

By March 1, this country will default on its debt, that is right, for the first time in 209 years, this country runs the risk of defaulting on the national debt.

Now, I might express, Mr. Speaker, this is not debt, this is not voting to extend the debt ceiling so that you can borrow more for future spending. This is simply acknowledging and paying the debts you have already incurred. If you do not like future spending then you do it the old-fashioned way, you legislate it so you do not have any more. You cut the programs. This is honoring the country's debt that it owes.

The previous gentlemen talked about the farm bill. Yes, that is also in crisis, and, yes, the Congress ought to be here working on it.

But why is it not being brought up tonight? They provided the answers themselves. It came out of committee on Tuesday. There are many of us, such as myself, who are not on the Committee on Agriculture. The rules of the House provide for a 3-day layover so you can study these bills, and yet this Republican leadership is not willing for this House to be in session tomorrow, Monday, Saturday, whatever it takes to get this bill done.

You know, Mr. Speaker, everyone knows about credit ratings. America's families worry a great deal about keeping their credit ratings solvent. Why is not this congressional leadership worrying as much about keeping the Federal Government's credit rating?

I was thinking about this the other day, Mr. Speaker, as I wanted to look at our mortgage. We have an adjustable rate mortgage, and so we keep our mortgage and we keep a lot of our important papers like a lot of Americans keep their important papers in a metal box under the bed. We do that, we keep it in a metal box because if there is a fire, they will be protected, or a flood, those important papers like a mortgage will be protected, perhaps even from prying hands.

But you know, Mr. Speaker, there is one danger, one crisis that a metal box cannot protect, metal, concrete, steel, Teflon, you name it, cannot protect against, and that is from a default. That is from interest rates going up on variable rate loans. That metal box cannot protect our variable rate mortgage from the \$1,200 that the average family will pay additional if this country goes into default. That metal box cannot protect future car payments from being 2 to 3 percent higher. That metal box cannot protect us against these credit rates, Visa credit rates, Visa, MasterCard, and so on, from going up. That metal box cannot protect us from the higher rates we will have to pay for our children to go to school. That metal box cannot protect us. Just as that metal box cannot protect this family, and a lot of us are families, guess what happens if this country goes into default, that metal box cannot protect the country.

The country has a metal box, and in it it keeps Social Security, it keeps

veterans payments, it keeps payments to veterans, honors its obligations to contractors. What happened to the country's metal box? Why cannot that be protected?

This Congress voted by a narrow margin to go home instead of making sure that metal box was secure. The fact of the matter is that failing to deal with the deficit or failing to deal with the debt ceiling, Mr. Speaker, failure to keep this country from going into default now can only worsen the deficit, because this country will have to pay more for the inevitable borrowing that is going to take place.

I voted against adjourning, Mr. Speaker. This Congress needs to stay here until it gets this problem worked out, until it gets the farm bill worked out we have got to preserve the credit rating for the United States.

The first time in 209 years it has really gotten to this point. Does anyone really want to push the country to this edge?

Mr. Speaker, in preserving the credit rating of the United States, this Congress could preserve a lot of credit for itself. We should not be going local this week.

#### FAREWELL TO REPRESENTATIVE MFUME

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SCOTT] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to a great American, a great humanitarian, a great representative of the people, a great friend—KWEISI MFUME, whose letter of resignation from this body was read earlier tonight. The event of the 104th Congress brought with it many changes. Many of these changes do not bode well for African-Americans, other minorities, the elderly, the poor, students, and working class Americans. Knowing this, I cannot be totally saddened by the departure of my distinguished colleague from this body, because I know that this leaving Congress is truly for the greater good of all these groups and the American community at large. Representative KWEISI MFUME's leadership is needed elsewhere at this time, and I look forward to supporting his efforts in his new role as President and CEO of the NAACP.

The NAACP is gaining the experience and leadership of a man who recognizes the importance of coalition building—he has shown his ability to move coalitions towards their goals without sacrificing principle. The NAACP is gaining the knowledge of a man who recognizes the importance of economic development and empowerment, and one who has used his legislative experience to advance the causes of small and minority-owned businesses and to encourage banks to invest in economic development opportunities within inner city communities. The NAACP is gaining the expertise of the former chairman of

the Congressional Black Caucus, who during his tenure, elevated the Black Caucus to a position of national prominence.

KWEISI MFUME now takes on a new challenge—to rebuild the NAACP and elevate its prominence. With this in mind, I cannot be saddened by its departure—there is too much to look forward to.

#### A HISTORICAL DATE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I am sure glad that there is an outstanding member of the freshman class and a friend and compadre in the chair. I like to feel good vibrations coming down on the back of my neck from that lofty high perch up there.

Today is a historical day for me personally, Mr. Speaker. Today is the first day that when we adjourn here, that I will be a full-time candidate for the Presidency of the United States. My eight worthy men of high character who are all out there competing have been full-time candidates for an entire year.

I declared in this well at this lectern on February 7 last year, which was the 40th anniversary of my receiving my Air Force wings of silver. It was the 25th anniversary of the POW-MIA bracelet I still wear, No. 1, for a master sergeant, Jimmy Holt, from Hope, AK, one of the heroes from Hope who went missing on February 7 of 1968, right at the end of the infamous Tet offensive, and in the whole year, the leader of the other Chamber set the schedule so he was a full-time candidate whenever he felt like it. He has 100 percent attendance record last year and this year, never missed a vote. When there were three Senators in, when my friend Mr. SPECTER of Pennsylvania was in, all he had to do was watch the leader. When he left, they left. He went to New Hampshire, they followed him, or he went to Iowa or somewhere else. The other five are all literally full-time. My friends Allen Keyes and Pat Buchanan gave up their broadcasting and writing careers, to their credit, and have been full-time candidates for a year.

The two millionaires, multi millionaires, make \$15 million a year, Morry Taylor, and Steve Forbes, Malcolm Forbes, Jr., worth \$500 million or so, they have been full-time candidates, turning their corporations over to chief operating officers, and Lamar Alexander on "Meet the Press" this Sunday said he draws almost \$300,000 a year from his law firm in Nashville, from Howard Baker's law firm. He has been a full-time candidate for 3 years. They have all raised among them tens, twenties of millions of dollars. It is almost all gone, and the only one with

the bottomless purse, kind of like Ross Perot this go-around, is Steve Forbes, and the media is just rocketing him to stardom, because he spent about \$18 million on commercials.

So now I get in the fray full time starting tonight, and obviously there is not much you can do in 3 weeks. I have been a chairman of two subcommittees. Here is the difference: Which has voted for the 30th time, Mr. Speaker? The Senate has voted once this year. Last year we were in session 30 to 40 days more than they were. Are you aware we voted 272 times, each vote taking between 15 to 20 minutes, 272 more votes in this House. This is the House of the Contract With America, the revolutionary House, and even in a normal year, it is the appropriations House. All taxing bills and all money spending bills originate in this Chamber.

So I have no regrets. It has been the most successful year of my life. I have got so much DNA invested in the defense authorization and appropriation bills that my staff kiddingly called one the "Dornan Authorization Bill," and in a shootout with Clinton on three major items he stripped out of the authorization bill, which is on his desk as I speak, and he will either veto it, which nobody predicts, or pass it after having ripped out of it the language on no U.S. troops under foreign command; I wrote that language for the Contract With America. It went into the bill, went through a tougher conference with the Senate. He demanded it come out. He wants U.S. troops under U.N. and foreign command.

No. 2, no missile defense. I do not care whether you call it Strategic Defense Initiative, as took place under Reagan in his third year, with Dr. Teller's guidance and that of an absolute American Paul Revere hero, three star general, Gen. Danny Graham who is buried with full military honors, 15-cannon salute at Arlington, the son of an Army sergeant, honored West Point graduate. Danny Graham brought me into his organization High Frontier. I ran the American Space Frontier PAC for him the 2 years I was gerrymandered out of the Congress between being sworn in in 1977, where I had 2 years, 1983 and 1984, out. That was the year of the nuclear freeze nonsense, and I traveled all over. I think I hit all 50 States for Danny Graham on defending the American homeland.

Clinton demanded that national missile defense on line by 2003 by ripped out of the defense authorization bill. Out.

No. 3, the unconstitutional right that he claims and mysteriously the leader of the Senate subscribes to, that he has the constitutional right to send American troops at his whim to Somalia, to Bosnia, to Haiti, back to Somalia, to Rwanda, Chechnya, Tibet, anywhere in the world, and all he has to do is to say to this Chamber "ah, ah, ah, ah, I just bailed out a radioman into Tibet, we must support our trooper on the ground." The next day, if he gets two

men in, then they pluralize it, "support our troops."

□ 2115

You cannot exercise your constitutional right to control the armies and the navies that you raise. It is totally the prerogative of the President.

I carry around my Constitution. Here it is right here. Article 2, section 2, "The President shall be commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy and of the United States." That is only 16 words. Take the action words. "President," "commander." That is all. It does not say anything else. It is followed by 18 words, "and of the militia of the several states," thirteen at that time, "when they are called into the actual service of the United States." They had no National Guard or full-time militia. Every Minute Man went back to his plow. So that is it. It says nothing.

But for the Congress of the United States it, it delineates we shall have the power to raise armies and build navies, and that means what they will be paid, what they will wear, their colors, their numbers, where they will be posted or bivouacked or stationed throughout the world, what they will fly, what they will shoot, how many ships they will have, how fast they will go, how much we will spend on intelligence, on research and development. Every single weapon system, from the Beretta pistol, the Sig Saur for the Special Forces, or up to the new F-22 or the joint advanced tactical fighter we are developing. All of that is determined by this Congress.

Where did Clinton or the leader of the Senate think that these two words, "President," "commander," embodied in 16 baffled words there, where did this give him the right to send Americans into the minefields of Bosnia? Of course, it did not, and every scholar worth his salt across this country, and particularly the scholarly people over at the Library of Congress, say he does not have that constitutional right.

Now, what about Michael New, Specialist Michael New, the outstanding paramedic specialist in the 3d Division in Germany, court-martialed a little over a week ago, a bad conduct discharge.

Amazing. I spoke with Michael. Only one other Congressman, no, one Senator, has ever spoken to him, and did not give him much time. But I advised Michael to go to Macedonia; that I agreed with him it was illegal to order our men to wear a blue beret or put on a blue U.N. arm band, but I told him that was our battle here in the Congress, and I would win it for him; to bite his lip, go down there, take that order.

He said no, sir, I respectfully am not going to do it. My parents are behind me. I asked if he was married. He said no. I said all right, if your parents are in your corner, you are walking in a minefield. You are liable to get a discharge you will not like, but I am still going to continue to fight the battle

here in the House. I am sorry you do not take my recommendation, but Godspeed. I guess you are showing a lot of courage of your conviction.

Now he has a bad conduct discharge. He is appealing, so he remains on the payroll until then. I just sent a letter over to the Army asking them to delin-eate every single thing he can do and what course they expect us to take when there is, I think, soon to be a majority in this body and in the U.S. Senate, that feels that they only raise their hand to swear to uphold the Constitution of the United States.

Here before me, sent to me by a young enlisted man who just took this oath of office, and his name is a mouthfull, he took this oath to sign up in the Army for 4 years on 28 November, 1995. His first name is Allen, I am going to spell his last name. C-H-E-R-N-O-M-A-S-H-E-N-T-S-E-V.

He sent this to me to show what they sign. It has not changed from the time I took it at 19 years of age to go in the Air Force, took it less than 2 years later to become an aviation cadet, took it again as a Second Lieutenant on February 7, 1955, as I mentioned at the top of my remarks, and then I took it again after a break to go back on active duty in the reserves, and I have taken it in this Chamber nine times, the first time holding the hand of our youngest daughter, kind of snuck on the floor as a teenager, and then I held the hand of several grandchildren the last two or three Congresses. So I have taken it 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 times. Here is the oath for enlisted men.

I, ROBERT K. DORNAN, (I did this January 30, 1953, wow, 42 years and 2 days ago.) I, ROBERT K. DORNAN, do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the "Constitution of the United States" against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I will obey the orders of the President of the United States and the orders of the officers appointed over me according to the regulations and the uniform code of military justice, so help me God.

Now, therein lies the problem of the court martial of Specialist Michael New. He wanted to defend the Constitution and its laws, and he said he was torn by the verbal orders he was getting from his officers through the President of the United States. So he was torn, and the court martial came down on the side of the following the direct orders of his commanders. That is why I advised him to go on to Macedonia and let us fight the battle here.

Here is an officer's oath, and this for warrant officers too. I, ROBERT K. DORNAN, (I first took this February 7, 1955, having been appointed an officer in the Air Force of the United States in the grade of Second Lieutenant,) do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same, that is the

Constitution, and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office upon which I am about to enter, so help me God.

Now, did you notice the difference there, Mr. Speaker? There is no mention of the President and no mention of the orders of officers appointed over me. If Michael New were a brand new Second Lieutenant, would he have had a stronger case in that court martial that he was bearing true faith and allegiance to the Constitution that he swore to support and defend? And the Constitution does not talk about wearing the regalia of any foreign power or of serving anything but your United States Constitution. Certainly not a UN charter!

Now, what is happening from Bosnia? People in my cloakroom, and I will bet in the other, were shocked at this front page article on the great Washington Times last Monday, the 29th, four days ago. "Put on a happy face, troops in Bosnia told." "Praise Clinton if press asks," an Army written guide says. Tusar Air Force Base, Hungary, this is by Bill Gertz, a great reporter who spent three weeks to a month embedded with the troops over there.

U.S. troops are grumbling about a pamphlet that advises them to tell any inquiring reporter they have full confidence in their commanders from President Clinton on down. The pamphlet entitled "answers you can use" was prepared by the Army's 5th Corps and has been distributed to all Army troops in Bosnia to help them deal with pesky press inquiries. One suggested answer is U.S. forces are competent, are trained and competent leaders. We have pride in our leadership from the President on down and full trust in their decision.

The problem is, not all of the soldiers feel that way. "That one answer particularly got me," said a colonel, who asked not to be named. A female sergeant with the 4th Aviation Brigade passed at Koperzar Airfield, that is also in Hungary, last stop before Bosnia, also took issue. It says she voted for Clinton, but never again. The story gets more interesting as you get into it.

So I called up the Pentagon and said I want that 5th Corps pamphlet. No results to this day. But, Mr. Speaker, as you well know, I have my ways, and I got hold of the pamphlet, a reasonable fax copy thereof. 5th Corps emblem. Fifth Corps media reference card. Guidelines for dealing with civilian news media.

I find this extremely offensive. Listen to this, Mr. Speaker.

I just read that line, U.S. forces are competent and have trained and competent leaders. We have pride in our leadership, from the President on down, and full trust in their decisions.

U.S. forces have a long tradition of working with the United Nations. (Yes, like in Somalia. Nineteen dead Amer-

ican heroes, including two Medal of Honor winners.) And are confident in our abilities to work together in their missions.

It goes on to say, you will not respond "no comment." It says you may not discuss future plans and operations, of course, foreign policy matters, operational capabilities, or give opinions or hypothesized situations.

"Stay in your lane, soldier!"

If a reporter comes to your unit and is unescorted by a public affairs officer or escort, well, how do you handle Ernie Pyle in these circumstances? Refer them to the joint information bureaus. If they are escorted you may answer their questions, but inform your chain of command immediately about their presence in your area.

Do not make off the record statements. Assume that a reporter's recorder is always on. Anything you say to the reporters will be used.

And the thing that just blows me away is that they are not supposed to say "no comment." I thought that was pretty standard.

Now, this reporter, who was embedded with the troops, continues with some fascinating observations. Listen to this: Some soldiers said they were offended by the attempt to guide their responses. The guidelines include that list of do's and don'ts I just went through.

Be positive in your answers. This is your opportunity to tell the public what a great job you are doing.

In Bosnia?

We are trained, ready and fully prepared to conduct peace operations.

Now here is where it starts to sound like we want our soldiers to be automations, maybe "Coneheads from the planet Remulac." "We are trained, ready and fully prepared to conduct peace operations."

Here is another good one. We are not here to fight, but we have the capability when required to enforce the treaty and to protect ourselves.

Another: We are disciplined and trained force. We understand our mission and the rulings of engagement.

Another: U.S. forces have a long tradition of working with the United Nations and NATO. We are confident in our abilities to work together in this mission.

Many soldiers privately expressed dislike of Mr. Clinton, who avoided service in the military during the Vietnam War. One soldier said he lost all respect for President after he learned about Mr. Clinton's efforts to avoid being drafted. One Lt. Colonel confided that he disliked the President, and was careful not to express his opinions when enlisted personnel were around.

Good. Do not, colonel.

Another captain, I think I will not use his name, a spokesman for the Army in Hungary, referred questions about the pamphlet to another captain, he is in a world of hurt, so I will not mention his name either, who took part in writing the guidelines. He would not return a telephone call.

Now, this reporter, an excellent reporter, I might add, told me that the men ride around in their Humvees sitting on one leg. They pull one leg up under them so if they have the misfortune to hit a land mine, they will at least salvage one leg. Guess what? John Martin Begosh, who is now recuperating at home with part of his foot torn away, severe injuries to his lower leg, I understand from this reporter was sitting on his foot when his Humvee hit that land mine, and it saved the leg that he was keeping under him on top of a piece of armor plating to protect his body from a land mine.

The three British soldiers and the Swedish soldier were not so lucky. They all died a few days ago. We are all holding our breath, hoping that will not happen to one of our Americans.

Now, we had a Conference today, with the 236 Republicans, I think just about everybody was there, and this issue of Michael New, what Clinton demanded be stripped out of the defense authorization bill, and I left out something I had worked very hard on, and that was this whole Bosnia operation, no U.S. troops under foreign command.

You will recall I brought an amendment up the hard way, all the way through conference, battling all the way, without help from the leadership from either House in the majority party, brought it to the Floor, and shocked the leadership here by almost cutting off the funds to Bosnia. My amendment got 210 votes to 218. I had some of my best conservative friends in this House take orders beyond what they wanted to do and voted against me. I would have only needed 4 votes to tie that and the Speaker to vote with me to win 215 to 214.

□ 2130

Mr. Speaker, 13 lieutenants went the other way, lieutenants of the leadership. So there were things that maybe I was not aware of on deals that had been made to soften the budget deal when it fell apart anyway, that this House would not stand in the way of Mr. Clinton's unconstitutional prerogative to send our troops anyway. He wanted it. His win.

This whole thing started by an off-handed comment 2 years ago that he said he would give 25,000 troops to the U.N. to help extract the U.N. forces that were there, the way we used 15,000 to extract in a fighting withdrawal. We did not have to shoot, our forces from the failed U.N. mission in Somalia.

So today at the conference it came up. Some of the freshmen said, what actually did Clinton write to Colonel Holmes, the Bataan Death March survivor, head of the ROTC in Arkansas? I told the conference that I would put it in the RECORD again tonight for the twelfth time, and I would also put in Colonel Holmes's letter 23 years later to the American people. And I think this time I will reverse the order.

This is a letter from Colonel Eugene Holmes. I had dinner with him a year

ago this month on the 24th, and his lovely wife Irene. He still is as tall at 6-foot-4 and distinguished looking as he ever was as an Army officer when he was captured on Bataan. Survived the Bataan Death March. Ditched an order to join the infamous prison ships that we inadvertently bombed killing almost 5,000 of the men who had survived 2½ years of torturous captivity by the Japanese. He did not go. His friends died and he survived.

Here is what he wrote September 7, 1992. It was published in the aforementioned great newspaper, The Washington Times. No other outlet in the country would publish this letter. I have never heard of it being published in a single newspaper anywhere in our wonderful 50 States except The Washington Times:

September 7, 1992, memorandum for the record. Subject, Bill Clinton and the University of Arkansas ROTC program. Each page is signed. The news media circulated rumors that he was near death. He is healthy, as my dinner attested to a year ago. And he just did not want to hassle with sharper media types. He put the truth out as he saw it. They claimed his daughter wrote this. She did not. He wrote it. And if this man had more witnesses he would have won the Medal of Honor. He holds the second highest honor in the United States, the Distinguished Service Cross.

To the American people, but nobody knew it, there have been many unanswered question as to the circumstances surrounding Bill Clinton's involvement with the ROTC department at the University of Arkansas. Prior to this time, I have not felt the necessity for discussing the details. The reason I have not done so before is my poor physical health, a consequence of participation in the Bataan Death March and subsequent three-and-a-half year interment in Japanese POW camps has precluded me from getting into what I felt was unnecessary involvement.

However, present polls show, September 1992, that there is imminent danger to our country of a draft dodger becoming the Commander in Chief of the armed forces of the United States. While it is true, as Mr. Clinton has stated, that there were many others who avoided serving their country in the Vietnam war, they are not aspiring to be President of the United States.

The tremendous implications of the possibility of his becoming Commander in Chief of the United States armed forces compels me now to comment on the facts concerning Mr. Clinton's evasion of the draft. This account would not have been imperative had Bill Clinton been completely honest to the American public about this matter. But, as Mr. Clinton replied on a news conference this evening, September 5, 1992, after being asked another particular about his dodging the draft, quote, almost everyone concerned with these incidents are dead. I have no more comments to make.

An aside here: that was not true. The lady head of the draft board said that he told her that "I am too educated to serve as an enlisted man."

Colonel Holmes continues: Since I may be the only living person, he did not know he was not the only one, who can give a firsthand account of what actually transpired, I am obliged by love for my country and my sense of duty to divulge actually what happened and make it a matter of record.

Keep in mind, Mr. Speaker, about 20 Americans died in his arms or in his influence those 3½ years of Japanese brutal captivity. "Mr. Clinton came to see me in my home in 1969 to discuss his desire to enroll in the ROTC program at the University of Arkansas."

Another important footnote: I asked Colonel Holmes why he remembered this one student over all those years because he also commanded the ROTC at the University of San Francisco. He said this was the only student that ever came to see him in 10 years in all those years. He said he did not let him in his home but spoke to him in the back and front yard back and forth as the Colonel continued gardening. We engaged in an extensive, approximately 2-hour interview. At no time during this long conversation about his desire to join the program did he inform me of his involvement, participation, and actual organizing of protests against the United States' involvement in Southeast Asia. He was shrewd enough to realize, had I been aware of his activities, he would not have been accepted in the ROTC program as a potential officer in the United States Army.

What Colonel Holmes did not know, and I informed him of it, was that Clinton has already flunked his naval officer's test and then in England at Lakenheath Air Force Base he flunked his Air Force officer's test and then decided no way was he so educated. Even though he was not going to classes at Oxford, but ditching them to demonstrate against our policy in all of Southeast Asia, that included Laos and Cambodia, he decided he was not going to serve as an enlisted man.

The next day I began to receive phone calls regarding Bill Clinton's draft status. I was informed by the draft board that it was of interest to Senator Fulbright's office that Bill Clinton, a Rhodes scholar—that should read Rhodes candidate scholar—only three people in the class failed to complete the program. He was one of the three. Another was a Mississippi student who has since died of AIDS who Clinton brags that the greatest thing he did was write a letter to help this Mississippi student to dodge the draft, that he should be admitted to the ROTC program.

I received several such calls from the chief of staff of the governor's office. His wife thought Fulbright had called and he corrected her, that, no, the chief of staff had. The general message conveyed by the head of the draft board to me was that the Senator Fulbright's

office was putting pressure on the draft board, and they needed my help. I then made the necessary arrangements to enroll Mr. Clinton in the ROTC program in the University of Arkansas.

Remember Clinton had already graduated a year out of the Jesuit Catholic Georgetown University. He had already had a year in England ditching class. And so he was going to have to go back and take ROTC classes with undergraduates, go to one summer camp, and on a short abbreviated program because he would have been training for a lawyer there and would join the JAG Corps. It was a special program that the Colonel told BOB DORNAN had just been created in the nick of time for Clinton.

Holmes continues: I was not saving, he is quoting from Clinton's letter, I was not saving him from serving his country, as he erroneously thanked me for in his letter from England, dated December 3, 1969. I was making it possible for a Rhodes scholar to serve in the military as an officer. Lawyer, eventually. In retrospect I see that Mr. Clinton had no intention of following through with this agreement to join the Army ROTC program at the University of Arkansas or to attend the University of Arkansas law school ever. I had explained to him the necessity of enrolling at the University of Arkansas as a student in order to be eligible to take the ROTC program as an undergraduate at the university. He never enrolled at the University of Arkansas, but instead enrolled at Yale after going back to Oxford.

I believe that he purposely deceived me using the possibility of joining the ROTC as a ploy to work with the draft board to delay his induction to get a new draft classification. Actually, he destroyed and suppressed his induction. I never heard of that in my entire life. The December 3 letter written to me by Mr. Clinton was subsequently taken from the file by Lieutenant Colonel Clint Jones, my executive officer, and was placed into the ROTC files so that a record would be available in case the applicant should again petition to enter the ROTC program. Never.

Important footnote, Mr. Speaker: Colonel Holmes never kept this letter over 23 years. Lieutenant Colonel Clint Jones, as much to hurt Colonel Holmes as to hurt Clinton, kept the letter. Clinton had some confederates break into the ROTC building, steal all of his records when he was getting ready to run for Congress in 1974, 4 years later. And all of those records, including the original of the letter, disappeared, or a copy. The original had been purloined by Lieutenant Colonel Clint Jones to hurt Colonel Holmes.

Fascinating piece of investigative work by yours truly that nobody in the media knows to this day. And why? Because Colonel Holmes did not like the way Clint Jones was downgrading the captains who were military, what do they call them, professors of military

science. And he was mistreating a Korean decorated veteran who was a master sergeant making him sharpen pencils and carry out wastebaskets. And this ultimate statuesque Distinguished Service Cross colonel, Bataan Death March survivor said: Colonel Jones, I am taking the sergeant out from under your control and also all of these young captains. I will rate them. You are downgrading their efficiency reports. The whole system has slid to the high side up in the Pentagon and you are costing these people getting promotions. So that is what caused this bad blood.

Colonel Holmes continues: The information in that letter, the infamous letter, alone would have restricted Bill Clinton from ever qualifying to be an officer in the United States military. To this day, do the men in Tuzla know that? To this day, he could never apply to even get a secret clearance to serve in the CIA, the FBI, any police department, most of them, and never the Coast Guard Academy or any of our four military services ever. This letter ended that forever.

Only by getting elected to the House, the Senate, or the Presidency or to be a governor or a ROTC program would he never in his whole life have access to top secret material. Even more significant was Clinton's lack of veracity in purposely defrauding the military by deceiving me both in concealing his antimilitary activities overseas and his counterfeit intentions for later military service. These actions cause me to question both his patriotism and his integrity.

Mr. Speaker, if that line had been written about Ronald Reagan or George Bush, certainly Richard Nixon, it would have been on the evening news over and over and over again. I read it again: These actions cause me to question both Mr. Clinton's patriotism and his integrity. This from a Bataan Death March survivor.

When I consider the caliber, the bravery and the patriotism of the fine young soldiers whose deaths I have witnessed and whose funerals I have attended, when I reflect on not only the willingness but the eagerness that so many of them displayed in their earnest desire to serve their country, and he told me story after story with their names that he and Irene recall to this day it is untenable and incomprehensible to me that a man who was not merely unwilling to serve his country but actually protested against its military should ever be in the position of Commander in Chief of our armed forces.

I write this declaration not only for the living and future generations, but for those who fought and died for this country. If space and time permitted, I would include the names of the ones I knew and fought with. And along with them I would mention my younger brother, Bob, who was killed during World War II and is buried in Cambridge, England. He was killed at the

age of 23, about the age Bill Clinton was when he was over in England protesting the war. He had the age exact.

Another footnote Mr. Speaker, when I went over for the 50th anniversary of Normandy, we went to a ceremony in Cambridge, England. I looked for Bob Holmes's grave and found it. He died on board a B-17 coming over the English Channel. This wall of all the missing hundreds and hundreds of men who crashed into part of Europe and were never found or died in the English channel. Bob's remains are buried there.

I visited the grave, then went back to my seat with my wife. And then in came the Clintons, waving at the crowd. A Spitfire, Mustang and B-17 flew over at a very low altitude, pushed the minimums. There was hardly a dry eye in the place. All I could think of is over there is Bob Holmes's grave; died at 23 for his country. And here is the first draft dodger to ever serve in the position of our Commander in Chief.

I go back to Colonel Eugene J. Holmes's concluding paragraph: I have agonized over whether or not to submit this statement to the American people. But I realize that even though I served my country by being in the military for over 32 years and having gone through the ordeal of months of combat under the worst of conditions followed by years of imprisonment by the Japanese, it is not enough. I am writing these comments to let everyone know that I love my country more than I do my own personal security and well-being.

He was worried, Mr. Speaker, releasing this letter: I will go to my grave loving these United States of America and the liberty for which so many men have fought and died. Because of my poor physical condition this will be my final statement.

He is actually in very good physical condition. He did not want to hassle with the liberal dominant media culture, and I can understand that.

I will make no further comments to any of the media regarding this letter.

He did not want to tell the Lt. Col. Clint Jones story. And he released this letter, and the media had already made their choice between Bush and Clinton, so they ignored it.

□ 2145

So they ignored it.

Now, here is the infamous letter, and it gives new meaning to the word "infamous." All of the freshmen and sophomores wanted me to go put this in again; they did not want me to go look it up from 1991 or 1993, where I have put it in about 10 times. Here is the letter that Bill Clinton wrote to Col. Eugene Holmes, Director of the ROTC program, University of Arkansas, on December 3, 1969.

He drew a low lottery number, 319, I believe, on the 1st; applied for Yale on the 2d, still being mentored by all of his political friends in Arkansas; and on the 3d he wrote this letter to

Holmes and it is filled with inaccuracies.

"I am sorry to be so long in writing, Colonel. I know I promised to let you hear from me at least once a month."

Colonel Holmes does not remember that promise at all. He did not think he was going back to Oxford; he thought he was going back to Arkansas.

"And from now on you will."

Never wrote again.

"But I have to have some time to think about this first letter. Almost daily, since my return to England, I have thought about writing, about what I want to and ought to say."

Pause.

On Lincoln's birthday, Feb. 12, 1992, with Clinton sitting there, having been given this letter after it popped up in the press, having been given this letter by Rich Kaplan, one of Clinton's Renaissance, Hilton Head, SC friends, he gave this letter to Clinton, Rich Kaplan.

Head of ABC Evening News to this day, Peter Jennings, he had been Ted Koppel's producer for 14 years, he called Ted and said, "Ted, put Clinton on." Clinton was running third in New Hampshire and in free fall. And since I am running 5th, 6th, 7th, or 8th, I know what that must have felt like. He had spent the money that I do not have.

And Rich Kaplan gave the letter to Clinton to prepare for 3 days. Koppel puts him on, the whole show, and goes into overtime as though it is Margaret Thatcher or some world leader. While Clinton sits there, biting his lower lip, Koppel read the entire letter. That ate up the whole first part of the show, which I am going to do now.

I will continue, second paragraph. "First, I want to thank you, not just for saving me from the draft, but for being so kind and decent to me last summer," 1969, "when I was as low as I have ever been. One thing which made the bond we struck," 2 hours in his garden, "in good faith somewhat palatable to me was my high regard for you personally. In retrospect, it seems that the admiration might not have been mutual had you known a little bit more about me, about my political beliefs and activities."

Footnote: This was no Joan Baez peace-worker who said "A pox on both of your houses" and would quote St. Francis: "Where there is hatred, let me so love." No, no, he was pro-Hanoi, pro-Ho Chi Minh, the George Washington of his country.

We, the interventionists, the imperialists. We know the whole routine of these teachings that Clinton conducted at the University of London, School of Economics, after hours. That is the school where JFK spent some time.

He says, "At least you might have thought me more fit for the draft than for ROTC. Let me try to explain. As you know, I worked for 2 years in a very minor position on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I did it for the experience and the salary, but also for the opportunity, however small, of

working every day against a war I opposed and despised, with a depth of feeling I have reserved solely for racism in America before Vietnam. I marched with Martin Luther King."

I can respect that, but he was just a 16-year-old.

"I did not take the matter lightly, but studied it carefully, and there was a time when not many people had more information about Vietnam at hand than I did."

Good grief. What a braggadocio, foolish statement.

"I have written and spoken and marched against the war."

He did not tell any of this to Colonel Holmes.

Mr. Speaker, before I continue my Special Order, let me add my words, that I too have enjoyed the friendship of Mr. KWEISI MFUME, and also can state emphatically that I have never met a harder-working Member of Congress or a better gentleman, or just a more upbeat person that saw no challenge in this life that he did not think he could solve personally or that all of us could not solve together.

You have taken on a very tough job with one of the oldest and most respected civil rights organizations in America, the NAACP, and I think that you will bring it to its heights of new glory. I am going to miss you, KWEISI, and I am sorry that I was ahead of you. I was going to let you have your Special Order first, or course.

Mr. Speaker, I think I have 20 minutes left. Let me speed this up.

Here is Bill Clinton, writing from somewhere in Yale. I think he was sleeping on Strobe Talbott's floor, 43 Lechner Road; he did not even register to live in a dormitory at Oxford, never went to class; took his Rhodes scholarship money and never pursued it, never tested and left for Yale in the spring of 1970 after a curious trip to Moscow, Prague, Helsinki, Leningrad, and other Scandinavian countries.

So here he is writing somewhere. Strobe Talbott, by the way, is number 2 at the State Department; he had hoped to make him number 1. That is why they put in Warren Christopher, but they did not plan on JESSE HELMS becoming chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in the Senate. So everything is kind of dead in the water.

Clinton continues in the third paragraph of the Dec. 3, 1969 letter: "Let me try to explain," to Colonel Holmes. "As you know, I worked for 2 years in a very minor position on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I did it for the experience and the salary, but also for the opportunity, however small, of working every day against a war I opposed and despised with a depth of feeling I had reserved solely for racism in America before Vietnam. I did not take the matter lightly, but studied it carefully, and there was a time when not many people"—I have been over there eight times as a journalist—"had more information about Vietnam than I did."

He has never been there.

"I have written and spoken and marched against the war. One of the national organizers of the Vietnam moratorium is a close friend of mine."

I guess that would be David Mixner, who helped raise \$4 million in the homosexual community.

"After I left Arkansas last summer, I went to Washington to work in the national headquarters of the moratorium," right before he met with Colonel Holmes and after, and then he went up to Martha's Vineyard for another big organizing session.

"Then to England to organize the Americans here for demonstrations October 15 and November 16."

One demonstration was the new Mobe committee; the other was the moratorium committee. I do not know which was which.

"Interlocked with the war is the draft issue, which I did not begin to consider separately until early 1968."

Yes, graduating from Georgetown when they had announced there would be no more deferments for graduate studies. How he swung that, no one knows.

"For a law seminar at Georgetown, I wrote a paper on the legal arguments for and against allowing within the Selective Service System the classification of Selective Conscientious Objection for those opposed to participation in a particular war, not simply to 'participation in war in any form.'"

Mr. Speaker, imagine if Specialist Michael New had quoted from this letter and used 23-year-old Bill Clinton, who I believe is a year older than he is, to use this as his rationale why he would serve honorably but not go to Macedonia in that particular situation wearing the U.N. powder-blue beret.

Back to the Clinton letter. "From my work I came to believe that draft system itself is illegitimate. No government really rooted in limited parliamentary democracy should have the power to make its citizens fight and kill and die in a war they may oppose, a war which even possibly may be wrong, a war which in any case does not involve immediately the peace and freedom of the Nation."

Mr. Speaker, does Bosnia involve immediately the peace and freedom of the Nation? Young people would quickly say, I do not think so.

Continuing the letter: "The draft was justified in World War II because the life of the people collectively was at stake. Individuals had to fight"—

No, they did not. We had 6 million draft dodgers in World War II.

—"if the Nation was to survive."

No, that is wrong. We had about a million and a half. We had 6 million people who were turned away. Out of the 18 million drafted, 6 million were told, you are not properly schooled or you are too heavy, you are too skinny, or you cannot do enough pushups or chinups. You are too weak. Six million were turned away of the 18 million that were drafted, and then lots were turned away that tried to join.

Some came back and back and back and made it, even with one eye, even with curved spines. Those that really wanted to serve in many cases got by. Roger Young won the Medal of Honor on the island of New Georgia in the Solomons, and he only had one eye. Took his eye test like that, both with the same eye.

Now, he continues: "That individuals had to fight, if the Nation was to survive, for the lives of their countrymen and their way of life. Vietnam is no such case, nor was Korea an example where, in my opinion, certain military action was justified, but the draft was not, for the reasons stated above."

Do not think I did not think of that line, and why I left before he spoke at my war where I was in pilot training when it ended, mercifully, at the dedication of the Korean Memorial on its 43d anniversary last July 27, 1995, 42d anniversary of it ending.

"Because of my opposition to the draft and the war, I am in great sympathy with those who are not willing to fight, kill, and maybe die for their country; i.e., the particular policy of a particular government."

Thank heaven, Michael New had the integrity not to use that line, Mr. Speaker.

"Right or wrong. Two of my friends at Oxford are conscientious objectors. I wrote a letter of recommendation for one of them to his Mississippi draft board, a letter which I am more proud of than anything else I wrote at Oxford last year."

He did not write much; he never went to class, Mr. Speaker.

"One of my roommates is a draft resister who is possibly under indictment."

This is the fellow that committed suicide whose picture is in Clinton's bedroom.

"And may never be able to go home again. He is one of the bravest, best men I know. His country needs men like him more than they know. That he is considered a criminal is an obscenity."

The problem was he came home, he turned himself in. The FBI said, we have no more interest in you, the war is winding down. His family was not happy with what he had done, they had a military tradition, and that is when, let me see if I recall his name, Frank Aller, A-L-L-E-R, tragically committed suicide two years after this in 1971 when no one was looking for him. Hardly a brave act when he could have gone on with his life.

"The decision not to be a resister and the related subsequent decisions were the most difficult of my life. I decided to accept the draft in spite of my beliefs for one reason: To maintain my political viability within the system."

Those are the words that Ted Koppel repeated: "To maintain my political viability within the system." The fact is, he never went back into the draft system.

"For years I have worked to prepare myself for a political life characterized

by both practical, political ability and concern for rapid social progress. It is a life I feel compelled to try to lead. I do not think our system of government is by definition corrupt, however dangerous and inadequate it has been in recent years."

The society may be corrupt, but that is not the same thing. And if that is true, we are all finished, anyway. When the draft came, despite political convictions, I was having a hard time facing the prospect of fighting a war I had been fighting against, and that is why I contacted you.

□ 2200

Law school and being a JAG, a Judge Advocate, is hardly being under fire.

ROTC was the only way left in which I could possibly but not positively avoid both Vietnam and resistance.

In other words, he did not have the courage to be identified as a resistance person.

Going on with my education, even coming back to England, played no part in my decision to join ROTC. I am back here and would have been at Arkansas Law School because there is nothing else I can do. In fact, I would liked to have been able to take a year out perhaps to teach in some small college or work on some community action project and in the process to decide whether to attend law school or graduate school and how to begin putting what I have learned to use.

Well, Sergeant Jimmy Holt of Hope, Arkansas goes missing in Vietnam, not found to this day.

But the particulars of my personal life are not nearly as important to me as the principles involved. After I signed the ROTC letter of intent to you, I began to wonder whether the compromise I had made with myself was not more objectionable than the draft would have been because I had no intention in the ROTC program in itself and all I seem to have done was protect myself from physical harm.

Mr. Speaker, in other words, he did not want to be a lawyer and wear the Army uniform. He wanted to go to Yale Law School and not to Arkansas Law School.

"Also I began to think I had deceived you, not by lies, there were none"—that is not what Colonel Holmes wrote—"but by failing to tell you all the things I'm writing now. I doubt then that I had the mental coherence to articulate them."

The Colonel told me he was very articulate as a 23-year-old student, following him from the front yard to the back yard during two hours of gardening, back and forth.

Back to the letter.

At that time after we had made our agreement and you had sent my I-D deferment to my draft board, the anguish and loss of my self-respect and self-confidence really set in.

I bet, Mr. Speaker.

I hardly slept for weeks and kept going by eating compulsively.

Does that sound familiar? What were they doing in Vietnam? Sleeping, and kept going by eating compulsively?

I read until exhaustion brought sleep. Finally on September 12 I stayed up all night writing a letter to the chairman of my draft board.

And preparing for the demonstrations on October 15 and November 16 that he mentioned in the first paragraph.

"I sent a letter to the chairman of my draft board saying basically what is in the preceding paragraph, thanking him for trying to help me in a case where he really couldn't and stating that I couldn't do the ROTC after all"—I can't do it—"and would he please draft me as soon as possible.

Nobody has ever found that letter, I doubt it was ever written. So does Colonel Holmes. Oh.

I never mailed the letter. But I did carry it on me every day until I got on the plane to return to England. I didn't mail the letter because I didn't see in the end how my going in the Army and maybe going to Vietnam would achieve anything except the feeling that I had punished myself and gotten what I had deserved.

And maybe given the integrity to tell young men to go die in Somalia, 19 of them, and to tell them to go drive over land mines in Bosnia.

So I came back to England to try to make something of the second year of my Rhodes scholarship.

Footnote. And ditched every class and flunked out and left.

"And that is where I am now, writing to you, because you have been good to me and have a right to know what I think and feel. I am writing too in the hope that my telling this one story will help you to understand more clearly how so many fine people have come to find themselves still loving their country but loathing the military.

Loathing the military,

To which you and other good mean have devoted years, lifetimes to the best service you could give."

In Vietnam, people who went a few steps further than Clinton were rolling grenades into the tents of what they call lifers, sergeants and officers from the academies who were giving their life to military service, and killed them, and the names are on the wall, only known to God how many, but I know of at least 10, men that were murdered by the man under them because of both drugs and the poisonous atmosphere, some of which was developed in the other body and this body during this incredible war in Vietnam.

He says,

Loathing the military to which you and other men have devoted years, lifetimes to the best service you could give. To many of us, it is no longer clear what is service and what is disservice, or if it is clear, the conclusion is likely to be illegal.

I debated men who had the guts to go to jail, and I respected them, like Joan Baez's husband David Harris, student body president, Stanford. It is the people who hid out like this and let others go in their place and then wanted to be commander-in-chief some day that perplex me.

Closing paragraph.

Forgive the length of this letter, Colonel. There was much to say. There is still a lot to be said but it can wait. Please say hello to Colonel Jones for me. Merry Christmas. Sincerely, Bill Clinton.

That would be Lieutenant Colonel Clint Jones, who stole this letter out of the ROTC files to keep it and use it at some point against Colonel Holmes because Holmes had disciplined Colonel Jones, and when the files were stolen from the ROTC building and destroyed—and we are looking for a lot of missing files this day, a quarter of a century later—Colonel Jones gets a good-bye and a Merry Christmas from Bill Clinton.

Mr. Speaker, one of the networks attacked me tonight, I think unfairly, so I do not have to ask for a point of personal privilege. I will fix it right now.

It is over an amendment that I have on the defense authorization bill to give an honorable discharge and 6 months to get their affairs in order to everybody who has tragically contracted the AIDS HIV virus. Surgeons General and the Surgeon Admiral of the Navy, which handles the Marine Corps, and the Air Force and the Army have all told me, sometimes on the record, but always off the record, that they do not think people who have the HIV virus, who cannot contribute to the walking blood bank in the military, who have to be brought home from every country in the world where they serve, taken out of their aircraft, their helicopters, off the ships, out of the submarines, out of the Abrams tanks, the fighting vehicles, the Humvees, nobody in Bosnia, Somalia or Haiti carrying the HIV virus, that they all have to be brought back stateside, for the Marines and the Navy and only two wonderful States with a high tourist budget, California and Virginia, have to be within 300 miles of a hospital for treatment, and then since they have been taken out of a combat-ready job and brought home from overseas, we fire, we pink slip with an honorable discharge but not 6 months other people who are healthy, who are part of the walking blood bank, are trainable for combat and can go be deployed overseas any day of the week. Those people are let out of the military so that these people can be trained at our tax expense into their new job.

Mr. Speaker, I knew when I saw the article in the Post yesterday that this woman—and I must take her at her word and believe her, even though she is anonymous, using a false name, Marie—was in the "Post" saying that her husband contracted AIDS through unprotected sex, the implication is cheating on her, and that is a tragedy, brought it home to her.

Remember, this Congress has done nothing in a decade to force doctors to call the roommate, the live-in girlfriend, the homosexual roommate, the fiancée or the wife of a person who has the HIV virus and tell them that that person can kill them. I have read that it takes about 700 normal intercourse events to contract heterosexual contact AIDS, and no doctor in this country, and the chief doctor in the military, Dr. Joseph, who sent me a book that is frightening about his battle with the New York health services,



not to win this battle, and that we still have not won it.

So the husband came home, the doctor could not call the wife, he infected her, and then he dies and widows her with one child. Fortunately the child was conceived, because breast milk is one way you transmit the HIV virus, and now she is a sergeant, 10 years, left alone.

All I could do was say that she must be patriotic and accept this honorable discharge 6 months from now, and not expect us to keep 1,100 people on active duty when the doctors in the military tell me that the largest group of the 3 is probably 500 or more people, young people, who are conned by our deteriorating culture into sticking a dirty needle in their arm, and that to help a woman in this tragic situation we have to keep 500 people who broke the Uniform Code of Military Justice, who played Russian roulette with a dirty drug needle and lost, that they get cover because of this one tragic case?

There are no more tainted blood people left on active duty. The last one died 3 years ago. We have all learned on this floor, from the limited debate on the worst plague in American history, almost going to pass the flu epidemic in 1919 that killed millions of senior citizens, we are getting there.

We have now lost more young men in their prime of life than were killed in combat in World War II. Three hundred twelve thousand in World War II, depending on your encyclopedia or your military records, 350,000 to AIDS if you put bisexuals and drug users, a mixed category, in with homosexuals. And then we add about 10 or 20,000 cases, Dr. Koop, the Surgeon General, told me, that were attributed to the primary cause of death, pneumonia, dementia, heart failure, cancer, rather than put down that it was AIDS that broke down their immune system and caused the death. So they add another 10 or 20,000 on there from 1980 through 1983 when doctors mercifully, it is understandable, tried to help the family keep some privacy on what killed their young loved male adult and some few women.

So here we are with the networks structuring this thing as though, and they keep saying this, the Army Times said it, the networks have said it, the Post said it and the New York Times calling any of us who voted for this, which is a majority of the House and Senate and the majority of conferees, calling us anti-AIDS bigots. They keep saying these men stay on the job and that they are healthy.

No, by definition they are not healthy, that is why they cannot give blood. By definition we in this Congress added them to the Americans with Disabilities Act. Every HIV person in this country is considered disabled, so they are not healthy.

Then they stay on the job, and this is where I want to stay down and plead with people to listen. They do not stay on the job if they are a pilot, a heli-

copter pilot, on a ship, a sub or in a tank or in an artillery unit or a paratrooper or special forces. They are given a safe job in the States, never to be deployed again.

Mr. Speaker, I will put in my remarks and several other articles that I wrote about the Clinton letter comparing it to the letter of Major Sullivan Ballew in the Civil War, and I will put in my explanation of why this is fair, and it has to do with readiness, only to give an honorable discharge and 6 months to prepare to go into civilian life and special health treatment that a car accident victim does not get if they have a career-ending injury while serving in uniform in our military services.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD my news releases and some key letters on this HIV-military controversy:

DORNAN PROVISION ON HIV/COMBAT READINESS PASSES AS PART OF FISCAL YEAR 1996 DEFENSE CONFERENCE BILL

"The necessity of retaining personnel who have been found to be HIV positive imposes significant problems for all the services, but especially the Navy. . . . The immediate discharge of HIV infected members would increase personnel readiness. . . ." commented Admiral Frank Kelso, former Chief of Naval Operations, in response to an inquiry by Congressman Robert K. Dornan of California. Dornan, Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Military Personnel, successfully passed a provision in the FY 1996 Defense Conference which would accomplish this goal.

Dornan's legislation would require discharge of HIV+ military personnel, who, because of their condition, are unable to deploy overseas or participate in most other combat requirements such as flying aircraft, serving on board ship, or operating as a ground infantryman. A Pentagon quality-of-life task force echoed Dornan's concerns in a recent report which stated, "The Defense Department should enforce non-deployable policies." Currently, HIV-infected members, though permanently non-deployable, are allowed to remain on active duty until they develop full-blown AIDS.

"This is an issue of readiness and fairness," said Dornan. "In a time of increased defense downsizing, we cannot afford to keep on active duty personnel who are not fully deployable worldwide. We also must be fair to those who are fully deployable. They should not have to spend additional time away from friends and family because they have to remain overseas in place of someone who is not deployable."

Dornan points to the statement of an active duty Marines Corps company commander, who wrote, "By not being able to rotate from our non-deploying company, my one HIV Marine kept another Marine from leaving a deploying unit. This may not seem like much to some Congressmen. . . , but I'm sure it meant a lot to the guy and his family who had just spent 54% of their last three years separated due to normal deployment patterns."

The defense conference report will now be sent to the President and hopefully signed into law.

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY, HEAD-  
QUARTERS, U.S. MARINE CORPS,  
Washington, DC, July 23, 1993.

Hon. ROBERT K. DORNAN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. DORNAN: Thank you for your letter of July 1, 1993, concerning Marine Corps

policy governing HIV positive servicemembers.

Navy and Marine Corps regulations require that discharge proceedings be initiated through the disability evaluation system in cases of HIV-1 positive servicemembers who are found unfit for duty. Members who are found fit for duty are retained; however, they must be assigned within the United States to a unit that is not normally programmed for deployment. Further, they must be assigned within 300 miles of a Medical Treatment Facility (MTF) designated by the Surgeon General that is capable of providing the care required by HIV-1 positive members. The MTF's designated are the Naval Hospitals at San Diego and Oakland, California, Bethesda, Maryland, and Portsmouth, Virginia.

The costs associated with retaining HIV-1 positive Marines have not yet been analyzed. It must be noted, though, that the total number of HIV-1 positive Marines currently on active duty represents an extremely small percentage of our total force.

Marines who are HIV-1 positive are not assigned to ship's detachments or to extended deployments afloat, although HIV-1 positive officers are not precluded from embarking on ships for short durations for training exercises, or from participating in training deployments within the United States or its territories. Federal Aviation Administration regulations prohibit HIV-1 positive servicemembers from flying aircraft or being certified as pilots. Navy instructions also restrict the assignment of HIV-1 positive aviators to duty as both pilot and aircrew aboard military aircraft. Further limitations on the assignment of HIV-1 positive Marines to operational units or specific duties may be established based on the necessity to protect the health and safety of the HIV-1 positive member and of other military personnel.

Current Department of Defense regulations governing physical disability prohibit the determination of unfitness based solely on a servicemember's inability to perform his or her duties worldwide, a provision that does not apply exclusively to HIV-1 positive servicemembers. The Marine Corps supports a recent recommendation by the Director, Naval Counsel of Personnel Boards that this prohibition be removed.

We consider this a manpower issue vice a medical issue. The deployed time for certain Marine units currently exceeds the Navy's guidelines, and the retention of non-deployable Marines prevents us from filling those billets with Marines who are worldwide deployable. This not only impacts readiness but also increases the deployment tempo of fully fit Marines.

I trust this information will be of assistance to you.

Very Respectfully,  
C. E. MUNDY, JR.,  
General, U.S. Marine Corps,  
Commandant of the Marine Corps.

CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS,  
September 2, 1993.

Hon. Robert K. Dornan,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. DORNAN: Thank you for your letter of July 1, 1993, concerning our HIV policy and the problems associated with caring for HIV infected personnel.

The necessity of retaining personnel who have been found to be HIV positive imposes significant problems for all the Services, but especially Navy. Assignment limitations cause significant disruption in the sea/shore rotation for all our personnel.

The Department of Defense (DoD) requires assignment of HIV infected service members only within the continental United States



due to the high priority assigned to the continued medical evaluations; Alaska, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico lack Navy medical treatment facilities required by HIV infected members.

HIV infected members are not eligible for service on ships, due to insufficient medical treatment facilities aboard; however, HIV infected members do continue to perform in their rating in shore duty billets in close proximity to adequate medical care. Members who normally are assigned to a flight assignment are grounded when found to be HIV infected. This is consistent with established procedures for other medical conditions. Fifty-five percent of all Navy ratings serve the majority of their careers at sea. All HIV infected members in sea duty intensive ratings no longer take their turn for assignment to a ship, drastically altering an already tight sea/shore rotation schedule. HIV infected Physicians, Nurses, Dentists, Hospital Corpsmen (HM), and Dental Technicians (DT) are not allowed to perform exposure, invasive procedures.

HIV is an expensive disease to treat. Costs are not limited solely to providing medical care. The average length of time between diagnosis of an HIV infection and medical separation is approximately 4 years. Members are not medically separated until they display clinical illness symptoms.

An asymptomatic active duty member's medical care consists of an initial hospitalization for a thorough medical evaluation and staging, and periodic reevaluations conducted semiannually. The cost of an initial evaluation is approximately \$4,000 and reevaluations cost \$2,400. Medications such as AZT cost approximately \$2,200 per year. Total lifetime treatment adds up to approximately \$208,000. This figure does not include time lost from their assigned duty station, psychological counseling, travel to and from the medical center or the costs of separation.

The Navy has approximately 787 HIV infected active duty members, 35 officers and 752 enlisted. The average FY-93 cost in pay and benefits to retain one officer is \$71,436 and \$30,541 for each enlisted member on active duty. The total pay and benefits for the 787 personnel is \$25,467,092 for this fiscal year.

A member found medically unfit for duty is transferred to the Temporary Disability Retirement List (TDRL) and provided a 30 percent minimum disability benefit and continued Navy medical care. We place the member on the Permanent Disability Retirement List (PDRL) and provide a 100 percent disability benefit and continued Navy medical care when the member's condition deteriorates. The Navy has medically retired 1,193 HIV infected members since the beginning of the program in 1986. An estimated lifetime treatment cost (not including pay and benefits) for all the infected retirees is a total of \$248,144,000. Only members who become eligible for the Temporary or Permanent Disability Retirement Lists are provided continued treatment at a Navy medical treatment facility. All members discharged for other reasons are eligible for Veterans Administration care upon separation.

The immediate discharge of HIV infected members would increase personnel readiness during a time of significant downsizing. Additionally, it would allow the Navy to replace the 787 infected members with members who are healthy and world-wide assignable. Sea/shore rotation schedules would be readjusted, thereby increasing readiness. Discharging these members would place the responsibility of monitoring the physical condition of HIV infected members on the civilian sector.

If I may be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

FRANK B. KELSO II,  
Admiral, U.S. Navy.

NON COMMISSIONED  
OFFICERS ASSOCIATION  
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,  
Alexandria, VA, June 7, 1994

Hon. ROBERT K. DORNAN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. DORNAN: The Non Commissioned Officers Association of the USA (NCOA) strongly supports the proposal contained in the House version of the FY 1995 Defense Authorization Bill (H.R. 4301) that ensures that all members of the military be physically and medically worldwide deployable.

During a time when manpower levels of the military services have been and continue to be reduced to minimum levels, NCOA believes that the taxpayers of this country should reasonably expect that all servicemembers serving in the military services be able to serve wherever and whenever needed. If necessary readiness capabilities are to be realized from a "boot-on-the-ground" standpoint, everyone in uniform must be eligible for deployment under field conditions. NCOA further believes that failure to adhere to such a policy presents false strength indicators and will undoubtedly result in unfair assignment practices and rapidly for those who meet and maintain established deployability criteria.

NCOA is opposed to any legislative effort to reduce or lessen the deployability requirements of H.R. 4301.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL F. OUELLETTE,  
Sergeant Major, U.S.  
Army, (Retired),  
Director of Legislative Affairs.

Here is my "Dear Colleague" on this, Mr. Speaker:

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE OR MINISTRY OF  
PROPAGANDA?

DEAR COLLEAGUE: I'm sure you'll share my outrage after reading the following article from the January 29, 1996 edition of the Washington Times regarding a "Media Reference Card" issued to our troops in Bosnia. This is another blatant attempt by this administration to use our military for purposes other than national security. In this case, U.S. troops—troops risking their lives against land mines and terrorists in the cold of winter—are being directed to tell reporters they have full faith in the President and the United Nations! Besides the article, I'm also including a copy of part of the card itself—Disgusting!

Sincerely,

ROBERT K. DORNAN,  
U.S. Congressman.

PUT ON A HAPPY FACE, TROOPS IN BOSNIA  
TOLD—PRAISE CLINTON IF PRESS ASKS,  
GUIDE SAYS

Taszar Air Base, Hungary—U.S. troops are grumbling about a pamphlet that advises them to tell any inquiring reporter they have full confidence in their commanders, from President Clinton on down.

The pamphlet, titled "Answers You Can Use," was prepared by the Army's V Corps and has been distributed to all Army troops in Bosnia to help them deal with pesky press inquiries.

One suggested answer is: "U.S. forces are confident in our trained and competent leaders. We have pride in our leadership, from the president on down, and full trust in their decision."

The problem is, not all of the soldiers feel that way.

"That one [answer] particularly got me," said a colonel who asked not to be named.

A female sergeant with the 4th Aviation Brigade, based at Kaposvar Air Field, also took issue with the statement. "I voted for him [Mr. Clinton] last time, but not this time," said the sergeant, who also declined to be named.

Some soldiers said they were offended by the attempt to guide their responses.

The guidelines include a list of do's and don'ts for speaking with reporters, including an admonition not to discuss "political or foreign policy matters . . . or give opinions on hypothetical situations."

They also contain commonsense suggestions about not revealing classified information or details of future plans and operations or operational capabilities.

Soldiers are advised not to say "no comment" but instead to answer difficult questions by saying "We don't comment on future operations" or "I'm not qualified to answer that question."

The troops also are told never to lie to reporters and not to interfere with news gatherings.

"Be positive in your answers," the guide says. "This is your opportunity to tell the public what a great job you and your unit are doing."

Other handy news bites suggested by the guide include the following:

- "We are trained, ready and fully prepared to conduct peace operations."

- "We area not here to fight but we have the capability, when required, to enforce the treaty and to protect ourselves."

- "We are a disciplined and trained force. We understand our mission and the rules of engagement."

- "U.S. forces have a long tradition of working with the United Nations and NATO and are confident in our abilities to work together in this mission."

Many soldiers privately expressed dislike of Mr. Clinton, who avoided service in the military during the Vietnam War. One soldier said he lost all respect for the president after he learned about Mr. Clinton's efforts to avoid being drafted.

One lieutenant colonel confided that he disliked the president but was careful not to express his opinions when enlisted personnel were around.

Capt. Mark Darden, a spokesman for the Army in Hungary, referred questions about the pamphlet to Capt. Robert Hastings, who took part in writing the guidelines. Capt. Hastings did not return a telephone call seeking comment.

ANSWER YOU CAN USE—V CORPS MEDIA REFERENCE CARD—GUIDELINES FOR DEALING WITH CIVILIAN NEWS MEDIA

1. Throughout this operation, there will be excessive media coverage of Army activities. Reporters will be present everywhere in the area of operations. They are allowed to record your actions and activities. Politely ask them to stay out of your way, but you should not interfere with their news gathering activities. If there is time and it doesn't interfere with your mission, you may answer their questions as long as you follow the guidelines on this card.

2. Don't make "off the record" statements to reporters. Assume that a reporter's recorder is always on. Anything you say to reporters can be used in their reports.

3. If a reporter comes to your unit and is not escorted by a Public Affairs Officer or main escort, refer them to the Joint Information Bureau. If they are escorted, you may answer their questions, but inform your chain of command about their presence immediately.

4. You are not required to talk to the media. If you do, you have the responsibility to protect classified information and the security and privacy of your fellow soldiers. Do not discuss anything outside your area of expertise and do not speculate.

5. You may not discuss future plans and operations, political or foreign policy matters, operational capabilities, or give opinions on hypothetical situations. "Stay in your lane."

6. Don't say "no comment." Simply state "we don't comment on future operations," or "I'm not qualified to answer that question."

7. Never lie to the media. If you can't answer a question or don't know the answer, say so. Suggest where, or with whom the answer may be found.

8. Be brief and concise in answering questions. Use simple language, not military jargon or acronyms.

9. Think before you speak. When asked a question, stop, think, and then answer.

10. If you accidentally say something inappropriate, say so. Ask the reporter not to use your comment, and then report the incident to your commander.

11. Don't allow yourself to be badgered by the media. If necessary, politely end the interview and contact your commander or the PAO.

12. If you observe a reporter recording or viewing something classified, take immediate steps to protect the information and report the incident to your commander. Under no circumstances should you try to take notes, film or equipment from a reporter. Get the reporter's name and organization for your report.

13. Be positive in your answers. This is your opportunity to tell the public what a good job you and your unit are doing.

#### CONTINGENT ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE FROM CALENDAR DAY OF FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1996 TO TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1996

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns on the calendar day of Friday, February 2, 1996 (legislative day of Thursday, February 1, 1996), it stand adjourned until 8 p.m. on Tuesday, February 6, 1996, unless the House sooner receives a message from the Senate transmitting its concurrence in House Concurrent Resolution 141, in which case the House shall stand adjourned pursuant to that concurrent resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. METCALF). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, and I will not object, I do want to, for the RECORD, indicate that the minority has been consulted on the unanimous-consent request. We understand the merits of it and the necessity of it, and we have no objections at this time.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MFUME. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, under the gentleman's reservation, I would like to just take a moment to say farewell to my good friend from Maryland, Mr. MFUME. I have enjoyed my time that I

have had the privilege of serving here, and we have worked well together, and I must say that I can say, as my grandfather said about many of his acquaintances, that the gentleman from Maryland is indeed, as my grandfather would have said, a gentleman, a scholar and a poor judge of good whiskey, and I thank you for having allowed me the privilege of being your friend in this body.

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished gentleman very much for his kind remarks and for his friendship over the last decade as we have served together on a number of committees, fought a number of battles, and at the end of the day recognized that friendships really do matter and the ability to work together and compromise really is what this body is all about. I thank the gentleman for his kind remarks.

Mr. ARMEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

#### FAREWELL ADDRESS BY KWEISI MFUME

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. METCALF). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Maryland [Mr. MFUME] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. MFUME. Mr. Speaker, for those Members that are still in their offices and others who are watching, this is in fact probably the last time that I will come into the well of the House of Representatives to address this Chamber and to address the people of the United States in this capacity.

As many of you know, on the 18th of this month, I will conclude my service here in the House of Representatives, lay my resignation forward, and move from that point on on the 18th into a new capacity, that being the President and CEO of the NAACP.

Mr. Speaker, I come to the well with mixed emotions but I come nonetheless because this has been for me a place of partisan wrangling and a place quite frankly to make amends. This well is used by Members for a number of things, most of which is to talk about their legislation, but it also, I think, ought to be a pulpit from which we seek to bridge a better understanding of one another, from which we try to build coalitions and from which we try to understand not just the Members of this Chamber but ourselves differently and also the millions upon millions of people throughout the United States who watch on a daily basis our actions as Members of this august body.

I came here, Mr. Speaker, 10 years ago, in the class of 1986. We were 51 in number and we were a part of what was known then as the historic 100th Con-

gress, a unique class, I think, in many respects, but a class nonetheless that I regret having to depart from as many others have before me.

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But those were different days, and in many respects this was a different Congress and, indeed, perhaps even this was a different Nation.

I have fond memories of the years that I have served in this capacity. I would be remiss if I did not thank the people of Baltimore City and Baltimore County that comprise the Seventh Congressional District of Maryland for vesting in me year after year both in this capacity and previously in a local capacity their trust, their goodwill to represent them here in elected office. They have been good to me over the years, returning me to office with 84 percent of the vote in a day and in an age where there is a great deal of cynicism, when totalities are considered landslides if they approach 65 percent. So in that respect, I have been blessed.

I have also been blessed in these 10 years to have an opportunity to serve with a number of distinguished Members of the House, many of whom are still here, others who have gone on to other careers, and some of whom are no longer on this Earth.

I remember the days of serving with Claude Pepper of Florida, a distinguished gentleman who had in his heart of hearts one desire and one true commitment, to try to bring about change in this body with respect to how we viewed those in the twilight of their lives. I listened to Claude Pepper from this well as others did as he continued to talk about why we needed catastrophic health care in this country and why we ought to understand the treasure chest that we have and the repository that we have in our senior citizens, why we had to have a sensitivity toward them as we must have a sensitivity toward young people.

I remember Sil Conte of Massachusetts, a Republican who understood partisan debate and partisan discourse, but, who at the end of the day, recognized that we were all the same people cut in many respects from the same cloth and given, if we were lucky, the same challenge in this institution to heal and bring us together. Sil Conte passed away many years ago also, but it is the memory of him and Claude Pepper that reverberate in this Chamber, the memory of Mickey Leland coming from Houston, TX, with the desire to represent not only those in his district but those around the country who were voiceless and, indeed, ultimately those around the world who had no voice who in the end gave his life on a mountaintop in Africa trying to feed the hungry and to clothe the naked.

So it has been an interesting 10 years. Having served as I have under three Presidents, I have developed at least a different appreciation beyond what I learned in the classroom about the relationship between the legislative branch and the executive branch of