

riddled with contradictions and hypocrisies, and has enlarged a local human rights crisis to a regional disaster. This has been helped by a system of doublespeak that the mainstream media have not only failed to challenge but have incorporated into their own usage. Contrary to their proclaimed objectivity, this failure has made them agents of state propaganda, rather than information servants of a democratic community.

BOMB THE NEW YORK TIMES?

(By Edward S. Herman and David Peterson)

NATO spokespersons have justified the bombing of Serbian TV and radio on the grounds that these broadcasters are an "instrument of state propaganda," tell lies, spew forth hatred, provide no "balance" in their offerings, and thus help prolong the war. In an April 8th news briefing NATO Air Commodore David Wilby explained: "Serb radio is an instrument of propaganda and repression. It has filled the airwaves with hate and with lies over the years, and especially now. It is therefore a legitimate target in this campaign. If President Milosevic would provide equal time for Western news broadcasts in his programs without censorship . . . then his TV would become an acceptable instrument of public information."

The mainstream U.S. media have accepted this NATO rationale for silencing the Serbia media, viewing themselves as truth-tellers and supporters of just policies against the evil enemy. But this is the long-standing self-deception of people whose propaganda service is as complete as that of Serbian state broadcasters. Just as they did during the Persian Gulf war, the mainstream media once again serve as cheer-leaders and propagandists for "our side. And as the brief review below shows, on NATO principles the Times et al. are eminently bombable.

BALANCE

The Serbian media is bombable, says Wilby, because it has not provided "equal time" to western broadcasters. This ludicrous criterion is far better met by the Serbian media than by those of the U.S. (or Britain). An estimated one-third or more of Belgrade residents watch western TV news broadcasts (including CNN, BBC, and Britain's Sky News), and many Serbs watch CNN for advance warning of bombing raids. This greatly exceeds the proportion of U.S. citizens who have access to dissident foreign messages, and domestic dissent here is marginalized. FAIR's May 5 study "Slanted Sources in Newshour and Nightline Kosovo Coverage" showed that only 8 percent of its participants were critical of the bombing campaign, far below the Wilby standard for Serbia.

SPEWING HATRED

The demonization of Milosevic, the shameful use of the plight of Albanian refugees to stoke hatred and justify NATO violence, and the near-reflexive use of words like "genocide" and "ethnic cleansing" surely competes with anything that the "state-controlled" Serbian media have served up. As with the earlier demonization of Saddam Hussein, *Newsweek* placed Milosevic on its cover titled "The Face of Evil" (April 19), while *Time* showed the demon's face with an assassin's crosshairs centered between his eyes (April 5). A State Department official has acknowledged that "the demonization of Milosevic is necessary to maintain the air attacks" (San Francisco Chronicle, March 30, 1999), and the media have responded.

Times Foreign Affairs columnist Thomas Friedman has repeatedly called for the direct killing of Serbian civilians—"less than surgical bombing" and "sustained unreasonable bombing"—as a means of putting pres-

sure on the Yugoslavian government (April 6, 9, 23, May 4 and 11), which amounts to urging NATO to commit war crimes. If Serb broadcasters were openly calling for slaughtering Kosovo Albanians the media would surely regard this as proving Serb barbarism.

EVADING OR SUPPRESSING INCONVENIENT FACTS AND ISSUES

Because the NATO attack is in violation of the UN Charter the mainstream media have set this issue aside, although in 1990, when George Bush could mobilize a Security Council vote for his war, he stated that he acted on behalf of a world "where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle." In 1990, it was awkward that Bush had appeased Saddam Hussein before his invasion of Kuwait, so the media buried that fact; in 1999 the media rarely mention that Clinton supported the massive Croatian ethnic cleansing of Serbs in 1995 or that he has consistently ignored Turkey's repression of Kurds (with Turkey actually providing bases for NATO bombing attacks on Yugoslavia).

THE BIG LIE OF NATO'S HUMANITARIAN AIM

That this is a lie demonstrated by the terrible effects of NATO policy on the purported beneficiaries; by the fact that these negative consequences were seen as likely by intelligence and military officials, which didn't affect their willingness to "take a chance"; by NATO's continuation of the policy even as evidence of its catastrophic effects mounted; by NATO's methods, which have included the destruction of the Serb's civilian infrastructure and the use of delayed action cluster bombs and depleted uranium shells that could make Kosovo uninhabitable; and by the NATO's failure to prepare for the induced refugee crisis and its unwillingness to accept more than nominal numbers of refugees. NATO's official responses to repeated civilian casualties from its bombing attacks have been notably lacking in human sympathy. British journalist Robert Fisk was appalled by a NATO press conference of May 14, the day after 87 ethnic Albanians were "ripped apart" by NATO bombs at Korisa. NATO spokesmen Jamie Shea and Major-General Walter Jertz "informed us 'It was another very effective day of operations.'" There was "not a single bloody word of astonishment or compassion," (*The Independent* [London], May 15, 1999). This response of NATO officials was not mentioned, let alone featured, in the U.S. media.

Thanks to the scale of the refugee crisis, the U.S. media have been unable to avoid reporting that the NATO bombing has been followed by catastrophic effects. But while some commentators have declared the policy a failure and have castigated the administration for it, most have followed the official line of blaming all of these nasty developments on Milosevic. They have focused intently and uncritically on alleged Serb abuses, all allegedly "deliberate," whereas NATO killings and damage are slighted, and when unavoidably reported are allowed to be "errors."

THE BIG LIE ABOUT THE "FAILURE" OF DIPLOMACY

As with Kosovo, during the Persian Gulf war experience the media accepted that the enemy has refused to negotiate, thus compelling military action. Although Bush himself stated repeatedly that there would be no negotiations—"no reward for aggression"—and that Iraq must surrender, the media pretended that the U.S. was laboring to "go the extra mile for peace," while they suppressed information on numerous rejected peace offers. Thomas Friedman, after acknowledging that Bush strove to block off diplomacy lest negotiations "defuse the crisis" (Aug. 22, 1990), subsequently reported that "diplomacy

has failed and it has come to war" (Jan. 20, 1991), without mentioning that the diplomatic failure was intentional.

In the case of the NATO war on Yugoslavia, the official position is that Yugoslavia refused NATO's reasonable offer at Rambouillet, and that Milosevic's intransigence thus forced NATO to bomb. This is a Big Lie—NATO's offer was never reasonable, requiring Yugoslavia to accept not only full occupying power rights by NATO in Kosovo—apart of Yugoslavia—but also NATO's right to "free and unrestricted passage and unimpeded access" throughout Yugoslavia. The Serbs had indicated a definite willingness to allow a military presence in Kosovo, but not by NATO and certainly not with NATO authority to occupy all of Yugoslavia. NATO would not negotiate on these matters and issued an ultimatum to Yugoslavia that no sovereign state could accept.

As in the Persian Gulf war case, however, the mainstream U.S. media accepted the official line that the bombing resulted from a Serbian refusal of a reasonable offer after "extensive and repeated efforts to obtain a peaceful solution" (Clinton). The Serb position and the continued Serb willingness to negotiate on who would be included in the occupying forces was essentially ignored or deemed unreasonable; the ultimatum aspect of the process was considered of no importance; and the fact that the ultimatum required Yugoslavia to agree to virtual occupation of the entire state by NATO was suppressed. The NATO position, as the bush position in the Persian Gulf war, was surrender, not negotiate. And the media today, as then, pretend that we are eager to negotiate with a mulish enemy.

In sum, the propaganda service of the mainstream U.S. media to the Kosovo war would be hard to surpass, and on NATO principles the New York Times and its confreres are eminently bombable. But as usual, for the U.S. and NATO powers international law and moral principles apply only to others. To the godfather and his flunkies, an entirely different set of principles applies.

IN HONOR OF TOM PARKER

HON. THOMAS M. BARRETT

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 17, 1999

Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate this opportunity to share with my colleagues my appreciation and regard for Tom Parker. On Friday, June 18th, Tom's friends, family and admirers will gather in Milwaukee to celebrate his career and wish him well as he retires as President of the Milwaukee County Labor Council AFL-CIO.

Tom Parker is proud to be a machinist by trade. When he began his career at the Milwaukee-based heavy equipment manufacturing firm Allis Chalmers, he also joined the Machinists International Union. After leaving Allis Chalmers, Tom traveled around a bit, repairing printing presses and generators, and in 1962, he took a job at Miller Brewing and joined Machinist Lodge 66. He took an active interest in the union's advocacy efforts and worked himself into a leadership role. In 1973, Tom left the brewery to accept a full-time position as the local's Secretary-Treasurer.

In 1978, Milwaukee's labor community was shocked by the sudden death of Labor Council President Leo Winninger. Area union leaders urged Tom Parker to run, and he was elected

to the first of what would become 10 consecutive terms as President of the Milwaukee County Labor Council.

Throughout his service as Labor Council President, Tom Parker has been a vigorous advocate for Milwaukee area workers and their families and a gifted spokesman for organized labor. He has helped the Labor Council to work better, communicate more productively with the community and within its own membership, and respond more quickly and effectively to individual challenges and broader economic and policy changes.

Tom's public service is not limited strictly to the responsibilities of organized labor. He currently serves as a member of the Greater Milwaukee Committee, one of the area's leading civic organizations, as well as on the Aurora Health Care Board of Directors and the City of Milwaukee's Ethics Committee. Tom has also served on the boards of directors of some of Milwaukee's most active and enduring institutions, including the International Institute, the Villa Terrace Art Museum, Community Care of Milwaukee, the Milwaukee Council on Alcoholism and Drug Dependence, and the American Red Cross.

Mr. Speaker, I have always respected Tom Parker's keen understanding of the impact the issues and policies at hand have on the people they affect. He has always remembered that a contract negotiation or a legislative decision is not an abstract, but a very tangible act with very real consequences for workers and their families. He has approached all of his public activities in this same spirit, and I am proud to count myself among the many who have benefitted from his example.

As Tom's family, friends, union brothers and sisters, and admirers prepare to celebrate his career, I am honored to offer my congratulations on a job well done, my thanks for a lifetime of service, and my very best wishes to Tom Parker.

RECOGNIZING RENEWAL WEEK
AND THE VALUE OF COMMUNITY
BASED PROGRAMS LIKE CHAR-
ACTER COUNTS IN THE FIGHT
AGAINST JUVENILE CRIME

HON. ZACH WAMP

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 17, 1999

Mr. WAMP. Mr. Speaker, this week is Renewal Week. A week that we in the Renewal Alliance have set aside to remind our Colleagues and America about the value of private, community, and faith based organizations. Our nation has awakened this year to the reality of a cultural breakdown, where traditional values of respect and responsibility have often been replaced by indifference and apathy. But instead of just looking to Washington for a short term band-aid, I encourage everyone to help us look for a comprehensive solution. Our efforts should both protect our children and give them hope for their future. The only way we can do this is to bring traditional values back into our families, schools, and communities.

I want to share with you the exciting work being done by a program known as Character Counts. This is a program designed to bring character-based education to our nation's

schools. The Character Counts curriculum is taught in my district in Hamilton County and has been particularly successful this past school year. Values such as honesty, courage, citizenship, responsibility, values that helped make our country great, are discussed every week. In recent years violence, crime, addiction, poverty, and the breakdown of the family have taken its toll on the health of our local communities. If we truly want to stem the tide, we must return to our core values. I particularly want to praise Senator PETE DOMENICI who has been a strong advocate for this organization in the Senate and throughout the country. I encourage all of my colleagues to follow his lead.

Throughout this week, I encourage you to join me in empowering community institutions and encouraging community renewal to help inner cities and distressed rural communities gain their share of America's property. We must acknowledge a federal role, but let's focus on our communities to give our children hope for the future. We cannot fight this battle alone.

HONORING MEMBERS OF THE
AMERICAN LEGION AUXILIARY

HON. MICHAEL BILIRAKIS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 17, 1999

Mr. BILIRAKIS. Mr. Speaker, initially, the American Legion Auxiliary was organized by concerned women who took on the day-to-day responsibilities of life when U.S. soldiers were sent to Europe during World War I. Aware of the plight of fatherless families and the needs of returning veterans, these women vowed to continue their supportive role when the veterans of World War I founded the American Legion in 1919.

The first words of the Auxiliary preamble are "For God and Country." Auxiliary members believe in the ideals and principles of America's founding fathers. They also pledge to foster patriotism, preserve and defend the Constitution, promote allegiance to God and Country, and uphold the basic principles of freedom of religion, freedom of expression and freedom of choice.

The organization's programs were created to provide assistance, education and financial support for veterans and their families and to benefit the community because the Auxiliary focuses on helping to create a better society, particularly for the nation's citizens of the future, our children and young people. Through its nearly 12,000 units located in every state and some foreign countries, the Auxiliary embodies the spirit of America that has prevailed through war and peace.

I would like to recognize five exceptional Auxiliary members from Florida who have over 270 years of combined service to our nation. These women are: Shirley Campbell with 52 years of service; Edna Davis with 52 years of service; Barbara Pfohl with 52 years of service; Anna Rottensterger with 52 years of service; and Bertha Wolfe with 63 years of service.

These women have spent thousands of hours volunteering at the Bay Pines VA Medical Center. Their activities include holding monthly bingo and card parties; providing homemade cookies to veterans; delivering

candy and books to veterans in the hospital; and manning the Medical Center's information desks. These Auxiliary members have also distributed flags to thousands of school children, collected food for the needy and raised funds for student scholarships.

I want to commend each of these exceptional women and all of the members of the American Legion Auxiliary for their dedicated service to America's veterans and our nation.

THERE THEY GO AGAIN: CLINTON-GORE
"BLACKLISTING" U.S. TAX-
PAYERS, JOBS AND EMPLOYERS
AS PAYBACK TO THE AFL-CIO

HON. RANDY "DUKE" CUNNINGHAM

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 17, 1999

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to my colleagues' attention an old Clinton-Gore Administration initiative to endanger American jobs, and raise the government's cost of doing business. This initiative is known as the Blacklisting Regulation. This old proposal has new life because a presidential election is coming, and Vice President GORE is paying back the AFL-CIO.

In short, this proposed addition to the Federal Acquisition Regulations (FAR) would "blacklist" employers deemed to have insufficient "responsibility" in relations with workers from being able to do business with the Federal Government. It does not make goods and services less costly to the taxpayers. It does not improve the quality of goods and services provided to the government. It does not streamline or improve the procurement process.

No, what the Clinton-Gore Blacklisting Regulation would do is hand the union bosses the sword of Damocles over every employer in America—and over every one of their workers. For under this dangerous proposal, an employer and its workers may be in full compliance with the labor laws and regulations, in full compliance with workplace safety laws, and in full compliance with all other laws and regulations relating to procurement, but in danger of a politically-driven and costly contract cutoff.

Here is how the Clinton-Gore Blacklisting Regulation would work. Say a union is waging economic terrorism on an employer, filing frivolous complaints with the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Wage and Hour Division and the Office of Fair Employment Practices. Then that pile of complaints—not convictions, not findings of wrongdoing, but complaints—may identify the targeted employer as insufficiently "responsible." Federal procurement officials would ban the government from doing business with that employer. And workers would lose their jobs. They would be unemployed. Unless, of course, they knuckled under to the union bosses' economic terrorism.

As Americans, we are united in support of safe workplaces, fair treatment of employees, the right of employees to bargain collectively according to the law, and a day's pay for a day's work. Perhaps this Administration is not aware that America already has labor laws, and penalties for violating them. Perhaps this Administration is not aware that America has