

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ADDRESS OF JOHN BRADEMAS TO
LAUNCH A DEMOCRACY FOUNDATION
IN SPAIN**HON. TIM ROEMER**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1999

Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, because Congress is now debating legislation to continue funding the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), I wish to draw to the attention of my colleagues a most compelling address delivered on July 7, 1999 in Ibiza, Spain, by the chairman of the board of NED. He is one of my most distinguished predecessors as the U.S. Representative in Congress of the Third Congressional District of Indiana that I am now privileged to represent, the Honorable John Brademas.

As those of you who served with John Brademas know, he was for 22 years (1959–1981), an active and productive Member of the Committee on Education and Labor. In his last four years as a Member of Congress, John Brademas was, by appointment of Speaker Thomas P. ("Tip") O'Neill, Jr., the House Majority Whip.

On leaving Congress, Dr. Brademas became president of New York University, the nation's largest private university, a position in which he served for 11 years (1981–1992). Now president-emeritus, Dr. Brademas is also chairman, by appointment from President Clinton, of the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

Dr. Brademas, a graduate of Harvard University, wrote his doctoral dissertation at Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar. His subject was the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain from the 1920s through the first year of the Spanish Civil War. In 1997, in the presence of Their Majesties King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia of Spain, and the First Lady of the United States, Dr. Brademas dedicated the King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center at New York University. This Center is devoted to the study of modern Spain and the Spanish-speaking world.

On July 7, 1999, Dr. Brademas delivered an address at a forum in Ibiza, Spain, where representatives of the two major Spanish political parties, including Abel Matutes, Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, announced the establishment of the "Spanish Commission to Support Democracy," a Spanish counterpart of our National Endowment for Democracy.

Speaking in Spanish, Dr. Brademas said, "The fact of a common language and cultural heritage, combined with the Spanish experience of transition from authoritarianism to democracy, afford the new Spanish Commission unique ways to champion the democratic cause in Spanish-speaking America. Although every country in Latin America is at least semi-democratic, democratic institutions are fragile or even weakening."

Mr. Speaker, I submit the text of Dr. Brademas' address in Spain.***HD***Address

of John Brademas at a Forum To Launch a Democracy Foundation in Spain

There are several reasons I was pleased to accept the invitation to take part in this conference to mark the launch of the "Comisión Española de Apoyo a la Democracia."

In the first place, Spain has been especially important in my own life. I first came to this country nearly fifty years ago as a student at Oxford University where I produced a doctoral dissertation on the anarcho-syndicalist movement in Spain from the mid-1920s through the first year of the Spanish Civil War.

Essential to my research on the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo were interviews in Paris, Toulouse and Bordeaux with Spanish anarchists in exile, such as the remarkable Federica Montseny and Felipe Aláiz, one of the founders of the Federación Anarquista Ibérica.

While at Oxford, I several times visited Barcelona where I met one of the leaders of the democratic Socialist underground who went on to positions of great responsibility in this country, Joan Reventós Carner, now the distinguished President of the Parliament of Catalonia, even as I recall, in 1952, lunching with the monks at Montserrat and listening to their caustic comments on both General Franco and certain Bishops of the Church of Spain.

Although this is my first visit to Ibiza, I today recall having in 1952 in Mallorca had tea with the famed British writer, Robert Graves, and my wife and I were pleased only this week to have spent some time in Palma.

SERVICE IN CONGRESS

As all of us here are by definition engaged in politics, I should tell you that in 1958, five years after leaving Oxford to return to my hometown in Indiana, I was on my third attempt elected to the Congress of the United States where I served for twenty-two years, all on the committee with responsibility for legislation affecting education.

In 1980 I led a delegation of Congressmen to visit Spain where, at Moncloa, we talked with Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez, then in Barcelona visited the campaign headquarters of the two candidates seeking, in the first post-Franco free election, the presidency of the Generalitat of Catalonia. Their names were Jordi Pujol and Joan Reventós Carner.

Later that year, seeking my 12th term, and a Democrat, was defeated in Ronald Reagan's landslide victory over President Jimmy Carter. My mother thought the loss fortuitous for shortly thereafter I was invited to become president of New York University, the largest private university in the United States.

During my 11 years as president of NYU, as we call it, I think it's fair to say that we transformed the institution from a regional commuter school into a national, indeed international, residential research university.

In fact, one of my major commitments as NYU's president was to strengthen our capacity for teaching and research about other countries and cultures. During my tenure, New York University established a Center on

Japan-U.S. Business and Economic Studies, an Onassis Center for Hellenic Studies, a Casa Italiana and a Department and Hebrew and Judaic Studies.

Finally, given my own interest in Spain and that Spanish is now the second language of the United States—indeed, 25 percent of the people in New York City speak Spanish—I decided to move on the frente español!

In 1983 I awarded his first honorary degree to His Majesty, King Juan Carlos I of Spain, and established a cátedra in his name under which there have come to NYU, as visiting professors, some of the world's leading authorities on modern Spain, including Francisco Ayala, José Ferrater Mora, John Elliott, José María Maravall, Hugh Thomas, Eduardo Subirats, Jon Juaristi, Estrella de Diego and my own Oxford dissertation advisor, Raymond Carr.

KING JUAN CARLOS I OF SPAIN CENTER

In 1997, in the presence of Their Majesties, King Juan Carlos and Queen Sofia, and of the First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton, we dedicated the King Juan Carlos I of Spain Center, devoted to the study of modern Spain and the Spanish-speaking world.

In the relatively brief life of the Center, we have developed an intensive program of activities. We have been honored by visits of the former Prime Minister of Spain, Felipe González, and his successor, José María Aznar. Last year, under the leadership of the distinguished former Mayor of Barcelona, Pasqual Maragall, we conducted a forum on the future of cities. Among those participating were the Mayors of Barcelona, Joan Clos; Sevilla, Soledad Becerril; Santiago de Compostela, Xerardo Estévez; and of Santiago de Chile, Cuahtemoc Cárdenas of Mexico City; Rio de Janeiro; New York City; Indianapolis and San Juan, Puerto Rico.

In September the King Juan Carlos Center conducted a symposium on "Twenty Years of Spanish Democracy", with eminent intellectuals from Spain joining American scholars. The conference included such persons as Javier Tusell, Charles Powell, Juan Linz, Victor Pérez-Díaz and José Pedro Pérez-Llorca and featured addresses by the new United States Ambassador, Eduardo Romero, and the distinguished Foreign Minister of Spain, Abel Matutes, whose consistency, I am well aware, is Ibiza.

In November I was in Buenos Aires, speaking at the National Academy of Education in Argentina and the University of Buenos Aires while in December I was here in Spain, to speak at the University of Alcalá, in Alcalá de Henares, birthplace of Cervantes.

In April I was in Cádiz, birthplace of the Constitution of 1812, for nearly two centuries an inspiration to peoples throughout the world who cherish the principles of democracy, freedom and the protections of constitutional government.

In all these places, I took note of the rising importance in the United States of Spanish speakers, now some 28 million—and urged

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

that even as we have been forging, with increased investment in Latin America by Spanish business firms and continuing U.S. investment there, a "triangular" economic relationship, so, too, we should develop what I would call "triangular" relationships among universities in the United States, Latin America and Spain.

So from what I've said, you will understand why I rejoice at the opportunity to be back in Spain.

But there is another reason I'm pleased to participate in this conference. For over two decades, as I have said, I was a working politician—fourteen times a candidate for election to the Congress of the United States, winning eleven and losing three campaigns.

So I am deeply devoted to the processes of democracy and that my late father was born in Greece—I was the first native-born American of Greek origin elected to Congress—enhanced that commitment.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY

For the last several years, however, I've had a direct involvement with an entity dedicated to encouraging democracy in countries that do not enjoy it.

I speak of the National Endowment of Democracy, established in 1983 by a Republican President, Ronald Reagan, and a Democratic Congress. NED, as we call it, is a non-governmental organization, albeit financed with government funds, that makes grants to private organizations in other countries, organizations struggling to develop free and fair elections, independent media, independent judiciary and the other components of a democratic society.

I am pleased that the able President of NED, Carl Gershman, will take part in our discussions in Ibiza later this week.

In light of developments in Kosovo, I must note that last March I joined a colleague in the United States and several in Europe to create what we are calling a Center for Democracy and Reconciliation in Southeast Europe, the Balkans.

Based in Salonika, the Center is governed by persons, the majority of whom are from the region itself.

We know that the task of building democracy in that troubled part of Europe will be daunting and require not months but years. Yet we want at least to plant the seeds of free and democratic institutions in the Balkans.

I think it significant in this respect that several eminent Spanish leaders have been playing significant roles in pursuing this same objective. I cite here, to illustrate, Felipe González, Javier Solana, Carlos Westendorp and Alberto Navarro, Director of ECHO, the European Community Office for Human Assistance.

This observation brings me to the third and final reason I'm pleased to be here. As a sometime scholar, practicing politician and university president, I have pursued careers central to which has been the connection—or lack thereof—between ideas and action. For the purpose of this forum is to consider how the political parties of modern, democratic Spain can, working together, help translate the idea of democracy into reality in places of the world where the institutions of self-government either do not exist or are struggling to survive.

"DEMOCRATIC SPAIN HAS A DEMOCRATIC VOCATION"

The thesis of my remarks today is simple and straightforward. It is that democratic Spain has a democratic vocation, a calling, a respon-

sibility—use whatever word you like—to join the National Endowment for Democracy, the Westminster Foundation and other democracy-promoting organizations in contributing to that cause.

I am especially impressed that representatives of the major Spanish political parties are cooperating to that end even as, in the United States, the National Endowment for Democracy was the product of collaboration between a Republican President, Ronald Reagan, and a Congress controlled in both chambers by the Democratic Party.

Now having been coming to Spain since before some of you here were born, I have observed at first hand the transition that Spaniards have made from an authoritarian regime to democracy.

The drama of that transition is exciting and one of which Spaniards can be justly proud. At the same time, you and I know that Spain has still much work to do to ensure that the institutions of democracy in your country are functioning as they should and that all the peoples of Spain are effectively engaged in the democratic process.

I add that I have just read a splendid new book that I commend to you as a history of the Spanish transition and an articulation of the challenges ahead. The book, by my friend, the distinguished Spanish scholar, Victor Pérez-Díaz, is entitled, *Spain at the Crossroads: Civil Society, Politics and the Rule of Law*, to be published in September by Harvard University Press.

I hasten to say that we in the United States have challenges to our own political system. For example, far too few eligible citizens even bother to vote, and the scramble for huge sums of money to finance electoral campaigns is an ongoing threat to the integrity of the American democracy.

In any event, I believe that Spain, and Spanish political parties in particular, can offer lessons of immense value to other parts of the world where democracy is under siege.

I have already noted Spanish leadership in Southeast Europe. You here will much better know than I the opportunities for Spain in promoting democracy in North Africa, in Algeria and Morocco.

The region to which, it seems to me, in the century soon to begin, democratic Spain has now an opportunity—indeed, a particular responsibility—to assist democracy, is Latin America.

THE DEMOCRATIC CAUSE IN LATIN AMERICA

First, I think it obvious that the fact of a common language and cultural roots combines with Spain's experience of democratic transition to afford Spain unique gateways to champion the democratic cause in Latin America.

Here let me take as a point of reference a series of articles on "Latin America's Imperiled Progress" in the latest issue of the *Journal of Democracy*, the quarterly published by the National Endowment for Democracy. For the thread that runs through most of these essays is that although "[e]very country except Cuba is now at least a semidemocracy . . . in many countries democratic institutions are fragile or even weakening."¹

The *Journal of Democracy* offers several analyses characterized by such comments as these:

" . . . [In] Brazil . . . in spite of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso's valiant efforts to

prevent an economic meltdown, political reform appears imperative if Brazil is to avoid a renewed descent into crisis and ungovernability."²

Of Venezuela and of the recent presidential election, "the future of democracy now seems in doubt . . ."³

Again, ". . . In the wake of President Alberto Fujimori's 1992 autogolpe, Peru's traditional political parties have been decimated, and the democratic opposition remains weak and narrowly based . . ."⁴

Another comment: "A more heartening story comes from Paraguay, where the murder of the vice-president galvanized an outpouring of popular indignation that ultimately forced the resignation of President Raul Cubas . . ."⁵

PRESIDENT CARTER'S FORUM

Here I note that last May I was in Atlanta, Georgia, to take part in a forum convened by former President Jimmy Carter who brought together former presidents and prime ministers from Latin America to discuss issues of transparency, corruption and political reform in the region.

In Argentina and Mexico, as we are all aware, corruption scandals at the highest levels of government have commanded the attention of observers all over the world. Indeed, I think you will agree that the issue of corruption today is far more visible than it has ever been. I myself am active in the organization, Transparency International, founded several years ago, for the express purpose of combating corruption in international business transactions.

Obstacles to genuine democracy in Latin America include, in too many countries—Peru is a blatant example—of a rubber-stamp Congress and a judiciary controlled by the executive.

In many Latin American countries, on the other hand, we have seen the development of lively and vigorous non-governmental organizations, essential to a flourishing civil society which, in turn, is indispensable to an effective democracy.

I must note another *Journal of Democracy* article whose author, Professor Scott Mainwaring of the University of Notre Dame (in the district I once represented in Congress) reminds us that although "In 1978, the outlook for democracy in Latin America was bleak . . ., [t]he situation has now changed profoundly in the last two decades. By 1990, virtually every government in the region was either democratic or semidemocratic. . . ."⁶

Mainwaring observes that since 1978, "The increase in the number of democracies in Latin America has been dramatic, and the demise of authoritarianism even more so,"⁷ but lists two countries "where democracy has lost ground: Venezuela and arguably, Colombia. . . ."⁸

Mainwaring adds that despite often dismal economic performance and continued presidentialism, a number of Latin American countries with elected governments have survived.

CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA

What then are the challenges to effective democracy in Latin America, democracy that goes beyond the characteristic, essential but not sufficient, of "elected government"?

Footnotes follow address.

I can do no better in listing these challenges than by referring to the testimony, on June 16, 1999, before the Committee on International Relations of the United States House of Representatives, of the Senior Program Officer for Latin America and the Caribbean of the National Endowment for Democracy, Christopher Sabatini.

All the areas cited by Dr. Sabatini are ones to which the United States, other countries, international organizations and, I am asserting, especially Spain, can make a significant, and positive, contribution:

Strengthening the rule of law and enhancing citizen access to the judicial system. The administration of justice is weak in most countries of Latin America.

Fighting corruption. This means finding ways in which civil society can press elected officials for public access to information and can work to increase the transparency and effectiveness of election and campaign finance laws.

Building democratic political parties. Establishing viable and representative political parties is essential to democratic participation, governance and stability in Latin America.

Battling crime. The democratic solution to rising crime requires improving the criminal justice system, bolstering the police and involving civil society groups both to combat crime and check state encroachment on civil liberties.

Improving civil-military relations. Both civilians and military leaders need to understand their respective responsibilities. The armed forces should be educated on their roles and duties in a democracy.

Defending freedom of the press. Liberty of expression is fundamental to a transparent, democratic system but such freedom is under attack in Latin America. Each country must develop a national network to defend a freedom indispensable to genuine democracy.

Pressing economic growth and reducing inequality of incomes. The wide gap between rich and poor in Latin America is a continuing threat to democratic development there.

Modernizing local governments. Decentralization of resources and responsibilities can better serve citizens but only if accompanied by measures to ensure local levels of accountability.

I add, by way of generalization, that it seems to me imperative, if democratic institutions are to take root and flourish in Latin America, legislative bodies and judicial systems must, like the media, be independent of control by the executive branch of government.

ROLE OF UNIVERSITIES IN STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY

In all these respects, I take the further liberty of suggesting, I believe there are potential contributions to the development of democracy to be made by universities. Institutions of higher learning can play a valuable role in strengthening democracy. As two respected scholars, Jorge Balán of the Ford Foundation and Daniel C. Levy of the State University of New York at Albany, have insisted, in shaping an agenda for research on higher education policy in Latin America, it is not enough to focus on modernization. Although, they argue, political economics, public policy-making, management and leadership are all legitimate subjects for university courses, they do not suffice. Universities must also look to the study of democracy, of civil society, freedom, of transi-

tions from authoritarianism, of the consolidation of democratic regimes.

WORDS OF KING JUAN CARLOS I

Allow me to conclude these remarks with words spoken at my university just sixteen years ago by a distinguished foreign visitor. Upon receiving the degree of doctor of laws, *honoris causa*, our guest spoke of the new challenges posed by society and of the role of what he called the "humanistic vocation" in meeting those challenges. Said our eminent honoree: "For all of us, professors, students, citizens and rulers, the adaptation of . . . structures to a world in which universal values of freedom, equality and justice prevail, must be a task of high priority. It is a mission that justifies any sacrifice, and must inspire our will and our imagination."

The speaker at New York University was, of course, His Majesty, King Juan Carlos I, and his words in December 1983 eloquently invoke the spirit that draws us together today.

I congratulate all of you on your historic achievement in creating the "Comisión Española de Apoyo a la Democracia" and wish you well.

FOOTNOTES

¹"Latin America's Imperiled Progress, *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 10, no. 3, July 1999, p. 33.

²*Ibid.*

³*Ibid.*

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶"The Surprising Resilience of Elected Governments," *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 10, no. 3, July 1999, p. 101.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 106.

RECOGNIZING SHIRLEY LOCKE

HON. JOHN SHIMKUS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1999

Mr. SHIMKUS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to thank Vandalia resident Shirley Locke who has selflessly volunteered at the Fayette County Hospital's long-term care unit for the last 23 years. As a volunteer, 64-year-old Shirley Locke works seven days a week for five to nine hours a day calling bingo, serving coffee, and going on outings with the patients. "She's here more often than any other volunteer", Shelly Rosenkoetter, activities director for long-term care, said. "We don't know what we'd do without her."

Shirley wouldn't trade her volunteer work for anything. "I just wanted something to do," she said. "It's like a second home to me. I'm going to do it as long as I can." I think it is great to see people like Shirley who are willing to volunteer long hours to lend a hand to the people of her community.

IN HONOR OF OFFICER JOAN HONEBEIN AND HER 25 YEARS OF SERVICE TO THE RESIDENTS OF UNION CITY, CA

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1999

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to honor and congratulate

Patrol Officer Joan Honebein on her retirement from twenty-five years of service to the residents of the 13th Congressional District.

Officer Honebein began her career with the Union City Police Department in 1974 when she was assigned to the patrol division. She was one of the first female patrol officers in South County. Joan, like every other officer, was responsible for handling a beat within Union City.

In 1977, Joan was selected to be the director of the Youth Services Bureau. She supervised two youth and family counselors at Y.S.B. and served as the Union City Police Department's Juvenile Officer until 1984.

In 1984, Officer Honebein returned to the patrol division to resume the duties of patrol officer and the responsibility of a beat. Joan remained a patrol officer until 1992 when she was selected to be the Court Liaison and Juvenile Detective. As a Court Liaison it was Joan's responsibility to take all pending court cases to the District Attorney's officer for review by the District Attorney. As the Juvenile Detective, she handled all juvenile cases referred to her by the patrol division. In 1997, Joan returned to the patrol division once again as a patrol officer responsible for a beat.

Joan has been a member of several Union City Police Officers Association Executive Boards, rising to the rank of Vice-President. She was also a member of the Union City Lions Club for many years and is a past President. She has volunteered for many of the projects sponsored by the Lions Club in Union City.

In 1998, Joan was voted Officer of the Year by the members of the Union City Police Officers Association in recognition of her willingness to go the extra mile when providing service to the citizens of the community. It was a fitting tribute to an excellent career.

On August 20, 1999 the Union City Police Officer's Association will honor Officer Honebein at a recognition dinner. I would like to join them in expressing my appreciation for her hard work and dedication. I wish her success in all her future endeavors.

RETIREMENT OF ROGER W. PUTNAM, PRESIDENT OF THE NON COMMISSIONED OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

HON. BOB STUMP

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, August 3, 1999

Mr. STUMP. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to an outstanding American, a true patriot, and veteran of the Armed Forces of the United States. On August 31, 1999, Roger W. Putnam will retire from his position as president and chief executive officer of the Non Commissioned Officers Association. On that date, Roger Putnam will bring to a close more than 40 years of service to the Nation and military members and veterans.

A retired U.S. Army Command Sergeant Major, Roger Putnam's military service was indeed distinguished and varied. He originally entered the Air Force in 1949 and served until his discharge in 1952. He continued his public service as a Detroit police officer before returning to the Army in September 1961. During the ensuing 24 years, he rose through the