

## GEN. COLIN POWELL

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, few would dispute the fact that one of the most distinguished and highly respected public servants in our lifetime is Gen. Colin Powell.

I read in Carl Rowan's column of a speech he gave at a commencement at Bowie State University.

I contacted General Powell to obtain a copy of it, and I have just read his remarks for the second time.

They are common sense. They are compassionate. They are forward-looking.

A significant part of his remarks, in my opinion, is what he has to say about affirmative action.

Affirmative action can be abused like any good thing can be abused. His comments should be spread much more widely than simply to this graduating class.

I ask that Gen. Colin Powell's remarks be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

The remarks follow:

## REMARKS OF GEN. COLIN POWELL

I can never speak at a commencement such as this without the years peeling away as I drift back into a reverie of my own commencement some 38 years ago. The world you have educated yourselves for is so very, very different from the world that I started in those many years ago.

I graduated as the Cold War was deepening, as lethal arsenals of nuclear weapons were growing ever more ominous. The world in 1958 that I entered was a world that seemed on the verge of gloom and despair. For most of my years as a soldier, for most of those 35 years, I participated in a death struggle of survival between the forces of Communism and the evil empire, and the forces of good, the forces of democracy, that we represented. It was a long, long struggle, a struggle that dominated most of my life.

I can still remember the commission I got at my ROTC graduation in 1958. It was signed by Dwight Eisenhower, and the mission they gave Lt. Powell at that time was simple. "Lt. Powell go to Germany. Take command of 40 soldiers. Find the City of Frankfurt. Go to the east of the City of Frankfurt. You'll find the Iron Curtain. Lt. Powell, with your 40 soldiers, guard a small section of the Iron Curtain. In the time of war, don't let the Russian Army come through. Got it?" "Yes, sir. Got it." And I did that for two years, successfully preventing World War II from breaking out.

The years went by, and 28 years later, I got a new commission. This time from Ronald Reagan, and he made me a Lieutenant General of Infantry. And they gave me 75,000 proud American soldiers to command. And 28 years later, my mission was, "General Powell, with your 75,000 soldiers, you'll be in Germany, find the city of Frankfurt. Go the east of the city of Frankfurt. Guard a slightly wider section of the Iron Curtain this time. Try to do as good a job as you did when you were a Lieutenant."

During your years here at Bowie, that Cold War came to an end. The arsenals of nuclear weapons are being dismantled. The Soviet Union has broken into 15 individual nations, each seeking its own way down a difficult path of learning how democracy works, mastering the mysteries of free enterprise and market economic system. Communism lies discredited, its few remaining adherents cling to the corpse of a dead ideology.

This historic reconciliation that has taken place between East and West has changed the old Cold War map that used to be red and blue with an Iron Curtain between the colors into a new kind of map, a map full of mosaic pieces, different colors as new nations and old nations seek to find a new way in a different kind of world, a world structured as a world trading system as opposed to a world in conflict.

This reconciliation that took place between the Soviet Union and us is matched by other historic reconciliations that have taken place around the world in recent years. In the Middle East, the peace process is moving forward that we hope will be successful in finally bringing peace to that troubled part of the world.

In South Africa, Nelson Mandela who was on trial when I graduated from college and who spent 27 years in prison, is now the president of his country. And in his triumph, he killed the evil ideology of Apartheid.

In our own hemisphere, as I think back just seven years to when I was National Security Advisor to the President of the United States and we had all kinds of problems here in Haiti, in Nicaragua, and Honduras and El Salvador and Panama and now, all of those nations are moving forward down the road to democracy with elected civilian leaders; all of them save one, Cuba. But Cuba cannot withstand the winds of historic change that are sweeping across our hemisphere. In Asia, the pattern is the same as we watch the Philippines and India, the Southeast Asia tiger, Vietnam, even China, emerging into this new world trading system.

You are entering a world where our former adversaries, those that we were in conflict with for all these decades, have now become our economic competitors as well as becoming our new markets, new opportunities for us.

It is not a world without problems or conflicts. Bosnia, Liberia, North Korea, and other places of tragedy remind us on our television sets every evening of the dangers that will lurk ahead. Yet, I want you to see this as a time of hope and optimism because our value systems have prevailed.

There is no cross-border war anywhere in the world today. No nation is fighting with any other nation across a national border. American troops on this Memorial Day are not at war. Instead, they are conducting peacekeeping operations. In Bosnia they are even working alongside Russian soldiers who were once their sworn enemies.

The world that you are entering to make your contribution will increasingly be structured not by armies staring at each other across iron or bamboo curtains. Instead, it will be structured by free world trade, by the power of the information and technology revolutions, by the instantaneous flow of capital, data, ideas, values. The cellular telephone, the fax machine and the Internet are breaking down all the old Cold War boundaries that once divided people.

What will not change is the responsibility that America will have to burden the very difficult, difficult task of world leadership. We have power that is trusted. We are still a beacon of freedom, and we are still an example of what can be achieved, what can be accomplished when free people are allowed to determine their own destiny.

With the end of the Cold War, we have now turned inward here in America to start to deal with those vexing problems that, perhaps, we overlook while we were worrying about nuclear warfare and World War III. We look inward and know that we need a more rapidly growing economy to provide good, well-paying jobs for all Americans. We know that we have to do something about the problems of violence on our streets and vio-

lence in our schools. We have to do something about an education system, while it serves you well, it is not structured to serve all our youngsters well.

We must do something about the scourge of drugs that threatens to wipe out an entire generation of young people. We will have to deal with the breakdown that has occurred in the norms of civility within our society which have led to such public and political rancor that causes us to wonder what kind of a society we are becoming. We must do something about the racial separation that exists in our nation and keeps us from the dream of an integrated society that Dr. King set out for us.

In some ways, the new world that we face will be more complex and demanding than the old world, both here and abroad. But despite the challenges, incredible opportunities await you in this new world, opportunities that await educated people. The education you received here, the additional education you must acquire in whatever field of endeavor you enter—because in this increasingly technical and competitive world, success will go to those who realize that education must now become a lifelong pursuit.

America will not be going back to smoke-stack industries. The corporate restructuring that you see taking place allow us to be more competitive, more agile, more ready to deal with the challenges of a world economic system. You each face the prospect of several different careers in several different companies in different places around the country and around the world as you go about your working career.

America has changed in so many, many wonderful ways since my graduation in 1958. When I graduated as a black man, I was, by law, a second-class citizen. When I graduated in 1958, the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights didn't fully apply to me. I entered at that time perhaps the only institution in America that permitted a black person to rise in an integrated setting limited only by my own willingness to work hard and my dreams and ambition. And that institution was the United States Army.

The Army led the nation, and the nation followed. The young Captain Powell who was once refused service at a lunch counter in Georgia, when I came home from Vietnam after a year of fighting for my country, that Captain Powell was able to become General Powell, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff for the Armed Forces of United States.

But I didn't do it alone. I climbed on the backs of the those who came before me and those who broke the trail, the Buffalo soldiers and Tuskegee Airmen, and the other black military pioneers. I climbed on the backs of men and women who knew that they served a country that was not yet prepared to serve them. But they did it anyway because they had faith in what the future held for them and for their country.

I benefited from the sacrifices of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Jesse and Rosa and Andrew and so many, many others—black and white—who were determined to build an America that would be faithful to the dreams of its founding fathers. The men and women who are honored along with me today, your teachers and parents and family members who are present today, they struggled as well.

We succeeded because we worked hard, we believed in ourselves, and because we believed in the fundamental goodness of the American people and we believed in the redemptive potential of our society; and we did it all for you. We now expect you to do even more. We expect you to climb higher. We expect you to take advantage of the marvelous opportunities that are before you, opportunities that were not there for us. We expect

you to let your shoulders be used by those who still search for success, who wonder if the dream is still there for them. Because you see, the struggle is not yet over. We're not where we have got to be. We're not where we want to be. We have a great America. We can make it a greater America.

There are those who say, "Well, you know, we can stop now. America is a color blind society." But it isn't yet. There are those who say, "We have a level playing field." But we don't yet. There are those who say that, "All you need is to climb up on your own boot straps." But there are too many Americans who don't have boots, much less boot straps.

A few—a few Horatio Alger stories, not enough to give hope to our fellow citizens who still live in the despair of racism, who are trapped in tightening circles of poverty and poor education, who wonder if compassion and caring are still the pillars of the American dream. There are those who rail against Affirmative Action. They rail against Affirmative Action preferences, while they have lived an entire life of preference. There are those who do not understand that the progress we have achieved over the past generation must be continued if we wish to bless future generations.

And so, Colin Powell believes in Affirmative Action.

I believe it has been good for America, and I know that we can design Affirmative Action Programs that will satisfy the Constitutional requirements, because what we want is Affirmative Action that provides access for all Americans to the opportunities that rightfully belong to all Americans.

In my travels around the country since retirement, I have visited with many corporate leaders, and I have been pleased to see how committed American industry is to Affirmative Action. They understand that we cannot waste any human potential. They understand that in the future that is ahead they must have diverse work forces. They must be prepared to operate in a world trading environment that is increasingly minority, as we would call it, becoming a majority.

I'm very, very proud of what I've seen in American corporate life. In one case, one company leader said to me, "We don't care what the government does with respect to Affirmative Action. We believe in it. We believe it's the right thing to do. We are going to continue to move forward."

Affirmative Action finds and prepares qualified people for entry into the education system and into the work force. We must resist misguided government efforts that seek to shut it all down, efforts such as the California Civil Rights Initiative which poses as an Equal Opportunity Initiative, but which puts at risk every outreach program. It sets back the gains made by women, and puts the brakes on expanding opportunities for people who are in need.

I don't speak about Affirmative Action from an academic sense. I speak from experience. In the military, we worked hard to include all Americans. We used Affirmative Action to reach out to those who were qualified, but who were often overlooked or ignored as a result of indifference or inertia. We used Affirmative Action in the military to create the level playing field and to create the color blind environment that so many people speak of.

We didn't wait for it to happen. We made it happen in the military. We created an environment where advancement came from performance and a striving for excellence and not from color or gender. But first we had to open the gates to let people in. As a result, we produced an Armed Force rich in its diversity and the very, very best in the world, a reflection of what all of America should look like. So we have to keep it up. We have to commit ourselves. There is no alternative.

When one black man graduates, at the same time, 100 black men are going to jail. We still need Affirmative Action.

When half of all African American men between the ages of 24 and 35 years of age are without full-time employment, we still need Affirmative Action. When half of all black children live in poverty, we need Affirmative Action as well as quality education systems and a thriving economy to produce the good jobs, the good jobs that free enterprise and capitalism can produce, the jobs that at the end of day are the only solution to the problems we face.

Some people will say that Affirmative Action stigmatizes the recipients. Nonsense. Affirmative Action provides access for the qualified. And for anybody who feels stigmatized, go get A's instead of C's. Knock them dead. And then—I tell the story in my book about when I was a young Lieutenant and one of my commanding officers back then in the late '50s came up to me and said, "Powell, you're doing great. You're one of the best black Lieutenants I've ever known." And I just said, "Thank you, sir." And I said to myself silently, "That ain't going to be good enough. You may have a stereotype of me, but I intend to be the best Lieutenant you ever saw." And I will—for the way to handle stereotypes and stigmatism is to let it be somebody else's problem. You just perform and do your very, very best.

Because you see, the Army put me in an environment where I could be a winner, and I wanted to be a winner. Beautiful graduates before me this morning are all winners. You have benefited from the sacrifices of those who went before you. You have worked hard. And today, you receive your reward. You are filled by the love and by the dreams of your parents and families. You are nourished by the education you have received from the dedicated teachers here present who have given you the priceless gift of learning.

We expect you to go forth and prosper and contribute to the economic growth of this nation. We expect you to lead a life of service to your community and to serve those who have not had the advantages that you have. You are people of accomplishment. You are now role models. Each of you must find a way to reach down and back to help someone in need, someone in pain, someone who wonders if anybody cares, somebody who wonders if the American dream is still there for them.

In order to have a complete life, make sure you share your time, your talent, and your treasure with these who are less fortunate. We expect you to raise strong families. We expect you to raise children who are inspired to do even better than you are. Marry well, and marry for life. Be parents of value. Teach your children the difference between right and wrong. Teach your children the place of God in their lives.

Teach your children the value of hard work and education. Teach them to love. Teach them to be tolerant. Teach them to be proud of their heritage, their color. And teach them to respect their fellow citizens who may look different but who are not different.

Teach them to respect themselves, to believe in themselves. Teach them, above all, to believe in America as you must believe in America. America, a noisy, noisy country, the noise has a name. It's called "democracy." Democracy as we argue with each other to find the correct way forward. America, a wonderful place. A place with problems, problems that are now yours to solve and not just to curse, because we are a good people. We want to do the right thing. We must have faith in ourselves. We are, as Lincoln put it, "The last, best hope of earth."

I am so proud of you today, so very, very proud. Go forth now to make this a better

land. Go forth to find your destiny. Go forth to find happiness. Go forth on your American journey. Go forth with my congratulations and with God's blessings. Have a great life. Thank you.●

#### NOMINATION OF NINA GERSHON

● Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, yesterday, by unanimous consent the Senate confirmed the nomination of Magistrate Judge Nina Gershon for the position of U.S. District Judge for the Eastern District of New York. I recommended Judge Gershon to President Clinton on July 11, 1995 and the President nominated her on October 18, 1995.

The Senate has confirmed a judge of impeccable credentials. She has been a magistrate court judge since 1976 and was chosen chief U.S. magistrate judge for the Southern District in January of 1992. Indeed, Judge Gershon has the distinction of being the first chief magistrate judge for the Southern District. Nina Gershon has shown herself to be an extremely able and well-respected magistrate. And I am confident that she will serve the Eastern District of New York with equal dedication.

Throughout the nomination process she has had bipartisan support and I thank the leaders for bringing her nomination forward.●

#### RENEWABLE TECHNOLOGIES RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Mr. AKAKA. Mr. President, I want to express my support of Jeffords-Roth-Leahy renewable energy amendment. This amendment will restore funding for the Department of Energy solar and renewable energy research and development program to the amount appropriated in fiscal year 1996.

I want to thank Senator JEFFORDS for offering this amendment because I believe that our country's renewable energy program is at an important watershed. With support from Congress and the Federal Government, our Nation can forge ahead in developing reliable and cost-effective renewable technologies. We can also position our renewable energy industry to capture its share of the rapidly expanding market of solar and other renewable technologies. And, we can expand power generation capacity in an environmentally responsible manner.

In recent years, energy efficiency and renewable energy programs have been remarkably successful and have created a new industry capable of world leadership in a very important technology sector. Energy efficient technologies are generating billions of dollars of consumer energy savings and new business opportunities and play an important role in job creation, according to a study by energy expert Daniel Yergin. If we retreat from this promising growth industry, as we did throughout the decade of 1980s, our international competitors will quickly carve up a market that will exceed a billion dollars by the turn of the century.