

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

REGARDING THE WRITINGS OF THE FORMER REPRESENTATIVE RON DELLUMS

**HON. BARBARA LEE**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, May 8, 2000*

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to present to the house a review by Don Hopkins of a book by my friend and mentor, Ron Dellums. It is a moving account of his rise in politics, and the major contribution he made to Congress, and indeed to the world as follows:

DELLUMS' "LYING DOWN WITH THE LIONS"

Former Berkeley/Oakland Congressman Ronald Dellums has recently written a book, co-authored by his long time colleague, H. Lee Halterman, entitled 'Lying Down with the Lions.'

Since I was also a staffer of the Congressman, one would expect that I would have laudatory things to say about his book. I will not disappoint such expectations. My interest is to urge people who are interested in the struggle for social, political and economic justice in America to read the book and enjoy what it says about us, as much as what it says about him and for the movement he came to symbolize, and to the best of his abilities, to lead.

My thought is that for Bay Area residents who take pride in the Niners, the Sharks, the Raider, the Warriors, the Stanford Cardinals and the Cal Bears et al., it does not seem a reach to suggest that they take pride in a home grown warrior on the political front, like Ron Dellums.

Ron, after all, grew up in West Oakland. West Oakland, it might be recalled, is that picturesque corner of Oakland that Leslie Stahl of 60 Minutes recently defamed as a "pocket of poverty" within an otherwise prosperous Northern California. What Ms. Stahl apparently did not know, and what one can discern by reading "Lions," is that their exists serious progeny from West Oakland that has contributed monumentally to the success of this nation.

For the purpose of this note, however, I would focus on Ronald V. Dellums. As we speak, there is a federal building named after him. There is a train station named after his uncle and mentor, a hero of the civil rights movement, the distinguished C.L. Dellums. There are countless public improvement projects and programs in the era, like the Chabot Science Center, the Federal Building, the Military Base projects, that are extant and flourish because of his work and sacrifice.

More than all of this, however, what should be known by Bay Area residents is the tremendous contribution Dellums made to the politics of this area, this nation, and most significantly, the world.

Ron Dellums' politics, which were grounded on the notion of "coalition", gave meaning, structure and guidance, across race, gender and class lines, to a set of politics that first led to the significant inclusion of minorities in elected positions in the Bay Area of Northern California. The same politics, grounded in the notion that all of the world's "Niggers"—the excluded and

disenfranchised—working together, could "change the world."

This particular characterization of logic and integrity of a coalition of all the disenfranchised later became passe (Nigger could only be snickeringly referred to, as during the O.J. Simpson trial, as the "N" word, and what a crock, for a word so well worn) the fact is that the political activists of the Bay Area and other urban communities touched by the intractable logic of Dellums' "Nigger speech", was a critical ingredient in the development of the coalition, the struggle, that ended America's involvement in the war in Vietnam. It gave philosophical and emotional resonance to Lyndon Baines Johnson's call for a War on Poverty, and it laid the groundwork for a political movement that brought Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Women, Handicapped people, Gays, etc., into the limelight of political recognition, respectability, and redress.

Dellums built upon the eloquence and commitment of the likes of John George and Bob Scheer to give the antiwar movement focus, legitimacy, credibility, multiethnic support and moral tonality. His passion for justice for the disenfranchised was responsible for the impact his presence made in the legislative agenda and the political culture of the United States Congress.

Upon his retirement from the Congress, members from both sides of the aisle, testified, that his efforts contributed significantly to the culmination of the cold war, the modification of military procurement policies that prolonged that war, and to a social agenda that promised a peace divided that would benefit the poor and less fortunate in American communities.

None of what Ron Dellums accomplished can be known without some effort. Books have been written about the Kennedys and Martin Luther King, about Whitney Young, Andrew Young, Jesse Jackson and other heroes of that struggle. Those of us, who believe in the importance of coalition politics, the politics that binds the interests of the disenfranchised American across ethnic, gender, age, and sex lines, could not be fulfilled by any chronicle of the era, without a book by and about Ron Dellums.

Dellums' book, which is a short but thoughtful recapitulation of the issues that first led him to Congress—the philosophical and political ideas that sustained his growth as a public person, and the impact these had on the political process, is therefore a "must" to read for anyone who seeks a handle on the flavor of what happened and why during the critical years of our national life when he served us as an activist, a local legislator, and a member of Congress.

I trust that those who lived through the tumultuous sixties, seventies, and eighties in the Bay Area, who lived through the saga of the Black Panther Party, the antiwar movement, the struggle for the liberation of South Africa, and the struggle to end the Cold War, will take time to read the Dellums tome.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

**HON. LUIS V. GUTIERREZ**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Monday, May 8, 2000*

Mr. GUTIERREZ. Mr. Speaker, last week I traveled to Puerto Rico to show my support for the people of Puerto Rico and the peaceful demonstrators who are opposed to the resumption of Naval training on the island of Vieques.

As a result of my absence from this chamber during last week, I missed voting on the following recorded votes: rollcall vote Nos. 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, and rollcall vote number 143. Had I been present in this chamber when these votes were cast, I would have voted "yes" on each of these rollcall votes.

I also missed voting on rollcall vote Nos. 144 and 145 and had I been present, I would have voted "no" on each of these two votes.

EXPRESSING SENSE OF CONGRESS  
ON DEATH OF JOHN CARDINAL  
O'CONNOR, ARCHBISHOP OF NEW  
YORK

SPEECH OF

**HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, May 4, 2000*

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, today, I celebrate John Cardinal O'Connor.

It is my deepest hope that Cardinal O'Connor's wise, charitable, and dynamic legacy of leadership becomes a standard for all future New York City Cardinals.

Cardinal O'Connor had an extraordinary capacity to speak to New York's many diverse communities—to both comfort and inspire.

The Cardinal cast light on our City's most pressing problems, and then showed us what needed to be done, particularly for homelessness, the AIDS crisis, and condition of the poor.

In the past months, many people learned that Cardinal O'Connor often anonymously volunteered in AIDS clinics.

We may never know the other people and place Cardinal O'Connor selflessly aided. We can only assume that his actions were innumerable and always compassionate.

Cardinal O'Connor was a great leader and a friend of all leaders in our city. More than one mayor told me they often consulted with him on how to handle their work and to respond to the challenges of leading the City. He received almost every award his Church and City could bestow on him.

• 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.

WORLD BANK AIDS MARSHALL  
PLAN TRUST FUND ACT

SPEECH OF

**HON. BARBARA LEE**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, May 2, 2000*

Ms. LEE. Mr. Speaker, please submit the following article into the RECORD.

[From the Washington Post, Sun. Apr. 30, 2000]

AIDS IS DECLARED THREAT TO SECURITY—  
WHITE HOUSE FEARS EPIDEMIC COULD DE-  
STABILIZE WORLD

(By Barton Gellman)

Convinced that the global spread of AIDS is reaching catastrophic dimensions, the Clinton administration has formally designated the disease for the first time as a threat to U.S. national security that could topple foreign governments, touch off ethnic wars and undo decades of work in building free-market democracies abroad.

The National Security Council, which has never before been involved in combating an infectious disease, is directing a rapid reassessment of the government's efforts. The new push is reflected in the doubling of budget requests—to \$254 million—to combat AIDS overseas and in the creation on Feb. 8 of a White House interagency working group. The group has been instructed to "develop a series of expanded initiatives to drive the international efforts" to combat the disease.

Top officials and some members of Congress contemplate much higher spending levels. The urgency of addressing AIDS has also touched off internal disputes over long-settled positions on trade policy and on legal requirements that aid contractors buy only American supplies.

The new effort—described by its architects as tardy and not commensurate with the size of the crisis—was spurred last year by U.S. intelligence reports that looked at the pandemic's broadest consequences for foreign governments and societies, particularly in Africa. A National Intelligence Estimate prepared in January, representing consensus among government analysts, projected that a quarter of southern Africa's population is likely to die of AIDS and that the number of people dying of the disease will rise for a decade before there is much prospect of improvement. Based on current trends, that disastrous course could be repeated, perhaps exceeded, in south Asia and the former Soviet Union.

"At least some of the hardest-hit countries, initially in sub-Saharan Africa and later in other regions, will face a demographic catastrophe" over the next 20 years, the study said. "This will further impoverish the poor and often the middle class and produce a huge and impoverished orphan cohort unable to cope and vulnerable to exploitation and radicalization."

Dramatic declines in life expectancy, the study said, are the strongest risk factor for "revolutionary wars, ethnic wars, genocides and disruptive regime transitions" in the developing world. Based on historical analysis of 75 factors that tend to destabilize governments, the authors said the social consequences of AIDS appear to have "a particularly strong correlation with the likelihood of state failure in partial democracies."

Another mobilizing factor is American politics. African American leaders, such as former representative Ron Dellums (D-Calif.) and Rep. Jesse L. Jackson Jr. (D-Ill.), have adopted the cause of AIDS in Africa. Their interest is converging with that of long-

standing AIDS activists in the United States and Europe, where the course of the epidemic has been slowed by preventive efforts and life-saving combinations of anti-retroviral drugs. They are angry at policies that price those medicines beyond the reach of the developing world.

In June, those activists disrupted Vice President Gore's presidential campaign announcement in Carthage, Tenn., and two other speeches that week—"blindsiding us completely," as one senior adviser put it. The activists, and several senior Clinton administration officials, say that pressure accelerated the White House's response.

There is no recent precedent for treating disease as a security threat. So unfamiliar are public health agencies with the apparatus of national defense that one early task force meeting was delayed when co-chairwoman Sandra Thurman, whose Office of National AIDS Policy is across the street from the White House, could not find the Situation Room.

For all the stakes they now describe, Clinton administration officials do not contemplate addressing them on a scale associated with traditional security priorities. Gore's national security adviser, Leon Fuerth, freely acknowledged that the 2001 budget request of \$254 million to combat AIDS abroad—a sum surpassed, for example, by drone aircraft in the Pentagon budget—provides "resources that are inadequate for the task." He called the work of the task force "an iterative process" aimed at slowing the plague's rate of increase and alleviating some of its effects. Before this year, federal spending on AIDS overseas remained relatively flat.

Other officials noted that the United States has endorsed U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan's declared five-year goal of reducing the rate of new infections by 25 percent. That falls close to the CIA's best-case, and least probable, scenario. Because such a turn of events would demand resources from U.S. allies and multinational bodies, the new White House group has been instructed to "develop a series of expanded initiatives to drive the international efforts."

Fuerth, a member of the "principals committee" that takes up the most important foreign policy questions, told representatives from 16 agencies on Feb. 8 that the panel wanted a package of proposals for Clinton within several weeks. The working group is scheduled to finish drafting its proposals in May. Fuerth said the government is looking for "the kind of focus and coordination on this issue that we normally strive for on national security issues."

"The numbers of people who are dying, the impact on elites—like the army, the educated people, the teachers—is quite severe," he said. "In the end it was a kind of slow-motion destruction of everything we were trying, in our contact programs and our military-to-military programs, to build up, and would affect the viability of these societies, would affect the stability of the region. . . . In the world that we're facing, the destiny of the continent of Africa matters. And it isn't as if this disease is going to stay put in sub-Saharan Africa."

Twenty-three million people are infected in sub-Saharan Africa, with new infections coming at the rate of roughly 5,000 a day, according to World Health Organization figures. Of 13 million deaths to date, 11 million have been in sub-Saharan Africa. In the developing world, the disease spreads primarily through heterosexual contact.

The intelligence estimate portrays the pandemic as the bad side of globalization. Accelerating trade and travel—along with underlying conditions favorable to the disease—are pushing much of Asia, and particu-

larly India, toward "a dramatic increase in infectious disease deaths, largely driven by the spread of HIV/AIDS," the intelligence report said. "By 2010, the region could surpass Africa in the number of HIV infections." The number of infections now is relatively low, but the growth rate is high and governments have been slow to respond.

Infections are also growing rapidly, and largely unchecked, in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The intelligence estimate said this growth will "challenge democratic development and transitions and possibly contribute to humanitarian emergencies and military conflicts to which the United States may need to respond." The report also anticipates that "infectious disease-related trade embargoes and restrictions on travel and immigration also will cause frictions among and with key trading partners and other selected states."

"The thing that's most staggering, and people are just beginning to grasp, is that Africa is the tip of the iceberg," Thurman said. "We are just at the beginning of a pandemic the likes of which we have not seen in this century, and in the end will probably never have seen in history."

Senior administration officials, some of them apparently frustrated, said that the government does not dispute estimates by the Joint United Nations Program on HIV/AIDS that it would take nearly \$2 billion to fund adequate prevention in Africa, and a like sum for treatment. What the United States has been spending, by contrast, "is a rounding error for county budgets" in Fairfax and Montgomery counties, said one disgusted official.

"I don't have a fantasy that we're going to go to the Hill and get \$5 billion to build Africa's health care infrastructure," said one senior Africa policymaker. "We're trying to determine effective steps that need to be taken, and can be taken, right now."

After initial resistance from U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky, the government has agreed in principle to encourage cheaper access to life-saving drugs by relaxing hard-line positions that protect U.S. drugmakers' intellectual property. Gore has said publicly that the United States does not rule out the use by afflicted countries of locally made or imported generics of drugs under patent by American companies. Assistant Trade Representative Joseph Papovich has written to the governments of Thailand and South Africa with new formulas for resolving intellectual property disputes on such medicines.

But several participants in the government effort said the practical meaning of the change, if any, will have to be decided at the Cabinet level or by Clinton personally. An early test comes in May, when Barshefsky's office decides whether South Africa should be removed from the "watch list" of countries facing potential trade sanctions. South Africa is on that list because it passed a law the United States initially described as threatening to the intellectual property of American drug manufacturers.

With the prospect of substantial new spending, agencies ranging from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and National Institutes of Health to the Labor Department are fighting over the allocation of funds. Undersecretary of State Frank Loy, meanwhile, is said by participants to be resisting the emerging consensus that the international AIDS effort should be centered in Thurman's office.

The task force has also battled over proposals to amend the Foreign Assistance Act, which requires all taxpayer-funded aid to come from American suppliers. Public health agencies want exceptions for condoms and AIDS test kits, which can be acquired more