

Congregation B'nai Israel continued to grow. The year 1986 marked additional milestones for what had become a community institution. In that year, the congregation began construction of the Harry M. Tonkin Memorial Chapel and the Sosnick Library. The much-needed addition not only led to a change in place of worship, but also an ideological change for the B'nai Israel. Tikkun Olam, the Jewish belief in repairing the world through good deeds and social action became a new found interest of the congregation, pushing further their desire to help others in the Sacramento area.

Members of Congregation B'nai Israel had suffered through tremendous hardship in their history, but nothing could prepare them for the events of June 18, 1999, when a fire bomber motivated by anti-Semitic hatred destroyed their library and severely damaged the sanctuary and administration building. In an inspiring gesture of solidarity, the entire Sacramento community joined with the congregation and collectively vowed not to let violence tear Sacramento apart.

In a historic event less than three days after the bombing, more than 4,000 Sacramento residents joined congregation leaders at a unity rally to protest religious and ethnic violence. Former president of the Interfaith Service Bureau, Rabbi Bloom, called for the creation of a museum of tolerance to battle against the tide of hatred.

Mr. President, despite all kinds of adversity, Congregation B'nai Israel has survived for 150 years and has grown into a vital and beloved community institution. I send my congratulations and personal thanks for all it has done to help a diverse community find common ground in the Sacramento area.●

TRIBUTE TO CALEB SHIELDS

● Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Caleb Shields, retired Chairman and current Councilman of the Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes of the Fort Peck Reservation in Montana. Caleb is retiring from his elected position with the Tribe, after twenty-four years of elected service. For those of you who don't know Caleb, I am sorry that you did not have an opportunity to meet this remarkable man during his many visits to discuss the myriad of issues facing Native American people. He has a strength of character and honor about him that you could not help but recognize and admire instantly when you met him.

Caleb's tenure of twenty-four years on the Board is truly a testament to his leadership and his character. As we all know, very few politicians can have a career that spans twenty-four years and even fewer can do it with the grace and dedication that Caleb has. It has been an honor to work with Caleb on the many issues that we have worked on together. His commitment and dedication to improve the lives of not only

the Native Americans on the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, but the lives of Native Americans throughout the Nation, are an inspiration to me. He has worked tirelessly to improve the level of funding for Indian health care programs and Native American education programs. He has stood in the Halls of Congress, often in the face of severe opposition, defending the governmental and sovereign rights of tribes. He has stood up to the federal government when the federal government has failed in its obligation to the tribes of this country. Significantly, he did all of this without ever making an enemy and without ever treating any person with disrespect. We can all stand to learn something from this man who while he had many battles, he never made any enemies.

I will miss my friend's visits to Washington, but I will mostly miss his advice on the Native American issues. Native American Country is losing a great leader, but I am sure that the basketball teams in Poplar are regaining a loyal fan. I understand that Caleb hopes to write a book about the history of the Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes from treaty time to modern time. I wish him well in his endeavor and look forward to reading his book.●

At the request of the Senator from Connecticut, Mr. LIEBERMAN, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CENTRAL CONNECTICUT STATE UNIVERSITY'S 150TH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION

● Mr. DODD. Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to rise today to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the founding the Central Connecticut State University. To stand the test of time, as Central has, an educational institution must respond to the educational needs of its students. At each turn over its notable 150-year history, Central has effectively positioned itself to address the new challenges of the day. While a great deal has changed at Central—and for that matter in the world—over the years, the school's primary concern and motivating goal—educating students—has remained unaltered.

Central Connecticut State University is Connecticut's oldest publicly-supported institution of higher learning and enjoys a rich and colorful legacy. Founded by order of the Connecticut State Legislature on June 22, 1849, the institution, first known as the Normal School, was a two-year teacher training facility. On May 15, 1850, Henry Barnard, the school's first "principal," as he was then called, and a handful of faculty and staff members welcomed the first class of 30 students.

The Normal School was the object of contentious political debate in Hartford and intermittent appropriation cuts during its early years. In fact, the school was closed from 1867 to 1869 due to lack of funding. Yet the school and

its supporters persevered. Each passing year brought bigger classes to the Normal School and with them, greater support from the members of the citizenry who understood the vital importance of higher education to their future and the future of the state. As was common at many of the era's institutions of higher learning, the Normal School's student body was overwhelmingly unbalanced in its male to female ratio. Interestingly, however, at the Normal School women, not men, made up the majority of the student body through the late 19th Century. In fact, due to the social norms of the time, which held the teaching of elementary and grade-school children as women's work, men disappeared from the student body at the Normal School for over thirty years—a change that would forever influence the character of the institution. The loss of male students did not stop the expansion of Normal School. Growing beyond the confines of its original building at the corner of Chestnut and Main in New Britain, in 1922 the school moved to the spacious campus it now occupies in the Belvedere section of New Britain.

The institution began to blossom academically in 1933 when it started to offer four-year baccalaureate degrees, changing its name to the Teachers College of Connecticut. The expansion of academic offerings drew men back to the college during the 1930s. Following World War II, the Teachers College of Connecticut, like many academic institutions, experienced remarkable growth and expansion. That growth led the State Legislature to grant the college the right to confer liberal arts degrees and to rename the institution the Central Connecticut State College in 1959. As the needs of its students have continued to change and expand in more recent times, so too has Central. In 1983, Central began offering graduate degrees and evolved into its present form—Central Connecticut State University.

With an enrollment of nearly 12,000 graduate and undergraduate students, Central is the largest of the four Universities within the Connecticut State System. With 80 programs of study, 38 departments and 5 individual schools dedicated to disciplines across the spectrum of learning, Central Connecticut State University has emerged as one of the premier regional universities in New England.

Always on the forefront of educational trends, Central recognized the lack of emphasis placed on the historical role of women and drew upon the significant role played by women in its own development to become one of the first schools in the Nation to build, in 1977, a Women's Center. The Center, which has become a highly respected credit to the university, offers a number of services for and about women

and has become a model for universities around the country. In 1990, Central became the first school in Connecticut to offer an accredited Computer Science degree, helping to prepare Connecticut students for the Information Age. Its Robert C. Vance Distinguished Lecturer Program has drawn United States Presidents and renowned leaders from around the globe to speak in New Britain. It is clear, that through these special programs, as well as others, Central Connecticut State University provides its students with a valuable educational opportunity and has established itself as one of the Nation's finest regional universities.

So I say again, Mr. President, that I am proud to stand on the floor of the United States Senate to recognize the enduring dedication of Central Connecticut State University to its students, to its state, and to excellence in education. Today, under the adept guidance of President Richard L. Judd and with the effort of so many talented and committed faculty and staff, the university continues to grow and prosper. I believe that Central's unceasing pursuit of excellence will ensure it remains a vital academic institution for many years to come.●

ON THE LIFE OF EDWARD C. BANFIELD

● Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, Edward C. Banfield has died. This had to come. He was 83. Yet little were those who loved him prepared. Or ready, you might say.

He held, of course, Henry Lee Shattuck Chair in Government at Harvard and, as Richard Bernstein notes in his fine obituary in *The Times*, was most active in the Joint Center for Urban Studies of M.I.T. and Harvard in the 1960s and 1970s. For part of that time I was chairman of the Joint Center and so came to know him at the peak of his long, comparably brilliant and yet understated career. In 1970, he published *The Unheavenly City*, which stands to this day as the most salient and, well, heart-wrenching exposition of the intractable nature of so many urban problems. He had been there before. As early as 1955 he wrote, with Martin Meyerson, *Politics, Planning and the Public Interest* which argued that the near religious zeal for high-rise public housing then current in Chicago, and across the land, would be a disaster. One notes it has taken Chicago the better part of thirty-five years to realize this, and start dynamiting the projects, as they came to be known. Just so was the seminal, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, a study of a small village in Southern Italy, which he wrote with Laura Fasano-Banfield, his radiantly intelligent wife and companion of sixty-odd years.

Now of course, none of this work was welcome, especially in academe. Not least because it made too much sense

to be rejected. James Q. Wilson, once his student, now his heir, got this just right in a memorial that appeared in last week's *Weekly Standard* entitled "The Man Who Knew Too Much, Edward C. Banfield, 1916-1999." He was onto *The Mob*, inside *The Agency*, privy to *The Plan*. And yet they never got him. He was, as he would say, a "swamp Yankee," a tough breed.

He was also a great teacher, something Robert J. Samuelson writes about so wonderfully well in *The Washington Post*. Above all he taught his students to pursue the truth, "no matter how inconvenient, unpopular, unfashionable or discomforting." The greatest gift a great teacher can give.

He could be indulgent if the case seemed hopeless. I went to see him at the time I was thinking of running for the Senate. What would he advise? "Well," he said, "you could do that. Who knows, you might make a good Senator." Those words are with me to this moment.

I ask that the obituary from *The Times*, the article from *The Weekly Standard*, and the column from *The Washington Post* be included in the RECORD.

The articles follow.

[From the *New York Times*, Oct. 8, 1999]

E.C. BANFIELD, 83, MAVERICK ON URBAN POLICY ISSUES, DIES
(By Richard Bernstein)

Edward C. Banfield, a professor emeritus of government at Harvard University whose work on urban policy and the causes of poverty gave him a reputation as a brilliant maverick, died Sept. 30 at his summer home in Vermont. He was 83 and lived in Cambridge, Mass.

Mr. Banfield, born on a farm in Bloomfield, Conn., held Harvard's Henry Lee Shattuck Chair in Government for many years. He was one of the intellectual leaders of the Harvard-Massachusetts Institute of Technology Joint Center for Urban Studies in the 1960's and 70's, when the problems of cities were prominent on the national political agenda.

His books and articles had a sharp contrarian edge. He was a critic of almost every mainstream liberal idea in domestic policy, especially the use of Federal aid to help relieve urban poverty. Mr. Banfield argued that at best Government programs would fail because they aimed at the wrong problems; at worst they would make the problems worse. He fostered generations of graduate students, some of whom became leading figures in American intellectual life. They included James Q. Wilson, who succeeded him in his chair at Harvard, and Christopher DeMuth, president of the American Enterprise Institute in Washington.

Mr. Banfield received his B.A. in English for the University of Connecticut in 1938 and went to work for the United States Forest Service. After jobs with the New Hampshire Farm Bureau and the United States Farm Security Administration in Washington and California, he went to the University of Chicago to work on his doctorate in political science. Chicago at that time, under the influence of figures like Milton Friedman and Leo Strauss, was a bastion of *Laissez-faire* politics, a cause that Mr. Banfield later promoted in his own work.

He served briefly on the faculty in Chicago, moving to Harvard in 1959. He taught at the University of Pennsylvania before returning to Harvard at the end of his career.

In 1955 Mr. Banfield and Mr. Meyerson collaborated on "Politics, Planning and the Public Interest," which examined Chicago's public housing projects. That book was one of several in which Mr. Banfield found Government programs to be foiled by a law of unintended consequences. In the Chicago case he predicted that creating tall institutional buildings full of small apartments would have the unintended effect of racially isolating the urban poor. A major theme of Mr. Banfield's work on poverty, which was often angrily criticized in liberal circles, is that culture plays a more important role than factors like discrimination or lack of education in impeding a person's economic progress.

Among his most influential books was "The Moral Basis of a Backward Society," a study of a small village in southern Italy, researched in collaboration with his wife, the former Laura Fasano. Mr. Banfield's thesis, summed up in a term he coined, "amoral familism," was that the narrow focus on family relations prevented people from cooperating with those outside the family or village.

He is survived by his wife; a daughter, Laura Banfield Hoguet, a lawyer; a son, Elliott A. Banfield, an illustrator, and four grandchildren.

Mr. Banfield's emphasis on culture as the basic element in poverty drew accusations that he was promoting a "blame the victim" attitude. In his 1970 book "The Unheavenly City," and in various papers that he published in the late 60's, he recognized the existence and harm of racism but propounded the view that economic class and not race was the essential ingredient in poverty.

In that book Mr. Banfield constructed a sociological portrait of what he called "the lower-class individual" as someone who was very different from the middle-class professionals who sought ways to solve his problems. "The lower-class individual lives moment to moment," he wrote. "Impulse governs his behavior either because he cannot discipline himself to sacrifice a present for a future satisfaction or because he has no sense of the future. He is therefore radically improvident."

Mr. Banfield's role as an adviser to President Richard M. Nixon and chairman of his Model Cities Task force gave his published views an extra measure of controversy. During the Reagan Administration he served on a task force seeking ways to increase public support for the arts. But his subsequent book, "the Democratic Muse: Visual Arts and the Public Interest," argued that Federal support of the arts was neither justified by the Constitution nor useful in practice.

"Affording enjoyment to people is not a proper function of organizations serving the common good," he wrote in that book.

[From the *Weekly Standard*, Oct. 18, 1999]

THE MAN WHO KNEW TOO MUCH—EDWARD C. BANFIELD, 1916-1999

(By James Q. Wilson)

In the increasingly dull, narrow, methodologically obscure world of the social sciences, it is hard to find a mind that speaks not only to its students but to its nation. Most scholars can't write, many can't think. Ed Banfield could write and think.

When he died a few days ago, his life gave new meaning to the old saw about being a prophet without honor in your own country. Almost everything he wrote was criticized at the time it appeared for being wrongheaded. In 1955 he and Martin Meyerson published an account of how Chicago built public housing projects in which they explained how mischievous these projects were likely to be: tall, institutional buildings filled with tiny