

I believe the best way to accomplish meaningful campaign finance reform and make Congress more accountable to the public is to encourage congressional candidates to raise more of their campaign funds from small contributions from individual donors.

The bill I am introducing today motivates candidates to rely on small contributions in two primary ways: funds from a voluntary checkoff of Federal tax returns will go toward a Citizen Representative Fund established at the Treasury Department to finance voter communications vouchers for candidates agreeing to observe the bills spending limits; and ceilings imposed on campaign spending from PAC's and large contributions will increase the importance of small donations.

Enacting lobby reform legislation and tightening gift rules have generated momentum we now should harness to pass real, comprehensive campaign finance reform. We have a unique opportunity to invigorate our democratic process, return power to voters across the country, and restore faith in the Congress. We must not let this moment pass.

If we fail to act, we will be preserving a system stacked in favor of wealthy individuals while preventing many potential candidates from getting a seat at the campaign table. Last month, press reports indicated that 11 House candidates each have used at least \$100,000 of their own money to finance their 1996 campaigns, and 26 candidates have put at least \$50,000 of their personal funds toward their races.

A hefty bank account should not be a prerequisite for running for Congress. That's why the bill I am introducing today restricts to \$25,000 personal contributions a candidate can make to his own campaign if the candidate wants to be eligible to receive the benefits provided in the bill.

The bill also tames the powerful influence of PAC's. Last summer, the public interest watchdog group Common Cause released a study indicating that in the first half of the 1995 contributions from PAC's accounted for large chunks of House candidates' total campaign funds. The legislation I am introducing today requires candidates agreeing to the bill's spending caps to limit their expenditures from PAC's to 15 percent of their total spending. That's a maximum of \$90,000 from PAC's.

To ensure that voters get the facts about candidates running for House seats, the bill makes participation in two nonpartisan debates a requirement for receiving communications vouchers. Our democracy is fueled by full and open discussions of the important issues facing our Nation, and all candidates should communicate their positions to the voters so that well-informed decisions can be made.

I have long believed that individual citizens should have more of a voice in campaigns for Congress. My bill expands the participation of everyday Americans in political campaigns through the voluntary checkoff and the emphasis on small contributions. I am hopeful that the House Oversight Committee will act on this legislation.

As people around the world strive to build democracies in States where ballots once listed only one choice for seats in a bureaucracy unconcerned with the needs of its own citizens, we need to increase participation in the electoral process here at home to maintain a healthy democratic system that is responsive to all Americans.

HONORING THE LIFE OF ABE LEBEWOL

HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1996

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to one of my constituents and to mourn his tragic and premature death.

New York truly suffered a devastating loss this week with the death of Abe Lebewohl. On Monday, March 4, his life was cut short when a robber shot him twice as he went to the bank to make the daily deposit for his deli.

Mr. Lebewohl founded and owned the Second Avenue Deli where he will always be remembered as a hard worker, a brilliant businessman, an enlightened employer, and a distinguished community leader. A Holocaust survivor, he started the deli in 1954 as a 12-seat diner. After 42 years of hard work, Mr. Lebewohl built it to the current 250-seat restaurant that is known all over the world. Not only did the community lose a wonderful man and a great entrepreneur, but also one of the last links to the historic old Jewish neighborhood of the Lower East Side.

Abe Lebewohl greeted people by name, gave free sandwiches to homeless people or to anyone out of work, and supplies nourishment to workers on strike. He made everyone feel like family, never hesitating to give a helping hand when they were down on their luck.

The Second Avenue Deli has become one of their most popular landmarks in New York City. Almost every day, famous people come to eat and tourists often line up around the block in order to taste one of Abe's sandwiches or his soup. But more than anything, Abe's deli was a part of his community. It was his neighbors, employees, and family who stood outside of the deli on Monday to mourn his passing.

Mr. Speaker, I would ask that my colleagues join me in sending our deepest condolences to Abe's wife, Eleanor, his daughters, his grandchildren, his employees, and his friends on this most devastating loss.

HATRED MARKS PAPER TRAIL

HON. PETER DEUTSCH

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1996

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, during these political primaries, it is important that the American public has as much information on the candidates as possible. In pursuit of that goal, I am submitting for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article written for the Jerusalem Post on past statements made by Pat Buchanan.

[From The Jerusalem Post, Feb. 23, 1996]

HATRED MARKS PAPER TRAIL

Pat Buchanan has toned down his comments, but hasn't backed down, Elli Wohlgerlenter reports.

Pat Buchanan's upset victory in the New Hampshire primary on Tuesday has once again focused heightened attention on the man and his words, and on the people surrounding him in his campaign.

When two staffers in two days last week had to step down for questions that were

raised over their ties to white supremacists, it came as no surprise to Jews here and in the US who remembered what Buchanan used to say and write, before he toned down his rhetoric when he began running for president in 1992.

It goes back to the 1970s, when what began as a trickle—a snide comment here, a hard-line position advocated there—soon started snowballing until, on the eve of the Gulf war in 1990, a mini-war broke out over flagrant and vicious antisemitic comments made by Buchanan.

To recap a few: In 1976, when the Ford administration proposed selling arms to Egypt, Buchanan urged Congress not to "hearken * * * to the counsel of the Jewish lobby and its Washington representative Henry Jackson."

In 1977, when president Jimmy Carter endorsed legislation against the Arab boycott of Israel, Buchanan objected and warned that Israel would be blamed as a result when Americans lost their jobs.

He later maintained that Americans were asking "why the U.S. is siding with three million Israelis instead of 100 million Arabs who have oil."

In 1981, he wrote, "Many Americans are growing bone-weary with carrying the diplomatic, economic and military cost of underwriting Menachem Begin's policies."

Throughout the 1980s, Buchanan exhibited a fiery and indignant pose in a campaign to defend former Nazis, whomever they were and however evil their prior deeds.

As early as 1977 he wrote of Hitler: "Though Hitler was indeed racist and antisemitic to the core, a man who without compunction could commit murder and genocide, he was also an individual of great courage, a soldier's soldier in the Great War, a political organizer of the first rank, a leader steeped in the history of Europe, who possessed oratorical powers that could awe even those who despised him."

From this followed his strong defense of Nazi criminals, and his denunciation of the U.S. Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, which pursues Nazi criminals: "You've got a great atrocity that occurred 35, 40 years ago * * * Why put millions of dollars [into] investigating that?"

There were other remarks he made about targets of war-crimes allegations, including:

When the U.S. apologized to France for sheltering Klaus Barbie, the "Butcher of Lyon," Buchanan complained: "To what end all this wallowing in the atrocities of a dead regime?"

He campaigned against the deportation to the Soviet Union of Karl Linna, who ran a Nazi death camp in Estonia, when the US Court of Appeals ruled that there was overwhelming evidence of his guilt.

On the isolating of Kurt Waldheim: "The ostracism of Kurt Waldheim [has] an aspect of moral bullying and the singular stench of selective indignation."

And of course, there was his spirited defense of Ivan Demjanjuk and his statement that he could never get a fair trial in Israel.

Alan Ryan Jr., former head of OSI at the Justice Department, said then that "Pat Buchanan is going to bat for any Nazi war criminal in the US," and called him "the spokesman for Nazi war criminals in America. His campaign on behalf of these people is so infused with distortions and misrepresentations of the facts that it's almost impossible to engage in any sort of response. He simply piles lie upon inaccuracy upon surmise upon personal attack."

Not content to defend Nazis, Buchanan shifted to questioning aspects of the Holocaust. Gas chambers could not have killed human beings, he wrote, because "in 1988, 97 kids, trapped 400 feet underground in a Washington, DC, tunnel while two locomotives

spewed diesel exhaust into the car, emerged unharmed."

And finally, an attempt was made to discredit survivors themselves. "Since the war, 1,600 medical papers have been written on 'The Psychological and Medical Effects of the Concentration Camps on Holocaust Survivors.' This so-called 'Holocaust Survivor Syndrome' involves 'group fantasies of martyrdom and heroics.'"

Writing in the January 1991 issue of Commentary, Joshua Muravchik responded: "What can Buchanan possibly be talking about here? Can he furnish a bibliography of, say, the first 100 of these '1,600 medical papers'? And do quotation marks diminish the sewer-level bigotry of the reference to 'fantasies and martyrdom'?"

His antisemitic and anti-Israel statements continued to build over the years.

He called the Democratic Party the "dripped poodle of * * * the Israeli lobby";

Called Capitol Hill in Washington "Israeli-occupied territory";

Called the massacre of Palestinians by Lebanese Christians in Sabra and Shatilla the "Rosh Hashana Massacre," and the "the Israel army is looking toward a blackening of its name to rival what happened to the French army in the Dreyfus affair";

Said of the Vietnamese "Boat People": "Can one imagine what a cauldron of boiling rage the Senate would be if—instead of Vietnamese—there were Jews in those boats?"

In protesting the alleged blasphemy of the film "The Last Temptation of Christ," asked: "Would [Jack] Valenti, [chief executive officer of the Motion Picture Association of America] employ his eloquence to defend a film portraying Anne Frank as an oversexed teenager fantasizing at Auschwitz on romancing some SS guards?"

He also chided the New York Times for not criticizing the film strongly enough: "We have a 'newspaper of record' that can sniff out antisemitism in some guy turning down a kosher hot dog at the ballpark."

In the protest over the Catholic convent at Auschwitz, Buchanan wrote on September 24, 1989: "The slumbering giant of Catholicism may be about to awaken. * * * When Cardinal John O'Connor seeks to soothe the always irate Elie Wiesel by reassuring him that 'there are many Catholics who are antisemitic. * * * It's deep within them,' when he declares this 'is not a fight between Catholics and Jews,' he speaks for himself. But not afraid, your eminence; just steps aside, there are bishops and priests ready to assume the role of defender of the faith."

When president George Bush asked Congress to delay for four months the \$10 billion in loan guarantees, Buchanan wrote on September 18, 1991: "Even if his veto of the guarantees is overridden, he will have won high marks for courage and exposed Congress for what it has become, a Parliament of Whores incapable of standing up for US national interests, if [the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee] is on the other end of the line."

Perhaps his most outrageous statement came shortly after Iraq's Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait. On the CNN show "The McLaughlin Group" of August 26, 1990, two months after he made the comment on the same program about Congress being "Israeli-occupied territory," Buchanan made this infamous remark:

"There are only two groups that are beating the drums for war in the Middle East: the Israeli Defense Ministry and its amen corner in the US."

The remark generated an outpouring of condemnation from Jewish groups across America. It was a new kind of charge from Buchanan, one that Anti-Defamation League national director Abraham Foxman said lifted

ed Buchanan's "characteristic anti-Israel rhetoric to new and graver heights."

Later in the program, Buchanan said: "The Israelis want this war desperately because they want the US to destroy the Iraq war machine. They want us to finish them off. They don't care about our relationship with the Arab world."

Refuting the charge of antisemitism, Buchanan said: "Were I expressing such views * * * I wouldn't have lasted 10 minutes in a profession where I have reveled, on and off, for 30 years. The newspapers that carry the Buchanan column don't print hate literature."

The charge of antisemitism, he wrote, "is used to frighten, intimidate, censor and silence; to cut off debate; to so smear men's reputations that no one will listen to them again without saying, 'Say, isn't he an anti-semiter?'"

Buchanan confessed in that column that, "yes, a change has taken place" in his attitude toward Israel as compared with the time "from June of '67 * * * until I went back into the White House in 1985," a time he claimed to be "an uncritical apologist for Israel, a Begin man all the way, defending everything from the attack on the Iraqi reactor to the invasion of Lebanon. I thought they were terrific friends."

"And yes, a change has taken place. For many reasons."

"Among them: The manipulation of the traitor Jonathan Pollard to systematically loot the secrets of the most generous friend Israel will ever have. The gratuitous brutality against Palestinian old men, women, teenagers and children. The Good Friday land grab at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. The shipment of cluster bombs to the Stalinist Mengistu regime in Ethiopia. The caustic cutting cracks about my church and the popes from both Israel and its amen corner in the US."

Foxman issued a statement saying, "While Buchanan's attack on Jews and Israel are nothing new, they appear to be an obsession. He is obsessed with Jonathan Pollard, but not with the Walker spy ring. Obsessed with the deaths of Palestinians who are waging war on the Jewish state, but not with the cold-blooded mustard-gas massacre of 5,000 Iraqi Kurds by Saddam Hussein. He dismisses the murder of millions of Jews during the Holocaust but derides the Office of Special Investigations for pursuing Nazi war criminals."

"He claims that the newspapers that carry his column 'do not print hate literature.' True, they rarely do. But today, every newspaper which ran Pat Buchanan crossed that boundary."

Among the papers carrying his column that day was the New York Post. In an unprecedented display of criticism, an editorial by editorial editor Eric Breindel, appearing opposite Buchanan's column, cited his previous antisemitic remarks and innuendos, and explained why the paper felt it had to publicly distance itself from one of its own regular columnists:

"What concerns us is Buchanan's attitude toward Jews as a group. When homosexual activists demonstrated against John Cardinal O'Connor at St. Patrick's Cathedral, desecrating that sacred place, Buchanan wrote a blistering column denouncing the demonstration. Indeed, the condemnation, in this instance, was widespread."

"But only Buchanan managed, somehow, to drag Jews into the discussion. He chided the New York Times for relegating its news story on the St. Patrick's incident to Page B3. And he asked rhetorically whether the Times would have been so restrained 'had a synagogue been so desecrated.'"

"How did synagogues enter the picture? Was it impossible for Buchanan to write a

column about the sacrilege at St. Patrick's Cathedral without a snide reference to synagogues?"

It concluded: "When it comes to Jews as a group—not Israel, not US-Israeli relations, not individual Jews—Buchanan betrays an all-too-familiar-hostility." A month later on "the McLaughlin Group," Buchanan lashed back at the ADL, saying the organization, in a "pre-planned, orchestrated smear campaign," was calling newspapers around the country and "threatening them" if they didn't cease publications of his columns, which was being carried by 180 newspapers.

The ADL denied calling "a single editor to request the removal of Buchanan's column, nor would we. Buchanan knows that, and he knows that league is against censorship of any kind." Buchanan, Foxman said, "employed the same 'big lie' tactics perfected by the Nazis during World War II."

Buchanan continued his Israel-bashing after the Gulf war. On March 13, 1991, he wrote: "Israel is not Syria, she is not Iraq, she is not Iran. But she is not our 'strategic asset' either."

"As the Gulf war demonstrated, she is a strategic albatross draped around the neck of the US."

The New Republic, on October 15, 1990, wrote: "The virulence of Buchanan's comments on the Jews, the indifference to evidence, the inflamed rhetoric, the rich conspiratorial imagination, the mystical certainty of rightness, the appetite for enemies, are not characteristic only of his opinions about Israel and the Jews. He is a connoisseur of intolerance. It is proof of the tolerance of America, if proof is needed, that this disgraceful man ranges through the corridors of power and lives in our midst as a star."

When his campaign for the 1992 election got under way, Buchanan's rhetoric softened, and continued in that manner while he waited to run again this year.

"He's a different person today in terms of what he's saying," Foxman said yesterday. "The language is a lot different. He used to speak of Christian values, Christian America. Now it's Judaio-Christian values. But the baggage of the past is still with him. He has not apologized for his anti-Israel, antisemitic and Holocaust-denial statements, he has not retracted them and he has not repudiated them."

The Jewish community, Foxman said, "is concerned, and will be concerned, but there is no panic yet."

He said he didn't think "a racist will be able to maintain the support of the mainstream," but the problem so far has been that "the media has not asked the questions yet. He has not been challenged. If he moves into the mainstream, the media will seriously challenge him, and then will see the response of the American public."

GEORGIA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES PASSES H.R. 850

HON. MAC COLLINS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1996

Mr. COLLINS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the Georgia House of Representatives passed a resolution asking the United States Congress to reevaluate the sale of the Southeastern Power Administration [SEPA].

I submit Georgia house resolution 850 for the Congress' careful consideration.

GEORGIA HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
RESOLUTION 850

H.R. No. 850—By: Representatives McCall of the 90th, Powell of the 23rd, Hanner of the