

that will make us all more secure. We will consult, coordinate and, where both agree, act jointly, as we are doing in Bosnia now.

Now, consider the extraordinary milestone this represents. For decades, the fundamental security concern in Europe was the confrontation between East and West. For the first time, a new NATO and a new Russia have agreed to work as partners to meet challenges to their common security in a new and undivided Europe, where no nation will define its greatness in terms of its ability to dominate its neighbors.

Now we must meet the challenge of bolstering security across outdated divides, making the NATO partnership work with Russia, continuing NATO's historic transformation.

In less than six weeks, NATO will meet again in Madrid to invite the first of Europe's new democracies to add their strength to the Alliance. The prospect of NATO membership already has led to greater stability, for aspiring members are deepening reform and resolving the very kinds of disputes that could lead to future conflict.

The first new members will not be the last. NATO's doors must, and will, remain open to all those able to share the responsibilities of membership. We will strengthen the Partnership for Peace and create a new Euro-Atlantic partnership council so that other nations can deepen their cooperation with NATO and continue to prepare for membership.

But let us be clear: There are responsibilities as well. Enlargement means extending the most solemn guarantees any nation can make—a commitment to the security of another. Security and peace are not cheap. New and current allies alike must be willing to bear the burden of our ideals and our interests.

Our collective efforts in Bosnia reflect both the urgency and the promise of our mission. Where terror and tragedy once reigned, NATO troops are standing with 14 partner nations—Americans and Russians, Germans and Poles, Norwegians and Bulgarians, all in common cause to bring peace to the heart of Europe. Now we must consolidate that hard-won peace, promote political reconciliation and economic reconstruction, support the work of the International War Crimes Tribunal here in The Hague, and help the Bosnian peace make the promise of the Dayton Accord real.

Today I affirm to the people of Europe, as General Marshall did 50 years ago: America stands with you. We have learned the lessons of history. We will not walk away.

No less today than five decades ago, our destinies are joined. For America the commitment to our common future is not an option, it is a necessity. We are closing the door on the 20th century, a century that saw humanity at its worst and at its most noble. Here, today, let us dedicate ourselves to working together to make the new century a time when partnership between America and Europe lifts the lives of all the people of the world.

Let us summon the spirit of hope and renewal that the life story of Gustaaf Sedee represents. He has a son, Bert, who is a bank executive. Today, he is helping to fulfill the legacy his father so movingly described—for just as the Marshall Plan made the investment that helped Holland's industry revive, Bert Sedee's bank is helping Dutch companies finance investments in Central and Eastern Europe. Just as the American people reached out to the people of his homeland, Bert Sedee and his colleagues are reaching out to the people in Slovenia, Latvia, Bosnia and beyond.

The youngest members of the Sedee family are also in our thoughts today—Gustaaf Sedee's grandchildren, Roeland and Sander,

nine months and one-and-a-half—I wonder what they will say 50 years from today. I hope that they and all the young people listening, those who are aware of what is going on and those too young to understand it, will be able to say, we bequeath to you 50 years of peace, freedom and prosperity. I hope that you will have raised your sons and daughters in a Europe whose horizons are wider than its frontiers. I hope you will be able to tell your grandchildren—whose faces most of us will not live to see—that this generation rose to the challenge to be shapers of the peace.

I hope that we will all do this, remembering the legacy of George Marshall and envisioning a future brighter than any, any people have ever lived.

Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

TRIBUTE TO THE NATIONAL AIR TRAFFIC CONTROLLERS ASSOCIATION

HON. GERALD D. KLECZKA

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 3, 1997

Mr. KLECZKA. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the National Air Traffic Controllers Association [NATCA], who will celebrate the 10th anniversary of its founding on June 19, 1997. On June 12, the NATCA local in Milwaukee will host a ceremony and public open house at Mitchell International Airport to commemorate this anniversary.

Representing approximately 14,000 men and women nationwide, NATCA works to protect the rights of air traffic controllers in the workplace through advocating safe working conditions and fair benefits in nearly 400 facilities in the United States and its territories. NATCA also helps ensure and maintain a reliable and safe traveling environment for our citizens by working jointly with the Federal Aviation Administration, the White House, Members of Congress, and the media to promote safety.

In today's computer age, there are more and more sophisticated devices in the complicated world of air travel. By skillfully reading and interpreting the information on the disks and screens, the dedicated men and women of NATCA safely get us home from our vacation destinations, back and forth to our home-State offices, and to our families for the holidays.

I urge all of my colleagues to join me in wishing NATCA a very happy 10th birthday and great successes in the years ahead. Keep up the excellent work.

IN MEMORY OF JOHN A. GANNON

HON. DENNIS J. KUCINICH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 3, 1997

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, I rise to honor the memory of John A. (Jack) Gannon.

Jack Gannon was an American hero. He fought bravely in World War II, and when he returned home, he fought for the rights of working people. Jack joined the Cleveland Fire Department in the early 1950's. He fought fires on the front line. Through his experi-

ences, he saw the importance of improving safety and increasing support for his fellow firefighters, and throughout the rest of his career he fought to achieve those aims.

Jack was a union man. Jack joined the local committee of the International Firefighters Association, where his leadership skills and vision were quickly recognized. He rose to become president of the Cleveland Firefighters Local 93, where he served for 10 years. In 1980, Jack became president of the entire International Firefighters Association. Jack challenged his colleagues to improve safety and support. He was elected vice president of the AFL-CIO.

Jack was a national treasure. President George Bush and the U.S. Senate appointed him as a member of the National Council on Disability. As the sole Democrat on the council, he worked to forge a bipartisan forum for disability policy issues, and eventually helped to pass the landmark Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990. President Bill Clinton called upon Jack to help win passage for the first-ever U.S.-sponsored resolution on disability policy in the United Nations Commission on Social Development and General Assembly.

A champion for the rights of firefighters and the rights of the disabled, Jack Gannon left a legacy of which Cleveland, this House, and the whole Nation may be proud.

HONORING RAYMOND G. O'NEILL

HON. DALE E. KILDEE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 3, 1997

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, last week, Americans celebrated Memorial Day, remembering those men and women who gave their lives in service to their country. As a nation, we paused to recall all they have done to preserve and protect our way of life. It is in this spirit that I rise today to honor a man who for over a half century has dedicated his life to working for Michigan's veterans. On June 1, 1997, Mr. Raymond G. O'Neill will retire as director of the Veterans of Foreign Wars Service Office of Michigan after 45 years.

A lifelong Michigan resident, Raymond O'Neill enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps while still a high school senior in 1942, serving several stints in the South Pacific. During his tour of duty, he was awarded the Presidential Unit Citation with Star, Asiatic-Pacific Ribbon with two Bronze Battle Stars, Marine Good Conduct Medal, and American Theater and Victory Medals.

After leaving the service, Mr. O'Neill served as the first commander of the VFW Post 9030 of Detroit, a post he was responsible for organizing. That post remained in use from 1947 to 1981, when it was consolidated with two other posts to form Fortier's-O'Grady Post 147, where he again served as its first commander. In 1952, Mr. O'Neill began his long tenure with the VFW Service Office as an assistant service officer and claims examiner, rapidly rising up the ranks from field supervisor to assistant director and ultimately leading to his current position as State director of veterans services, where he has served since 1968.

Mr. O'Neill's activities have garnered the attention of the community as well as his peers,

and have earned him a high degree of renown and respect. Some of the numerous awards bestowed upon him include the 1963 Michigan Veteran of the Year, the Chapel of Four Chaplains Award, the Wayne County Artistic Excellence and Community Commitment Award, and a special Resolution of Tribute from the Michigan Legislature.

Mr. Speaker, I say without a doubt that every veterans organization in Michigan owes part of their success to Raymond O'Neill's constant diligence. Our veterans have been affected in so many ways by his hard work and advocacy on their behalf. Although he is retiring, I know that he will remain the best advocate a veteran could have. I ask my colleagues in the House of Representatives to join me in paying tribute to Ray and wishing him well in his retirement.

HONORING CHARLES SEIPALT

HON. ROB PORTMAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 3, 1997

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge Charles Seipalt, who is retiring after 35 years as principal of Pleasant Hill Elementary School in Milford, OH. Mr. Seipalt has been the one and only principal of the school since it was built. His long and dedicated service as principal is truly remarkable, and he will be greatly missed by students, teachers, and fellow administrators. I know I speak for everyone in Milford in wishing him the best of success in his future endeavors.

THE LEGACY OF THE MARSHALL PLAN: 50 YEARS LATER, THE WORLD STILL BENEFITS

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, June 3, 1997

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, this week the United States and the countries of Western Europe mark the 50th anniversary of the June 5, 1947, Commencement Address at Harvard University by then Secretary of State George C. Marshall in which the idea of the Marshall Plan was first publicly discussed. That idea was an act of statesmanship, and its implementation was one of the greatest examples of bipartisan foreign policy.

Secretary Marshall's address was given just 2 years after the end of World War II at a time when the economy of Europe was still in shambles. Many cities were in rubble, in most countries food was still rationed, and those factories that were still functioning were operating at only a fraction of their prewar levels. The decision by the Government of the United States to contribute to the rebuilding of Europe by sending money, equipment, and services was a major factor in accelerating Europe's recovery. It helped restore the confidence of the political and economic leaders of the countries of Western Europe, and it brought to Europe an infusion of American ideas—economic and management concepts, as well as political ideas. These have been major factors in the

economic and political transformation of Europe.

Mr. Speaker, just a few days ago, this House considered and adopted a resolution which I introduced with the cosponsorship of a number of my colleagues, House Concurrent Resolution 63, recommitting the United States to the principles of the Marshall Plan. Mr. Speaker, that resolution recognizes the wisdom and insight of Secretary Marshall's address and of the policy that resulted from it, and it recommitments the United States to that wise policy first enunciated 50 years ago. I appreciate the wisdom of the House in rededicating our Nation to those principles.

Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post Outlook Section in its issue of May 25 published a brilliant essay by historian John Lukacs on the legacy of the Marshall Plan. Professor Lukacs is one of the most distinguished and articulate scholars of contemporary history, and he is the author of a number of important books on international politics in the second half of this century. He points out that the greatest importance of the Marshall Plan was not its contribution to European economic recovery, but the affirmation of an American commitment to the political and military security of Europe. We recognized through our unselfish implementation of the Marshall plan that our own Nation's future was linked with the security, prosperity, and democratic success of Europe. Mr. Speaker, I ask that the article by Professor Lukacs be placed in the RECORD and I urge my colleagues to give it careful, serious, and thoughtful attention.

THE IDEA THAT REMADE EUROPE

(By John Lukacs)

The fifth of June, 1947, was a milestone in the history of the United States, and of what was soon thereafter called the Western World. Fifty years ago, in a speech to Harvard University's graduating class, Secretary of State George C. Marshall announced the European Recovery Program, later known as the Marshall Plan. It described the American government's firm resolution to underwrite the economic recovery of European countries damaged by the recently ended war and threatened by the possible expansion of international communism.

The plan was a great success. It provided for generous loans, outright gifts and the furnishing of American equipment, eventually amounting to some \$13 billion (or about \$88.5 billion in today's dollars) tendered to 16 countries over five years between 1947 and 1952. West Germany was included among the recipients when it became a state in 1948.

The Marshall Plan was a milestone; but it was not a turning point. The giant American ship of state was already changing course. Two years before, the government and much of American public opinion had looked to the Soviet Union as their principal ally, even sometimes at the expense of Britain. But by early 1947, the Truman administration had begun to perceive the Soviet Union as America's principal adversary—a revolution in foreign policy that has had few precedents in the history of this country.

In 1947, this was marked by three important events; the announcement of the Truman Doctrine in March, committing the United States to the defense of Greece and Turkey; the announcement of the Marshall Plan in June; and the publication in the July issue of Foreign Affairs of the famous "X" article by George F. Kennan, then director of the State Department's policy planning staff, who defined a policy of Soviet "containment." In a radical departure from

American traditions, these three statements showed that the United States was committed to defend a large part of Europe, even in the absence of war.

All this is true, but perhaps a bit too simple in retrospect. The term "Cold War" did not yet exist, and there was still hope that a definite break with the Soviet Union—leading among other things to a hermetic division of Europe—might be avoided. Marshall's speech suggested that the offer was open to the states of Eastern Europe too, and perhaps even to the Soviet Union. One reason for this somewhat indefinite generosity was to maintain an American presence in Eastern Europe, since the plan called for the establishment of ties with the United States, including the temporary presence of American administrators.

That is why Stalin refused to countenance the Marshall Plan from its inception. (As Winston Churchill had said, Stalin feared Western friendship more than he feared Western enmity.) Czechoslovakia provides a case in point. Ruled by a coalition government in which the Communists were amply represented but which was parliamentary and democratic, Czechoslovakia still hoped to remain a possible bridge between East and West. The first reaction of the Prague government was to accept the offer of the Marshall Plan. Moscow then ordered the government to refuse it, which it did—instantly.

This did not surprise officials in Washington, including Kennan. By June, the division of Europe was already hardening fast. The Iron Curtain (a phrase first employed 15 months before by Churchill) was becoming a physical reality. Eight months after Marshall's speech, the Communists took over Prague. Soon after came the Russian blockade of West Berlin, the Berlin airlift, the final separation of Western from Eastern Germany, and the formation of NATO in early 1949. The partition of Europe was frozen; the Cold War was on.

So, generously offered and eagerly accepted, the Marshall Plan was restricted to Western Europe. Within four years, the economic and financial recovery of Western Europe was advancing swiftly. It is interesting that the costs of the American contribution to rebuilding Europe during those first crucial years of the Cold War were about the same as the costs of the materials it had given the Soviet Union during World War II to help with the Allied victory. After 1947, not a single European country went Communist that was not already Communist in 1947—a situation that remained unchanged until the dissolution of the Soviet Eastern European empire in 1989.

But the economic effects of the Marshall Plan should not be exaggerated. Its principal effect was political: a definite sign of America's commitment to the defense of Western Europe, and to maintaining an American presence there. Behind the Marshall Plan, of course, was the habitual American inclination to overrate economic factors, coupled with the inclination to think in ideological terms, to be preoccupied by the dangers of communism, rather than by the existence of Russian nationalism, including the Russian military presence in Eastern Europe. Despite the success of the Marshall Plan and of Western European economic recovery, the proportion of Communist voters in countries such as France and Italy did not decrease from 1947 to 1953.

The Marshall Plan left a more long-standing legacy than recovery. It was one of the instruments of the democratization of Western Europe, resulting in the emulation and adoption of American ideas and institutions, such as progressive income taxation, Social Security, near-universal education and installment buying, all of which led to the