

I want to thank Michelle for helping us remember the true nature of freedom. In our Nation, we are blessed with freedoms which people in so many other countries do not enjoy. Michelle reminds us that freedom without responsibility is license. Freedom with responsibility is a virtue.

Mr. Speaker, Michelle's words are an important reminder for our work here in Congress, and they bear repeating. "If we are responsible now and in the future, we will make a better life for ourselves and our future families in many ways". This sixth grader from Richmond, IN is right. Thank you Michelle.

And that is my report from Indiana this week.

FURTHER CONTINUING APPROPRIATIONS, FISCAL YEAR 1996

SPEECH OF

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1996

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to House Joint Resolution 163, the short-term continuing appropriations for fiscal year 1996. This is the 11th short-term fiscal year 1996 stopgap spending measure in 5 months. Who would have thought that 5 months into the fiscal year, and after 29 days of a Republican politically contrived shutdown of the Federal Government which cost the American people over \$1.5 billion, fiscal year 1996 appropriations bills for a number of major Federal agencies upon which the American people depend still have not been enacted?

Now, here we are again, just hours before the current continuing resolution expires, trying to pass an 11th stopgap spending measure to keep the Government operating. In fact, this stopgap measure will not be the last one for fiscal year 1996. Expiring on March 22d, House Joint Resolution 163 will keep the Government operating for only 1 week.

The bill being voted on today still does not address all of my concerns about critical programs under the jurisdiction of the appropriations subcommittee for the Departments of Veterans Affairs, Housing and Urban Development and independent agencies—on which I serve as the ranking member—or, those under the jurisdiction of the subcommittee for the Departments of Labor, Health, and Human Services, and Education on which I also serve. I am pleased, however, that our Nation's veterans will get their hardearned benefits, that our homeless, low-income families, seniors and disabled who depend on Federal housing assistance will retain support for shelter; and that our environment will be safeguarded for at least 1 more week.

Nevertheless, I remain resolute in my opposition to the cuts in these programs including:

The \$1.1 billion cut in title I which will deny over a million disadvantaged children the teaching assistance they require in reading and math;

The \$266 million cut in safe and drug free schools which means that school systems will be denied the resources they need to provide children a safe crime free drug free classroom in which to learn;

The elimination of funding for the Summer Jobs Program which means that over 600,000

young people who need and want to work will be deprived of the opportunity to do so;

The anticrime block grants which will eliminate the successful community policing and crime prevention programs;

The overall cut in funding for the Department of Commerce which will dramatically hinder our Nation's technology advancement effort; and

The irresponsible and unjust slashing of funding for the Minority Business Development Program, the Commission on Civil Rights, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission which will lead to the foreclosing of opportunities for many Americans.

Mr. Speaker, who would have thought that our Republican colleagues would have let their blind desire—to give a tax cut to the wealthy—outweigh the needs of seniors, children, veterans, and families across the country?

This continuing resolution—like the 10 that preceded it—is part of the Republicans' strategy to hold the American people hostage in an effort to force the President to accept their outrageous and lifethreatening cuts in major critical quality of life programs.

Mr. Speaker, this is the ultimate of irresponsibility. House Joint Resolution 163 is not a solution to the politically contrived budget crisis, it is only an interim step to keep the Government temporarily operating while our colleagues on the other side of the aisle decide what political game to play next. No amount of smoke and mirrors can hide the pain and suffering that is contained in the GOP's budget.

Mr. Speaker, it is time for us to put an end to this piecemeal, part-time approach to operating the Government. Let's go back to the budget negotiation table and restore funding to critical programs and services including education, summer jobs, employment training, student aid, housing, environmental protection, veterans' medical care, heating assistance, meals for seniors, and crime prevention. I urge my colleagues to vote against House Joint Resolution 163.

COMPREHENSIVE ANTITERRORISM ACT OF 1995

SPEECH OF

HON. NANCY PELOSI

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 14, 1996

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2703) to combat terrorism:

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in support of the Conyers-Nadler-Berman substitute to H.R. 2703. The substitute is a reasonable and measured attempt to address threats to U.S. citizens posed by terrorism without creating threats to our fundamental constitutional protections.

In this debate, we should stipulate that all of us are concerned about the increase in domestic terrorism and that our thoughts and prayers are with the survivors of the terrible terrorist acts which we have seen perpetrated against U.S. citizens, including the terrorism directed at Federal workers in Oklahoma City. We can and must act against terrorism. At the same time, we must ensure that our actions are effective and within the bounds of the

Constitution, which has safeguarded basic American freedoms for over 200 years.

H.R. 2703 poses serious threats to civil liberties and civil rights. I have a number of concerns about H.R. 2703. The bill expands the use of the death penalty and changes the use of habeas corpus petitions, severely restricting avenues of recourse to the judicial system for people sentenced to death. The death penalty is not a punishment which should be taken lightly. Frankly, I do not believe it should be used at all. But since the death penalty is utilized, we must ensure that people sentenced to death have sufficient opportunity to petition for relief if they have not had a fair trial or competent counsel.

The bill also contains changes to asylum law which threaten our 200-year history of providing refuge for people fleeing persecution in their countries of origin. I agree that we need to be able to exclude terrorists from our shores. I do not agree that we should turn away others who come to the United States seeking haven from persecution. That protection is one of the principles upon which this U.S. standing as an international beacon of freedom and hope is built.

The Conyers-Nadler-Berman substitute addresses many of my concerns. This substitute deletes H.R. 2703's restrictions on habeas corpus appeals. It deletes the expedited asylum procedures contained in H.R. 2703. And, it provides for expedited deportation for terrorists without violating constitutional protections.

The Conyers-Nadler-Berman mechanism for expedited deportation of terrorists is in accordance with procedures for dealing with classified information and preserves a fundamental principle of our justice system which grants accused individuals the right to face their accuser and to confront evidence. Regardless of what we think of individuals and the crimes of which they are accused, we are a nation of laws. The Conyers-Nadler-Berman substitute strikes a balance by allowing for the use of sensitive information in the deportation process while also preserving the right of the accused to mount an adequate defense.

And, the Conyers-Nadler-Berman substitute prohibits foreign terrorist groups such as Hamas from fundraising in the United States.

I urge my colleagues to support the Conyers-Nadler-Berman substitute, which increases our ability to stop terrorism while continuing to preserve our precious constitutional protections. We must fight terrorism. If, however, we undermine our civil liberties in that fight, the terrorists win. They succeed not only by sowing terror through their heinous acts, but also by undermining the very system which they claim to be fighting against. The Conyers-Nadler-Berman substitute is the best option before us in this debate and I urge my colleagues to support it.

THE STORY OF VARIAN FRY AND THE EMERGENCY RESCUE COMMITTEE

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 19, 1996

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, the following account was written by my wife Annette with the able assistance and research of Mandi Cohn.

It is a belated attempt to pay a debt to an American hero whose important deeds in the early years of World War II have been overlooked by a majority of Americans. He is the only American recipient of the Righteous Among the Nations Award bestowed by Israel to non-Jews who risked their lives to save Jews during the Holocaust. Truly, I'm grateful to my wife for once more helping us to remember those who deserve to be honored and emulated.

I am placing this statement in the RECORD on March 19 because this marks the 52d anniversary of the Nazi occupation of Hungary. It is important, Mr. Speaker, that we remember not only the tragedies but those few who, by putting their lives on the line, proved that it could have been deterred.

VARIAN FRY: A RIGHTEOUS AMERICAN

In the summer of 1940 when the newspaper headlines in New York announced the fall of France to the Nazis, Varian Fry was way ahead of most Americans in realizing the full implication of these Nazi victories. In 1935 he had visited Germany on assignment for *The Living Age* magazine. He sensed the atmosphere of hatred and oppression Hitler brought to his country. While in Berlin he had seen the first great pogroms against the Jews. He saw young Nazis smash up Jewish-owned shops and watched in horror as they dragged people out in the streets and beat and kicked them almost to death. He watched as they dragged men and women, cut and bleeding down the street, hitting them with clubs, shouting and cursing vile names at them.

When France fell to Hitler invading armies in 1940, thousands of refugees who had fled to Paris as their only escape from Nazi horrors had to flee to the as yet unoccupied southern part of France with Marseilles as their destination. Only after it was too late did they realize that they were caught in yet another trap. In order to appease Hitler, the new puppet government, under Marshall Petain, enacted one stringent decree after another against the Jews and political refugees. They closed the borders and agreed to turn over all refugee exit-visa applications to the Gestapo. As a result the very act of asking to leave was sufficient to guarantee instant arrest.

Meanwhile in New York, Varian Fry, along with a few other prominent individuals, formed the Emergency Rescue Committee to try to help the beleaguered refugees in France. They managed to enlist the support of Eleanor Roosevelt and convince her of the imminent danger facing thousands of distinguished intellectuals, writers, scientists, academics, journalists, historians, musicians, opposition political leaders, and others. Eleanor Roosevelt was able to persuade the President to authorize 200 visas for the most prominent individuals in the group. This was the beginning of the extraordinary rescue mission for which Varian Fry promptly volunteered.

With the help of the German writer Thomas Mann, Jacques Maritain and many others, a list of 200 names was formed, and Varian Fry was appointed by the Emergency Rescue Committee to go to France to head the mission. It was a difficult and complicated undertaking because he received very little support from official sources. He had to coax a passport out of the State Department, which at that time took a dim view of Americans travelling to Europe. Fry then persuaded the International YMCA to give him a letter identifying him as a relief worker with refugees. This gave him some kind of official status vis-a-vis the French puppet Government of Vichy.

With \$3,000 dollars taped to his leg, the list of 200 names which included such world famous persons as political scientist Hannah Arendt and painter Marc Chagall, but without any addresses or phone numbers to facilitate contact, he set out for the overcrowded and turbulent city of Marseilles. After a long and arduous trip he arrived on August 15, 1940, in Marseilles. When he finally settled in his dingy little hotel room he had to admit to himself that he had no idea how to begin searching for the individuals whose lives were now in his hands. He realized he needed help urgently to accomplish his mission.

His first fortunate breakthrough came when he met with a brilliant young German economist, Dr. Albert Hirschman, who at the time was himself a refugee who had recently managed to escape from Germany. Hirschman became Fry's most trusted friend and assistant. They developed a warm friendship which greatly eased the stresses and strains they faced daily in their dangerous mission. Fry nicknamed Hirschman "Beamish" because no matter how desperate their situation was he kept smiling and beaming optimism. Eventually, Miriam Davenport, a young, energetic and resourceful art history student from Boston, joined them. She, like many others, left Paris when the Germans invaded the city. The three of them became friends and "co-conspirators" in one of the most daring and successful rescue operations of World War II.

They opened their temporary "office" in an abandoned handbag factory in Marseilles. There from early in the morning until late at night Fry and his two young associates interviewed refugees. During each interview they wrote the necessary information about each refugee and placed it on an index card. After the last of the refugees departed each day, Fry, Beamish and their secretary, Lena Fishman, would adjourn to the bathroom and turn on all the water taps to foil any attempts at eavesdropping. There they would talk over any problems that surfaced during the day. Before leaving each day, Fry would spread the index cards containing names and notations on them in careful disarray on one of the desks so that he could tell if they had been tampered with and placed any incriminating documents behind the mirror inside the closet door.

The biggest problem was to find an escape route, to find a way out of France illegally (across the border unnoticed without an exit visa) and enter Spain legally, where it was imperative to get the entry stamp in one's passport. Dr. Hirschman, who had fought briefly with a Republican unit in Barcelona during the Spanish Civil War, knew that in the mountains above Cerbere, a fishing village near the border of Spain, the French and Spanish frontier posts were placed so that neither was visible to the other. It was possible to climb the mountain on the French side without being seen by the guards while also managing not to overshoot the Spanish border station. Once across the border, with a stamped passport, the refugees were able to continue their journey legally. Albert Hirschman drew Varian Fry a sketch of his plan. This map, drawn in pencil on a little scrap of paper, was to become the crucial lifesaving document for thousands of refugees who eventually, with the help of Fry and his associates, fled to the United States, where they would make their most important contributions to the cultural history of western civilization.

Once Fry and his associates worked out this complex routing, they had to acquire a large number of passports and blank identity cards, and find a skilled forger who could make them usable. To forge the documents, Fry engaged the services of a cheery, dimin-

utive Austrian cartoonist named Bill Freier. Freier fled to France when the Germans entered Vienna in March, 1938. He spent his days drawing portraits of people and his nights in his hotel room altering passports. Unfortunately, Bill Freier paid a heavy price for his valiant efforts. He was arrested by the Gestapo and deported to the death camps in Germany. Amazingly, with courage, endurance and luck, Mr. Freier survived the camp until its liberation. Then he proceeded to walk across France until he found his wife and the four-year old son he had never seen.

With all these pieces in place, Fry's underground "railway" was in business, and miraculously none of the refugees were ever caught. Fry succeeded in saving an incredible number of Europe's intellectual elite in spite of growing police surveillance and harassment. He succeeded in spite of the reluctance of some, the arrogant attitudes of others and the constant lack of cooperation, even discouragement, he received from American consular officials in Marseilles.

Varian Fry's work came to an end on Friday, August 29, 1941, when he was taken into custody by agents of the French Secret Police and was deported to Spain. Unfortunately, once in the safety of the United States, the celebrated refugees Varian Fry rescued could find no time for him. Instead of recognition for his vitally significant and dangerous mission during the war, he was rejected, snubbed and forgotten. The State Department failed to apologize for seizing his passport and leaving him without identification behind enemy lines in France, enabling the Fascist French Secret Police to seize him. "We can't support an American citizen who is helping people evade French law," a U.S. diplomat told Fry when he asked for help.

In the United States Varian Fry wrote and lectured about the plight of Jews and other war refugees, and he accurately predicted the massacre of the Jews throughout Europe. His story is written in his book, "Surrender on Demand," and the later version, "Assignment: Rescue." Finally, Varian Fry received recognition for his efforts when he was awarded the Croix du Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor on April 12, 1967. In the summer of the same year Varian Fry died in his Connecticut home alone, leaving behind the unrecognized legacy of a heroic mission. He is survived by his wife, Annette, and three children.

Mr. Speaker, in 1993 the Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, opened an exhibit detailing his accomplishments. On February 2, 1996, he was honored in Jerusalem at the Yad Vashem Holocaust Museum. Varian Fry is the first and only American recipient of the Righteous Among the Nations Award, which is an honor bestowed by Israel to non-Jews who risked their lives to save Jews during the Holocaust. "Fry was an American Oskar Schindler, an American Raoul Wallenberg," said an attending Israeli.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher was the keynote speaker at the ceremony held belatedly to acknowledge Fry's heroism and humanity. On that occasion he said:

We have come to pay tribute to Varian Fry—a remarkable man and a remarkable American. Regretfully, during his lifetime, his heroic actions never received the support they deserved from my government, particularly the State Department. Even today, Varian Fry's tale of courage and compassion is too little known by his own countrymen. It is therefore with pride, but also with humility, that I come here today, as America's Secretary of State, to honor this extraordinary man.

His assignment was supposed to last three weeks. He remained in France 13 months. His initial orders were to help 200 individuals * * * he ended up rescuing close to 4,000. Operating under constant threat, without regard for his personal safety, Varian Fry worked tirelessly, using every means available, to secure safe passage for those who came to him, desperate for help. He remained in France long after the dangers to

his life became apparent. His explanation was simple: "I stayed", he wrote, "because the refugees needed me." And because he knew that he was truly their last hope.

The measure of our faith is only restored by the knowledge that, in the face of such evil, there were also men and women like Varian Fry. Otherwise ordinary individuals who were capable of summoning up extraor-

dinary moral courage to confront and defy overwhelming brutality.

Mr. Speaker, what Varian Fry accomplished in terms of saving lives, renewing our faith in humanity and enhancing our trust in people's willingness to act on behalf of the persecuted is unique in the history of World War II. His history of World War II. His work deserves to be honored formally by the United States.