community, the women's movement, and the United States of America. All citizens should be grateful for their accomplishments and endeavors. Mr. Speaker, as we observe Black History Month, I commend Ethel Ray Nance, Nellie Stone Johnson, Mayor Sayles Belton, and all African-Americans for their contributions to our society.

TRIBUTE TO MERLE BAGLEY

HON. EDOLPHUS TOWNS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 28, 1996

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to recognize Mrs. Merle Bagley for her contribution to the Brooklyn community. Mrs. Bagley migrated to New York from North Carolina in the 1960's. Her life's work has revolved around her dedication to children, not only her own, but society's children. She has successfully raised 10 children, a major accomplishment in itself. But equally important is the community work she has done on behalf of the Bedford-Stuyvesant Youth and Action Board, where she serves as the vice president of the Pacific Street Block Association, and is a member of the Earnestine Grena Senior Citizen Center.

Mrs. Bagley has been involved in community work since her retirement, and has lived in the East New York section of Brooklyn since 1973. She is active in the Linden Houses Tenant Association, and is an appointed member of Planning Board 5 and Area Policy Board 5. Merle Bagley's efforts have enriched the community she lives in and loves, and I am pleased to bring her to the attention of my colleagues.

51ST ANNIVERSARY OF THE FLAG RAISING ON MOUNT SURIBACHI

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 28, 1996

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, last week our Nation commemorated one of the most significant events in our history. The capture of Iwo Jima was not only one of the bloodiest military confrontations in which our Nation was ever involved, but it was also one of the most necessary. This barren island was crucial to ensure the success of our bombing missions into the heart of the Japanese Empire, and was key to the military maneuvers which led to our victory in the Pacific theater of World War II.

Most historians agree that the photograph of six marines raising the American flag on top of Mount Suribachi is the most duplicated photograph ever taken. To this day, no American can remain unmoved by the simple message of heroism and grim determination which that photograph so eloquently portrayed.

Last week, the New York Vets organization conducted solemn ceremonies in Rockland County, NY, commemorating the 51st anniversary of that significant event. I was honored to have been asked to share my thoughts at this ceremony, and would like to share them with our colleagues at this time:

Thank you for inviting me to join with you on this solemn occasion.

Back in 1936, President Roosevelt Franklin D. Roosevelt, in his acceptance speech for his second nomination for President, told his audience that our generation "has a rendezvous with destiny." President Roosevelt foresaw the war clouds accumulating throughout the world, and knew what we would be facing. And, he was correct in his analysis of the burdens with which our generation so uniquely had to cope.

When you think about it, no generation in recorded history was saddled with responsibilities as awesome as those with which we had to grapple. Not only did our generation have to endure the depths of the Great Depression—the greatest economic crisis of all time—but it also fell to our watch to fight World War II, the most stupendous and complex conflict in all of history before or since. World War II was the only war in our Nation's history fought on two major and widely diverse fronts: the European theater and the Pacific. Very few nations ever had successfully tackled the massive burden of a two front war and emerged victorious.

It is befitting that we meet today to commemorate what symbolized that war for all people. The capture of Iwo Jima was a pivotal event in our efforts. I can personally attest that, on the B-29 bombing missions over Japan in which I participated, we thanked God that Iwo Jima was in our hands, for several of our missions would not have returned had we not had Iwo Jima available for emergency landings.

It is important that we bring to mind the photograph of the flag raising on Mount Suribachi, which most historians contend is the most frequently reproduced photograph in all history. It is important because it symbolized for the whole world the burdens and the sacrifice which our generation had to make.

Now, despite all of the trials and tribulations of our generation's life time, we are being called upon one last time for one last sacrifice. We have one last important responsibility to perform for all humankind.

Today the world is replete with revisionist historians: people who contend they know more than we do about what we lived through, what we witnessed, and what we sacrificed. We have lived to witness the phenomenon of our own Smithsonian Institution attempting to assemble a display which inform people that we, the United States, were the aggressors in our war against Japan, and that we were motivated solely by racial considerations. The Smithsonian Museum went so far as to assemble a display which, believe it or not, portrayed the sufferings of the Japanese people, without once mentioning the cruel Bataan death march, or the inhumanity of Japan's POW camps, or their racial degradation and enslavement of the Asian and Pacific peoples who Japan had temporarily conquered. It did not portray the cruelty of the Japanese Government, which demanded not just obedience from their people, but actual worship. It did not tell of the dreaded Kamikaze pilots, whose eagerness for self-sacrifice struck terror into the hearts of many brave Americans.

It is only through the strong protests of many of our own generation that this display was never opened to the public, but that victory was only one battle. We have much further to go to win the war.

We have been reading almost daily of commentators and self-appointed historians who contend that the Holocaust never took place. In fact, the lack of knowledge of generations