

members of the multilateral forces and how that contributed to the successful prosecution of the overall mission.

The restoration of Haiti's legitimate government was a great success for the cause of democracy in general and the foreign policy of President Clinton in particular. UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who I met with yesterday, agrees with me and I know you do too. For that reason, I hope you will assist me in my effort to learn more about our operation in Haiti. I look forward to hearing from you, and I hope you will personally contact me if you have any questions.

Sincerely,

JOHN CONYERS, Jr.,
Member of Congress.

I will have a copy of today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for May 24, 1996, delivered to his office in case my letter was lost before. I look forward to my good friend's response.

[From the New York Times, Feb. 6, 1996]

CABLES SHOW U.S. DECEPTION ON HAITIAN VIOLENCE

(By Larry Rohter)

PORT-AU-PRINCE, HAITI, February 5.—In the months after the United States invasion of Haiti, American officers repeatedly told their troops that the country's most dreaded paramilitary group was actually a legitimate opposition political party. "They're no different from Democrats or Republicans," soldiers in Haiti dutifully echoed when asked about their instructions.

But a review of classified cables sent by the American Embassy in Haiti to the Defense and State Departments shows that for a year before the invasion in September 1994 the Pentagon knew that the official version was not true.

Within weeks of the founding of the Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti, the papers indicate, American intelligence agencies had concluded the group was a gang of "gun-carrying crazies" eager to "use violence against all who oppose it."

"All over the country, Fraph is evolving into a sort of Mafia," a cable from the office of the American military attaché in Port-au-Prince warned in the spring of 1994, using the group's acronym. "Its use of force to intimidate and coerce is sanctioned by the local military, which derives both political and especially material benefits from their relationship."

With United States troops now in Bosnia pursuing some of the same objectives as in Haiti, the documents raise questions about the soldiers' mission, the information they are given by superiors and the action they take in the field.

Human rights observers and others who have seen the papers say they also raise the question whether the military ordered American troops to ignore human rights abuses committed before they arrived.

What remains uncertain is why the Pentagon took a public stance clearly at odds with the classified information it had collected in Haiti.

A Pentagon official denied today that there was any conflict between the official position and the inside information: "If daylight is perceived between our public and private perceptions, that's wrong. We agreed on what Fraph was. Fraph was a political movement, but clearly a political movement with a substantial thug element to it. It was clear to us that Fraph represented a potential threat. That didn't change. There were efforts, clearly, in the initial weeks of the intervention to calm the rhetoric and reduce the likelihood that there would be violent confrontations—and that was relatively successful."

Ira Kurzban, an American lawyer who has reviewed the cables on behalf of the Haitian Government, said, "There is absolutely no ambiguity in these documents with respect to the fact that Fraph was an instrument of repression under the control of the Haitian military."

In a telephone interview from the Maryland jail where he is being held for deportation, Emmanuel Constant, the founder of Fraph, said that from the moment American troops landed he was under pressure from the United States military to help it maintain "a form of balance in Haiti" between groups supporting President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and those opposing him.

Mr. Constant said he was told by the American military early in October 1994 that "I should ease up the tension and avoid confrontation" by "giving a speech in which I promised to be a constructive opposition to Aristide." That speech was delivered soon afterward, and Mr. Constant maintained it "was approved by the U.S. Government, by the embassy people" in advance.

In the interview, Mr. Constant acknowledged that he had been an informant of the Central Intelligence Agency before the American invasion but said he now feels betrayed "They have the wrong man in jail," he said.

Haitian Government officials and foreign diplomats here said it appeared the Defense Department and American intelligence agencies were acting to weaken Mr. Aristide, whom they had long distrusted. These officials suggested that United States Government agencies may also have been trying to protect Haitian informants who might be useful in the future but had been discredited by the collapse of the military dictatorship that overthrew Mr. Aristide.

In separate raids on the headquarters of Fraph and the Haitian armed forces after the invasion, American troops seized more than 150,000 pages of official documents, which were taken to the United States. Haiti has demanded their return.

Several hundred pages of United States documents relating to Fraph were obtained last year by the Center for Constitutional Rights for a suit filed in Federal Court in Brooklyn by Alerte Belance, an Aristide supporter now living in New Jersey. She says the group abducted her in Haiti in 1993 and attacked her with a machete, cutting off one of her arms, an ear, and parts of her nose and tongue before leaving her for dead.

Human rights groups say such brutality was typical of Fraph, which they hold responsible for many of the more than 3,000 deaths during Mr. Aristide's exile, from 1991 to 1994.

The Center for Constitutional Rights has filed a motion for a default judgment against Fraph, which has failed to respond to the suit. But Ms. Belance's lawyers have asked the presiding judge to delay any award of damages until their client obtains additional documents, including tens of thousands of the pages seized by American troops from Fraph's headquarters.

"These documents are relevant to establish that Fraph was acting under color of official authority when it carried out the torture of Alerte Belance, and therefore violated international law," the Center for Constitutional Rights contended in court papers filed last month.

Cables that have already been declassified by the Defense Intelligence Agency as part of the suit indicate that American intelligence agencies had a broad network of informants both within the Haitian armed forces and Fraph. In public, however, all parties denied that they were connected.

Soon after Fraph was formed, a State Department cable on Oct. 28, 1993, concluded,

"Their effectiveness is a function of the willingness of their patrons" in the Haitian Armed Forces "to use intimidation and violence (carried out by armed civilian attachés) to 'enforce' their political initiatives."

By December, the military attaché in Port-au-Prince was warning the Pentagon that repression by Fraph in Haiti's southern peninsula "has increased considerably."

When in the spring of 1994 American officials began interviewing refugees who had fled by sea, they obtained an even clearer picture of Fraph's violent methods. Some testimony came from Fraph members who said they had fled in disgust.

"When they kill and rape people, we (new members) are forced to sit and watch," a cable quoted a former Fraph operative as saying, adding, "He also related that later in the initiation process you are forced to participate in the killings and rapes."

But that information was apparently withheld from American troops after they intervened on Sept. 19, 1994, to restore President Aristide and his Lavalas movement. Radio broadcasts to Special Forces units in the Haitian countryside, for example, described Lavalas and Fraph as competing political parties equally dedicated to the country's well-being.

The documents suggests that the American military's willingness to work with Fraph began to diminish only after a radio conversation between Mr. Constant and other leaders of the group was intercepted. According to a cable sent on Oct. 3, 1994, they were "threatening to break out weapons and begin an all-out war against the foreigners" and "named an American official as their first target."

By January 1995, the State Department was denying that the United States had ever treated Fraph as anything but thugs. The Secretary of State's office said of Fraph in a cable to the American Embassy in Haiti, "We viewed it as basically a rent-a-mob group financed by the military for recruiting purposes and dependent upon the military leaders' ability to punish/reward." In addition, the unclassified cable said, "we appreciate the embassy's consistent hard line on Fraph and strongly endorse the embassy's latest clarification of our position."

TRIBUTE TO NELSON "NELLIE"
HAGNAUER

HON. JERRY F. COSTELLO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1996

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a great American, a dedicated public servant, a devoted family man, and a good friend, Nelson "Nellie" Hagnauer of Madison County, Illinois.

Nellie passed away last Saturday, May 18, at his home in Granite City. In the days ahead, the thoughts and prayers of Nellie's friends are with his family—Bernie, Nip and Mary, Susy and Ron, Jamie, Molly, Ched and Janet, Ruth, and other relatives who loved and will always love Nellie Hagnauer.

Nellie was an outstanding public servant. He served on the Madison County Board for 41 years, 24 as its chairman. He was also the Granite City Township Supervisor, serving in that position since 1961, and was elected chairman of the Madison County Transit District, serving in that position since 1988.

He was always humble about his accomplishments and service, but his legacy to the

people of Madison County and the entire region is enormous. Nellie spent most of his life in public service—or as he called it, “politics”—and he loved every minute of it.

He knew what Tip O’Neill knew, that all politics is local. He was proud to be the Democratic Committeeman in his precinct, proud to be the county board member from his district, and to serve the people of Granite City as their township supervisor.

Nellie was recognized throughout the state by leaders in government, politics, and business as a man with significant power in the state, county and region. People wanting to run for national and statewide office came to Nellie to seek his advice and counsel. I know—I was one of them.

Nellie always used his power to help other people, and his influence can be seen throughout this entire region. As he often said, it was his desire to be firm, but fair.

It was Nellie’s vote on the East-West Gateway Coordinating Council, where he had served as Chairman, that helped bring MetroLink light rail to the region. It was Nellie’s willingness to get involved that helped us save Scott Air Force Base and keep the Charles Melvin Price Support Center open in Granite City. And, it was Nellie who pushed me to bring Federal funds “home” for a new Clark Bridge in Alton.

Locally, Nellie’s leadership was responsible for the new county Administration building, and a new county jail in Edwardsville. And, because of his dedication as head of the transit district, we have excellent transit service for the people who need it in Madison County.

And, let’s not forget the Township Building. He was so proud that he was able to bring a new building for the people of Granite City Township—particularly for the senior citizens—they held countless events in it since its opening in 1978.

I guess what I admired about Nellie Hagnauer as much as anything was that Nellie was always Nellie. If he was being inducted into the Softball Hall of Fame, sitting at his desk in his Edwardsville or chairing a county board meeting, he never changed. Not even in a meeting at the State House, or at the White House with President Clinton, or for that matter, needing his friends at a local get-together—Nellie was always Nellie.

The only thing he loved more than public service or politics was his family and friends, in that order. He never forgot where he came from or the people who helped him along the way. We will remember him for who he was, as a public servant, husband, father and grandfather—and as a good friend.

Mr. Speaker, several of my colleagues in the Illinois congressional delegation knew Nellie Hagnauer as well, and I know they join me in asking the other members of the United States Congress to recognize the contributions of one decent, honorable and hardworking man—my good friend, Nellie Hagnauer.

DAVID ANTHONY BERONIO

HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1996

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, on rare occasions there are individuals who so

distinguish themselves over their lifetime that it is appropriate and fitting to take a few moments to recognize them and the contributions they have made and continue to make to the great American experience. David Anthony Beronio of Vallejo, CA, is just such a distinguished American. Let me share a few insights and thoughts on this man who recently celebrated his 75th birthday, a man who has led a life filled with the fascinating spirit of adventure and contributions to his community and country.

As many of my colleagues know, Dave Beronio is a renowned sports reporter, illustrator, and motivational speaker. Over the past 57 years he has honed his combination of crafts into an art form without peer or rival. He is a teller of stories about sports and life which has enriched the lives of countless others.

Picture, if you will, that very special area of the famed Candlestick Park where a few giant white stars are painted. This is alumni corner, but for the die hard fans of the San Francisco Forty-Niners it may as well be the hall of fame. It is the place where the greats of the game are remembered, the hall of famers, all pros and other outstanding players who have made a major impact on the team and the fans. There is only one name on that great wall, Mr. Speaker, one name that was never sewn on the back of a jersey. One name that was not assigned a number in the program. Yet there it is on a giant white star—Dave Beronio.

The early indications of a great reporter showed in Dave Beronio during his high school years in Vallejo where he excelled in academics and sports—especially football, track, and his real passion, boxing. It was during this time that he began working part time for the Vallejo Times Herald, a job that would become full time after graduation and a lifetime vocation for the next 57 years.

World War II interrupted Dave’s budding career and in 1942 he joined his fellow Americans in service to his country. As might be expected in a life such as Dave’s one of his early assignments in the military was to the famed Hollywood Canteen with young starlets of the day such as Veronica Lake and Ava Gardner.

It wasn’t long, however, before Dave was assigned as a gunner on a newly formed B-17 crew and shipped to England to become part of the 94th Bombardment Group, 8th Air Force. After completing an extraordinary 35 missions, he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross. His crew was returned to the States and Dave was assigned to an Army Air Corps base located near Phoenix, AZ.

It was here that he met Katherine Rentinelli of Akron, OH. They were married in 1945, when Dave was discharged. Later that year, he and Kay returned to Vallejo, CA and his job at the Vallejo Times Herald. Together they began a loving family that would eventually include sons David, Ronald, and Barry.

Dave was soon promoted to the position of sports editor and began his now trademarked style of not only reporting on the event but also drawing a sports portrait of not only reporting on the event but also drawing a sports portrait of the week’s outstanding athlete. He retained his athletic talent over the years and became a speed partner in sparing drills with such boxing legends as Joe Louis, Archie Moore, Joey Maxim, and Ezzard Charles. A good reporter as well as a good boxer, Dave

would have these champions sit after the workout for interviews and to be sketched.

That kind of hands-on reporting, Mr. Speaker, is what separated Dave Beronio from his peers. He not only observed, he did. And in doing so, he gained the respect and appreciation of both athlete and reader. He has a unique insight into the mind and emotions of the sports champion, and it has shown in his writing, illustrating, and story telling for over half a century.

Dave Beronio has taken this talent around the globe to Olympic Games, Super Bowls, World Series, and Rose Bowls, and he has always brought the spectacle and feeling home to the reader and listener. He is, after all, a teller of stories.

Dave Beronio illustrations of the sports legends of this century each tell a story. They appeared in numerous national publications and have been lithographed into prized limited editions. Always the lover of community, Dave frequently donates these limited editions to charities for auction where they have raised thousands of dollars.

To this day Dave Beronio remains in demand as a motivational speaker, energizing his audience with the excitement and spirit of his life. He should know, for he has lived life to the fullest.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my distinguished colleagues to join me in wishing the very best to Dave Beronio on his 75th birthday, a man who has given his very best for so many years, enriched the lives of so many, and contributed so much to our American culture.

DOCTORS WITHOUT BORDERS REPORT ON CHECHNYA

HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 23, 1996

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I noticed in the news that President Yeltsin has vowed to go ahead with a trip to Chechnya some time before the Presidential elections in June. As our colleagues are aware, Moscow has tried to reestablish control over the break-away North Caucasus region by unleashing a brutal war against not only combatants, but also against thousands of noncombatants, Chechen and Russian, alike.

Mr. Yeltsin says that he intends to go to Chechnya despite assassination threats. I truly hope there won’t be any such attempts, but it must be admitted that the people of Chechnya have reason to be bitter about the fate of their homeland. While Chechen irregulars have committed their share of atrocities, there is emerging from Chechnya a frightening picture of the Russian Army degenerating from an organized military force into a band of barely controlled brigands.

The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, of which I am proud to serve as chairman, held congressional hearings on the situation in Chechnya earlier this year. At these hearings, Russian Duma member and prominent human rights advocate Sergei Kovalev described the continuing depredations by the Russian military against civilians. In his words, “45,000 innocent persons” killed in the war is “too high a price to pay for punishing [the late Chechen leader Dzhokhar] Dudaev.”