

Bryan Community School until 1969, where he then went on to Carpenter Community School as its director. He served in this same capacity at McKinley Middle School from 1972 to 1990, helping guide the lives of thousands of children.

When the need arose, Kenneth found himself thrust back into the role as teacher, as he taught science and social studies at Anderson Community School from 1990 to 1995, and then his current teaching position, once again at McKinley. No matter which hat he wore, Kenneth always proved himself to be an exceptional educator, able to help his students acquire and develop skills that would help them to become strong, positive members of society.

In efforts to lead by example, Kenneth has also been involved in the community as well. Within the school, he has been a team leader in the team curriculum program, and has also been willing to volunteer as a referee for sporting events such as volleyball and track and field. He has served on the Learning Standard Committee, and has been a coordinator of the Buick City and Flint Olympian Road Race.

Mr. Speaker, there are many adults throughout the entire state of Michigan whose lives have been enriched by an early life interaction with Kenneth Baker. I am proud to have a person such as him within my district. I ask my colleagues in the 106th Congress to join me in wishing him well in his retirement.

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

### HON. GEORGE R. NETHERCUTT, JR.

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, June 14, 1999*

Mr. NETHERCUTT. Mr. Speaker, on June 10, 1999, I was absent after 6:30 p.m. to attend my son's junior high school graduation ceremony. I ask that the RECORD reflect that if I was present, I would have voted "no" on rollcall votes 192, 193, 200, 201 and 202 and I would have voted "aye" on rollcall votes 194 through 199 and 203.

### TROOPER CHARLES PULVER RETIRES AFTER 31 YEARS OF SERVICE ON THE COLORADO STATE PATROL

### HON. SCOTT McINNIS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, June 14, 1999*

Mr. McINNIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to honor Trooper Charles Pulver who, after 31 years in the Colorado State Patrol, has announced his retirement. In recognition of his service and dedication to the citizens of Colorado, I would like to take a moment to pay tribute to Trooper Pulver.

After graduating from Central High School in Pueblo in 1960, Pulver went on to serve in the United States Air Force from 1960 to 1964. In 1968, Pulver received his first assignment to serve the citizens of Golden, Colorado. He was transferred to Idaho Springs where he served from 1972 until 1980 when he returned home to serve the community of Pueblo.

Throughout his 31 years of service, Chuck has undoubtedly witnessed a great deal, yet one thing has remained the same, Chuck's dedication to the citizens of Colorado, and his high moral standards. In 1974, Trooper Pulver was awarded the Red Cross Life Saving awards for performing CPR on a heart attack victim until further medical help arrived on the scene. Named Officer of the Year several times by the Optimist Club, Chuck was most recently nominated in 1998 for his outstanding dedication to duty. He has been recognized numerous times for his efforts in DUI enforcement, as a drug expert, and safety belt compliance by the Colorado State Patrol.

Today, as Trooper Pulver embarks on a new era in his life, I would like to offer my gratitude for his years of service. It is clear that Pueblo, Colorado has benefited greatly from the hard work and honest endeavors of Mr. Pulver. On behalf of all of Colorado, I would like to say thank you to Trooper Charles Pulver and wish him all the best as he begins his much deserved retirement.

### CRISIS IN KOSOVO (ITEM NO. 8)— REMARKS BY JOHN R. MACARTHUR, PUBLISHER OF HARPER'S MAGAZINE

### HON. DENNIS J. KUCINICH

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, June 14, 1999*

Mr. KUCINICH. Mr. Speaker, on May 20, 1999, I joined with Rep. CYNTHIA A. MCKINNEY, Rep. BARBARA LEE, Rep. JOHN CONYERS and Rep. PETER DEFAZIO in hosting the fourth in a series of Congressional Teach-In sessions on the Crisis in Kosovo. If a peaceful resolution to this conflict is to be found in the coming weeks, it is essential that we cultivate a consciousness of peace and actively search for creative solutions. We must construct a foundation for peace through negotiation, mediation, and diplomacy.

Part of the dynamic of peace is a willingness to engage in meaningful dialogue, to listen to one another openly and to share our views in a constructive manner. I hope that these Teach-In sessions will contribute to this process by providing a forum for Members of Congress and the public to explore alternatives to the bombing and options for a peaceful resolution. We will hear from a variety of speakers on different sides of the Kosovo situation. I will be introducing into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD transcripts of their remarks and essays that shed light on the many dimensions of the crisis.

This presentation is by John R. (Rick) MacArthur, president and publisher of Harper's Magazine. Mr. MacArthur is an award-winning journalist and author. He received the 1993 Mencken award for the best editorial/opinion column. He also initiated the foundation-inspired rescue of Harper's in 1980, and since then the magazine has received numerous awards and the support of advertisers and readers alike. Mr. MacArthur is the author of *Second Front: Censorship and Propaganda in the Gulf War*, a finalist for a 1993 Mencken Award for books. A tireless advocate for international human rights, Mr. MacArthur founded and serves on the board of directors of the Death Penalty Information Center and the MacArthur Justice Center.

Mr. MacArthur describes how government institutions and their willing accomplices in the news media mislead the public during periods of wartime. He cites specific instances from the Gulf War as well as the current War in Yugoslavia. He also discusses how both sides in the War in Yugoslavia engage in propaganda, often involving the misrepresentation and invention of atrocity stories to suit political purposes. Mr. MacArthur makes a compelling case for how war undermines the trust that the American people have in their institutions, with truth and accuracy as the victims. I commend this excellent presentation to my colleagues.

PRESENTATION BY JOHN R. MACARTHUR,  
PUBLISHER OF HARPER'S MAGAZINE

The first thing to keep in mind is that all governments lie in wartime, more or less in proportion to what they view as their political needs. Much more rarely do they lie in the pursuit of strategic military objectives or to protect military security, which is their oft-stated claim. Occasionally military commanders get the upper hand and their general obsession with secrecy and control can overcome the will of the politicians and their civilian advisors, but usually the politicians call the tune. They lie, and when they lie in concert with their military subordinates it is for one principle reason, and that is to manipulate journalists and mislead the public. In our country this matters more than in, say, North Vietnam, because we Americans operate on the quaint, old-fashioned notion of informed consent of the governed. The thought in the government is that if too much bad or unpleasant news gets to the people, as it finally did in Vietnam, the people might turn against the war policy of their leaders, which the leaders would prefer not to happen. Thus we cannot talk about war coverage in Kosovo without talking about NATO, US, and Serbian censorship and information management.

NATO and the US are trying to manage the bad news in a variety of ways. Some of their techniques have succeeded in keeping us in the dark, and some have backfired. A case in point comes from Newsday's senior Washington correspondent Pat Sloyan whose upcoming article in the June American Journalism Review details the NATO public relations response to the April 14th bombing of the mixed procession of military and civilian vehicles near Jakovo that killed upwards of 82 Albanian civilians, who, of course, we were supposed to protect. You'll recall the delay in NATO's response, and the playing of an audio tape debriefing of a US air force pilot identified only as "Bear 21." "Bear 21" is heard sincerely explaining how hard he tried to hit the military vehicle, but the implication by NATO and by the PR people was that "Bear 21," with all his good intentions, had simply missed his target and killed civilians. In fact, "Bear 21" did hit the military vehicle, not the tractors. A review of the gun-sight footage revealed later that other NATO pilots may have killed the civilians. I think they probably did, and, as Sloyan writes, senior US military officials who spoke on condition of anonymity say General Clark's staff had purposely singled out the F-16 pilot, "Bear 21," in an attempt to minimize public criticism of the civilian bombing. The hope was that the public would be sympathetic to someone who had taken great care to be accurate. "They [that is, NATO], picked him for propaganda reasons," says a senior US military official. The blame-placing outraged senior military officials, who said it deliberately misrepresented the event, and smeared an excellent pilot.

That's a fairly sophisticated public relations maneuver, but NATO is resorting to

less sophisticated manipulation techniques as well, some of which seem quite pointless to me. In the Gulf War you'll recall reporters were not permitted to interview soldiers, sailors, and airmen without a military press agent present at all times. This was done naturally to discourage the troops from making any offhand or calculated criticisms of US policy, of their living conditions, of their fears of going into battle, in short, anything that might have suggested that their morale wasn't anything but 100% A-OK. Today at the Aviano airbase in Italy, not only do you still need a military escort present, but you can't use the name or hometown of your interview subject. The bizarre justification for this is allegedly to protect the families of the servicemen, or the servicewomen, from Yugoslav hate mail. I'm wondering if this is a military security matter or some weird form of political correctness in which the receivers of the bombs aren't permitted to express their hatred for those who deliver the bombs. But actually I think it's more likely just propaganda, because we're inevitably going to kill Serb and Albanian civilians and we don't want to associate actual names and faces with the killing. That would be bad for morale, both within the air force and outside the air force. It's pure and simple PR.

This brings up the larger question of war coverage and propaganda. NATO and Serbia are currently engaged in a propaganda war that hinges to some extent on accurate or inaccurate war coverage. Paradoxically, the side that is cast as the villain in the war, the enemy of freedom and tolerance, is the side that is permitting and encouraging the best war coverage. The Serbs think bad news helps their case because nobody on our side wants to see the blood of civilians on our hands. NATO realizes this and is trying to mitigate the propaganda value of dead civilians with allegations of atrocities committed by the Serbs against innocent Albanians. NATO and its supporters in the media are hyping Holocaust analogies in particular. Fred Hiatt in the Washington Post threw all caution and sense of proportion to the winds last week, making an explicit comparison between the expulsion and flight of the Albanians and the Auschwitz extermination camp. NATO talks about the rape camps, mass graves, and summary executions. They cite as evidence spy satellite photographs, but won't show us these photographs.

Meanwhile, thanks to the Yugoslav political imperative, correspondents like the outstanding Paul Watson of the Los Angeles Times report things like: "Something strange is going on in [this Kosovar Albanian village] in what was once a hard-line guerrilla stronghold, where NATO accuses the Serbs of committing genocide." He goes on to report that by their own accounts the Albanian men are not living in a concentration camp, or being forced to labor for the police or army, or serving as human shields for Serbs. I think you've probably seen other stories saying that these Serbs for whatever reason are encouraging Albanians to move back into their homes. This of course in no way excuses the expulsion of the hundreds of thousands who are in the refugee camps, but there is a battle of propaganda going on now of epic proportion.

I would, I suppose immodestly, ask you to ask yourselves and your elected representatives and maybe your local newspaper editors why it is that our memories are so short on the question of successful propaganda. Just seven years ago, John Martin of CBS News and I revealed elements of an atrocity that allegedly occurred during the Gulf War, which had a great deal to do with the Senate vote in favor of going to war, the Senate War Resolution. I am referring to the baby incu-

bator murders of 1990 and 1991 allegedly committed by Iraqi soldiers in Kuwaiti hospitals. I hope you remember that it was entirely false, entirely fraudulent. Not one baby was killed by Iraqi soldiers. It's possible that babies died from neglect, because most of the foreign medical staff had fled the Kuwaiti hospitals, but there was no looting of incubators. At one point President Bush, sounding very much like President Clinton, declared that babies were being "scattered like firewood" across the hospital floors. More famously, in this case, the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador, Naira Al Sabah, testified as an anonymous refugee before House Human Rights Caucus, saying that she herself had witnessed 15 babies being removed from incubators. Everybody believed it. By the end of it, Amnesty International, which got suckered into the story as well, had declared that 312 babies had been killed this way. Another hearing was held in front of the UN Security Council, where a surgeon—he called himself a surgeon—said that he had personally supervised the burial of 40 babies outside the hospital where they had been killed. After the war, he recanted. He turned out to be a dentist, not a surgeon, and so on and so forth. This was not just in the august chambers of the House of Representatives, but before the United Nations Security Council. So I am astonished that there is so little skepticism about the atrocity stories.

The exaggeration of atrocities, or the invention of atrocity stories, has the paradoxical effect of minimizing the real horror of a war. In other words, because there's a Holocaust going on, well, if a few hundred civilians have to die, it's not such a big deal. I think that's one of the propaganda motives of NATO right now, to hype the atrocities and push the Holocaust analogies as much as possible in order to minimize the horror over the deaths of hundreds of civilians, Albanians and Serbs, caused by our side.

#### HONORING MELVYN S. BRANNON

#### HON. DALE E. KILDEE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, June 14, 1999*

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise before you today to recognize and honor the achievements of a man who has given much to the community on behalf of civil rights. On June 27, local officials and civic leaders will join family and friends to pay tribute to Mr. Melvyn Brannon of Burton, MI, who is retiring as president of the Urban League of Flint, after more than 30 years of dedicated service.

Melvyn Brannon was born in Memphis, TN, and went to studies at the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff. He then moved to Michigan, where he pursued postgraduate studies at Eastern Michigan University, the University of Michigan-Flint, and Harvard Business School. During this time, he also participated in the National Urban League Management Training and Development Program. This served as just the beginning of a long standing relationship with the Urban League.

Throughout the years, Mel worked at Flint Osteopathic Hospital as a radiologic technologist, and then moved on to lengthy and rewarding tenure with Flint Community Schools, which included positions such as teacher, special counselor, and job development and placement specialist. In September of 1968, Mel was appointed deputy executive director of the Urban League of Flint, and held

the position until November of 1970, where he became president, a position he has held until this day.

In addition to his extensive work with the Urban League both locally and nationally, Mel has benefited many members of the community with his vision and insight. In the past, he has served on such boards as Genesee County Commission on Substance Abuse Services, the Coalition for Positive Youth Development, the Urban Coalition of Greater Flint, and the Hurley Hospital Board of Managers, to name a few. Currently he has been involved with the boards of Disability Network, Priority 90's, the Hurley Medical Center Human Resources Committee, and he serves as Chairman of the Bishop International Airport Authority. Mel has also been found working with groups such as NAACP, the Rotary Club, and the Genesee County Sickle Cell Anemia Foundation, among many others.

Mr. Speaker, the Flint area, as well as the entire state of Michigan has prospered due to the efforts and leadership of Melvyn Brannon. I ask my colleagues in the 106th Congress to please join me in congratulating him on his retirement.

#### FLAG DAY 1999

#### HON. RON PAUL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, June 14, 1999*

Mr. PAUL. Mr. Speaker, I wish to pay tribute to a great symbol of our nation, the flag of the United States of America on this Flag Day 1999. I wonder how frequently we take for granted this symbol, how often we fail to consider what it is and indeed what it represents.

The flag contains 13 stripes and 50 stars. Those 13 stripes represent the first thirteen states, each of which emanating from colonies of British America. These 13 colonies came together because they were opposed to continued oppression by the British executive and the British parliament. After numerous and significant entreaties seeking reconciliation, the British American came to understand that political independence and local self-government was the only way to insure against the most dangerous of tyrannies.

Was this eternal truth forgotten immediately upon the founding of our nation? Hardly. From the Articles of Confederation through to the original U.S. Constitution a clear understanding of the necessity of the separation of powers was maintained. And the genius of that division of powers lay only so partially in the three federal branches, each reliant upon some different direct authority but all resting government finally on the consent of the governed. Indeed, it has rightly been said that "the genius of the constitution is best summed up in that clause which reserves to the states or to the people those powers which are not specifically delegated to the federal government."

So those states came together to form a compact, indeed to form a nation and, they gave specific but limited powers to the federal government. From those original thirteen stars and stripes, representing the individual states, came one. *E pluribus unum*. And this is what the flag and those stripes represent.

Today the flag contains 50 stars to represent the 50 current states. From 13 came 50