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WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 2000

No. 111

House of Representatives

The House met at 9 a.m. and was called to order by the Speaker pro tempore (Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin).

DESIGNATION OF SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore laid before the House the following communication from the Speaker:

WASHINGTON, DC,
September 19, 2000.

I hereby appoint the Honorable PAUL RYAN to act as Speaker pro tempore on this day.

J. DENNIS HASTERT,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Lundregan, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agreed to the following resolution.

S. RES. 358

Whereas Murray Zweben served the Senate with honor and distinction as its third Parliamentarian from 1974 to 1981;

Whereas Murray Zweben was Assistant Senate Parliamentarian from 1963 to 1974;

Whereas Murray Zweben served the Senate for more than 20 years;

Whereas Murray Zweben performed his Senate duties in an impartial and professional manner;

Whereas Murray Zweben was honored by the Senate with the title Parliamentarian Emeritus; and

Whereas Murray Zweben served his country as an officer in the United States Navy from 1953 to 1956: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of the Honorable Murray Zweben, Parliamentarian Emeritus of the United States Senate.

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That when the Senate adjourns today, it stand adjourned as a further mark of respect to the memory of the Honorable Murray Zweben.

The message also announced that the Senate has passed with amendments in

which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 940. An act to designate the Lackawanna Valley National Heritage Area, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate has passed a bill of the following title in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 2247. An act to establish the Wheeling National Heritage Area in the State of West Virginia, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that pursuant to Public Law 106-181, the Chair, on behalf of the Majority Leader, appoints the following individuals to serve as members of the National Commission to Ensure Consumer Information and Choice in the Airline Industry:

Ann B. Mitchell, of Mississippi.
Joyce Rogge, of New York.

MORNING HOUR DEBATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the order of the House of January 19, 1999, the Chair will now recognize Members from lists submitted by the majority and minority leaders for morning hour debates. The Chair will alternate recognition between the parties, with each party limited to not to exceed 25 minutes, and each Member, except the majority leader, the minority leader, or the minority whip, limited to not to exceed 5 minutes, but in no event shall continue beyond 9:50 a.m.

The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY) for 5 minutes.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN. On behalf of my colleagues, JIMMY WALSH

and other Members of the New York delegation, I welcome Mrs. Moynihan, Elizabeth Moynihan, who is with us in the gallery, and Senator MOYNIHAN.

He is one of our truly inspiring legislators. He has been a scholar, a legislator, an ambassador, a cabinet officer, a presidential adviser in four administrations, a witness, a teacher, a writer, and one of the best Senators ever to grace the Halls of this institution.

He is unmatched in his ability to craft innovative solutions to society's most pressing problems, from welfare to Social Security, to transportation, to taxes. His legislative stamp is everywhere. Known as, and I quote the Almanac of American Politics, "the Nation's best thinker among politicians since Lincoln, and its best politician among thinkers since Jefferson," Senator MOYNIHAN has moved people through the power of his ideas. He is a unique figure in public life, a man of pure intellect who is unafraid of speaking inconvenient truths.

Senator MOYNIHAN's life exemplifies the American dream. He grew up in a slum known as Hell's Kitchen. Abandoned by his father, his mother became the sole supporter of the family during the Depression. Small wonder that Senator MOYNIHAN grew up to be a strong voice on welfare issues.

He recognized the danger of fostering a culture of dependency while understanding the importance of maintaining a strong safety net. He has proved to be one of the most accurate prophets of our era. Time after time, he has correctly predicted future consequences, even though many refused to believe him when his prediction ran counter to conventional wisdom.

In the 1960s, he expressed concern about the disintegration of the African American family. In the 1980s, he predicted the coming collapse of the Soviet Union. In the 1990's, he expressed concern about the tendency of our society to define deviancy down. Antisocial

□ This symbol represents the time of day during the House proceedings, e.g., □ 1407 is 2:07 p.m.

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



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behavior, he warns, is tolerated at our peril.

For New Yorkers, Senator MOYNIHAN has always been one of our homegrown heroes, our proud gift to the Nation. Despite his reputation for attention to the more scholarly pursuits, he authored 18 books. Senator MOYNIHAN has never forgotten those of us who elected him. He is a hero to landmark preservationists for his effort to preserve the Custom House and the Farley Post Office, the new train station on the Farley site he helped plan and is continuing to fund, but it does not have a name yet. I believe it should be named for DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN.

When the Coast Guard left Governors Island, he persuaded President Clinton to agree to give the island to New York for a dollar. I am hopeful that in the last days of this Congress, we will be able to make that pledge a reality.

As ambassador to the United Nations, he denounced the resolution equating Zionism with racism. Seventeen years later, the U.N. reversed itself, revoking this shameful resolution. Senator MOYNIHAN was a prime mover behind ISTEIA, which changed the way highway and transportation funds are distributed. He is widely credited with shifting transportation priorities and making it possible for us to invest in alternatives like high speed rail. As a member of the Senate Finance Committee, he has been a guardian of Social Security; and most recently, he has focused his attention on the importance of opening up government filings and reducing secrecy in government.

I was proud to have worked with him on the passage of the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure bill. After 50 years, Americans finally are beginning to get a glimpse of the things that our government knew. Senator MOYNIHAN has also worked tirelessly on getting an accurate census for our country.

Senator MOYNIHAN's absence will make the Senate a poorer place. I am hopeful that he will remain in the public eye as a strong voice of public conscience. We need him and we will miss him, and my colleagues are here to join me in paying tribute to the great Senator from the great State of New York, Senator DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN, a true American treasure.

Mr. Speaker, I will place into the RECORD his biography and a list of his speeches. I also will place editorials and tributes that have appeared recently in the papers of our country, applauding the work and contributions of the great Senator from New York.

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

Daniel Patrick Moynihan is the senior United States Senator from New York. First elected in 1976, Sen. Moynihan was re-elected in 1982, 1988, and 1994.

Sen. Moynihan is the Ranking Minority Member of the Senate Committee on Finance. He serves on the Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works and the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration. He also is a member of the Joint Committee on Taxation and the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress.

A member of the Cabinet or sub-Cabinet of Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Ford, Sen. Moynihan is the only person in American history to serve in four successive administrations. He was U.S. Ambassador to India from 1973 to 1975 and U.S. Representative to the United Nations from 1975 to 1976. In February 1976 he represented the United States as President of the United Nations Security Council.

Sen. Moynihan was born on March 17, 1927. He attended public and parochial schools in New York City and graduated from Benjamin Franklin High School in East Harlem. He went on to attend the City College of New York for one year before enlisting in the United States Navy. He served on active duty from 1944 to 1947. In 1966, he completed twenty years in the Naval Reserve and was retired. Sen. Moynihan earned his bachelor's degree (cum laude) from Tufts University, studied at the London School of Economics as a Fulbright Scholar, and received his M.A. and Ph.D. from Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

Sen. Moynihan was a member of Averell Harriman's gubernatorial campaign staff in 1954 and then served on Gov. Harriman's staff in Albany until 1958. He was an alternate Kennedy delegate at the 1960 Democratic Convention. Beginning in 1961, he served in the U.S. Department of Labor as an assistant to the Secretary, and later as Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy Planning and Research.

In 1966, Sen. Moynihan became Director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He has been a Professor of Government at Harvard University, Assistant Professor of Government at Syracuse University, a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies at Wesleyan University, and has taught in the extension programs of Russell Sage College and the Cornell University School of Industrial and Labor Relations. Sen. Moynihan is the recipient of 62 honorary degrees.

Sen. Moynihan is the author or editor of 18 books. He most recent work is *Secrecy: The American Experience*, published in the fall of 1998, an expansion of the report by the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy. Sen. Moynihan, as Chairman of the Commission, led the first comprehensive review in forty years of the Federal Government's system of classifying and declassifying information and granting clearances.

Since 1976 Sen. Moynihan has published an analysis of the flow of funds between the Federal Government and New York State. In 1992 the analysis became a joint publication with the Taubman Center for State and Local Government at Harvard University, and includes all fifty states.

Sen. Moynihan is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS). He was Chairman of the AAAS's section on Social, Economic and Political Science (1971-72) and a member of the Board of Directors (1972-73). He also served as a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee (1971-73). Sen. Moynihan was Vice Chairman (1971-76) of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. He served on the National Commission on Social Security Reform (1982-83) whose recommendations formed the basis of legislation to assure the system's fiscal stability.

He was the founding Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden (1971-85) and serves as Regent of the Smithsonian Institution, having been appointed in 1987 and again in 1995. In 1985, the Smithsonian awarded him its Joseph Henry Medal.

In 1965, Sen. Moynihan received the Arthur S. Flemming Awards, which recognizes out-

standing young Federal employees, for his work as "an architect of the Nation's program to eradicate poverty." He has also received the International League of Human Rights Award (1975) and the John LaFarge Award for Interracial Justice (1980). In 1983, he was the first recipient of the American Political Science Association's Hubert H. Humphrey Award for "notable public service by a political scientist." In 1984, Sen. Moynihan received the State University of New York at Albany's Medallion of the University in recognition of his "extraordinary public service and leadership in the field for education." In 1986, he received the Seal Medallion of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Britannica Medal for the Dissemination of Learning.

He has also received the Laetare Medal of the University of Notre Dame (1992), the Thomas Jefferson Award for Public Architecture from the American Institute of Architects (1992), and the Thomas Jefferson Medal for Distinguished Achievement in the Arts or Humanities from the American Philosophical Society (1993). In 1994, he received the Gold Medal Award "honoring services to humanity" from the National Institute of Social Sciences. In 1997, the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University awarded Sen. Moynihan the Cartwright Prize. He was the 1998 recipient of the Heinz Award in Public Policy "for having been a distinct and unique voice in the century—independent in his convictions, a scholar, teacher, statesman and politician, skilled in the art of the possible."

Elizabeth Brennan Moynihan, his wife of 44 years, is an architectural historian with a special interest in 16th century Mughal architecture in India. She is the author of *Paradise as a Garden: In Persia and Mughal India* (1979) and numerous articles. Mrs. Moynihan is a former Chairman of the Board of the American Schools of Oriental Research. She serves as a member of the Indo-U.S. Subcommission on Education and Culture, and the visiting committee of the Freer Gallery of Art at the Smithsonian Institution. She is Vice Chair of the Board of the National Building Museum, and on the Trustees Council of the Preservation League of New York State.

PERSONAL

Born March 16, 1927, Tulsa, OK.

Three children, Timothy Patrick, Maura Russell, and John McCloskey; two grandchildren.

Reside in Washington, D.C. on Pennsylvania Avenue and near Pindars Corners in Delaware County, Davenport, NY.

PUBLIC SERVICE

Office of the Governor of the State of New York, W. Averell Harriman, Albany, NY, 1955-58 Speech writer, Assistant to Secretary Jonathan Bingham; Assistant Secretary for Reports, 1956; Acting Secretary, 1958.

Special Assistant to the Secretary of Labor, Washington, DC, 1961-62.

Executive Assistant to the Secretary of Labor, Washington, DC, 1962-63.

Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy Planning and Research, Washington, DC, 1963-65.

Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs, Washington, DC, 1969-70.

Counselor to the President, Washington, DC, 1969-70.

Consultant to the President, Washington, DC, 1971-73.

Member, United States delegation to the Twenty-Sixth General Assembly of the United Nations, United Nations, 1971.

U.S. Ambassador to India, New Delhi, India, 1973-75.

Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York, NY, 1975-76.

ELECTED OFFICE

Candidate for New York City Council President, 1965.

U.S. Senator from New York, 1977–Chairman, Committee on Finance, 1993–1994

Chairman, Committee on Environment and Public Works, 1992

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEES

Committee on Finance, Ranking Minority Member.

Subcommittees: International Trade, Social Security and Family Policy; and Taxation and IRS Oversight.

Committee on Environment and Public Works, second ranking minority member.

Subcommittees: Superfund, Waste Control, and Risk Assessment; and Transportation and Infrastructure.

Committee on Rules and Administration.

Joint Committee on the Library.

Joint Committee on Taxation.

Committee on Foreign Relations, 1987–95.

Committee on the Budget, 1977, 1979–86.

Committee on Commerce, 1977.

Select Committee on Intelligence 1977–85, Vice Chairman, 1981–85.

LEGISLATIVE ACHIEVEMENTS

West Valley Demonstration Project Act of 1980

Sponsor. Authorized U.S. Department of Energy to clean up and remove 600,000 gallons of nuclear wastes stored at West Valley, NY. Commits Federal government to convert liquid wastes into a solid glass-like logs to be transported to a permanent and secure Federal repository.

The Acid Precipitation Act (Became Title VII of the Energy Security Act of 1980)

First federal legislation addressing the problem of acid rain. Established a ten year program for research on the causes and effects of acid rain and possible control strategies. Ultimately the Federal government's largest scientific study outside NASA.

Clear Air Act Reauthorization of 1982

Mandated an eight million ton reduction in annual sulfur dioxide emission in the eastern U.S. by January 1, 1995.

Social Security Act Amendments of 1983 (Green-span Commission)

Chief Democratic sponsor of amendments guaranteeing solvency of the Social Security system well into the 21st century.

Water Resources Development Act of 1986

Authorized \$1.1 billion for 33 New York water projects. Obtained funding for the Erie Canal, Olcott Harbor, and Coney Island.

Superfund Reauthorization Act of 1985

Principal cosponsor. Provided \$8.5 billion over five years to clean up toxic waste.

Tax Reform Act of 1986

One of the law's six principal drafters. Successfully opposed attempts to eliminate the deduction for state and local income and property taxes. Took millions of working poor off tax rolls, lowered tax rates and closed tax shelters and other loopholes.

Family Support Act of 1988

Author. Began process of transforming the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program from an income security program to one which helps individuals secure employment.

Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990

Original cosponsor. First revision of the Clean Air Act since 1977. The acid rain control provisions built upon the first Federal legislation on acid rain: Moynihan's Acid Precipitation Act of 1980 (see above).

Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 (ISTEA)

Chief author and sponsor of landmark legislation, known commonly as ISTEA, which

redirected Federal surface transportation policy to include more spending for non highway-related projects. Greatly increased the amount of Federal Highway Trust Fund money to New York State which received \$12 billion in highway and transit funds over six years and will be reimbursed \$5 billion for the New York State Thruway over 15 years. *Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1993*

Led efforts to get the first Clinton budget through the Finance Committee and the full Senate resulting in historic deficit reduction and uninterrupted economic growth.

Social Security Domestic Employment Act of 1993 ("Nanny Tax")

Simplified requirements regarding the payment of Social Security taxes due on wages paid to domestic employees.

Social Security Administration as an independent agency (1994)

Author of bill to make the Social Security Administration independent from the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) to restore public confidence, improve accountability and insulate the SSA from undue political pressure.

Pennsylvania Station redevelopment

Leader of the redevelopment of Penn Station in Manhattan in the James A. Farley Postal Building. Secured \$315 million in Federal, State, and private funds; established the Pennsylvania Station Redevelopment Corp. to oversee completion.

1994 Crime Bill—Ban on "Cop-Killer" bullets

Introduced and received Senate passage of legislation to protect police officers from a new class of armor-piercing ammunition. The bill extends the 1986 Law Enforcement Officers Protection Act, also sponsored by Sen. Moynihan, to prohibit this new type of "cop-killer" bullet.

Jerusalem Embassy Act of 1995

Principal sponsor with Senator Robert J. Dole of bill to recognize Jerusalem as the Capital of the State of Israel and to require the U.S. Embassy move from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem by 1999.

Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center Act of 1995

Sponsor. Named the newest (and last) Federal Triangle building after the former President. The Federal Triangle's completion marks the end of the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue, a personal goal since the Kennedy Administration.

Taxpayers Relief Act of 1997

Repealed the cap on issuance of section 501 (c)(3) bonds for universities, colleges, and non-hospital health facilities.

Government Secrecy Act of 1997

Introduced with Senator Jesse Helms legislation recommended by the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy (of which Senator Moynihan chaired) to establish principles on which Federal classification and declassification programs are to be based.

Social Security Solvency Act of 1998

Introduced with Senator J. Robert Kerrey legislation to save Social Security by reducing payroll taxes by almost \$800 billion and returning to a pay-as-you-go system. Also requires benefit increases to accurately reflect the cost of living and gradually phase in an increase in the retirement age. Beginning in 2001 the bill would permit voluntary personal savings accounts, which workers could finance with the proceeds of the 2% cut in the payroll tax. And beginning in 2003, retirees could continue to collect benefits regardless of how much they earn.

TEACHING AND ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Assistant in Government, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, MA, 1949–50.

Lecture, Russell Sage College, Troy, NY, 1957–58.

Lecture, NYS School of Industrial Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, 1959.

Assistant Professor of Political Science, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, 1960–61.

Fellow, Center for Advanced Studies, Wesleyan University, Middletown, CT, 1965–66.

Director, Joint Center for Urbana Studies, MIT and Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 1966–1969.

Professor of Education and Urbana Studies, MIT and Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 1969–73.

Professor of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 1973–77.

COURSES TAUGHT

*Harvard University**1971–72*

Administration and Social Policy x-154. Social Science and Social Policy—A review of the rise of social science influence in the formulation of social policy with respect to predominantly non-economic issues. Changing perceptions of the political orientation of social science findings. Class work concentrated on case studies drawn from recent American experience

Administration and Social Policy x-227. Federal Policy Toward Higher Education—This seminar considered the emergency of Federal policy toward higher education in the context of historical programs and the social policies which they reflect, in order to define the choices implicit in the adoption of a formal national policy.

Administration and Social Policy x-256. Social Science and Education Policy—An exploration of recent and prospective influences on educational policies of social science theory and research. Included consideration of the policy making processes within the educational system and various modes of responses to social science findings.

1972–73

Government 251. Ethnicity in American Politics—An historical inquiry into the role of ethnic group identity as an organizing factor in American politics.

1976–77

Social Science 115. Social Science and Social Policy—And examination of the influence of various social science disciplines on the formulation of social policy.

1976–77

Government 216. Ethnicity in Politics—An historical and theoretical enquiry into the role of ethnicity as an organizing principle in modern politics.

FELLOWSHIPS

1969—Honorary Fellow, London School of Economics and Political Science.

1971—Fellow, American Association for the Advancement of Science.

1976—Chubb Fellow, Yale University.

LECTURESIPS

1985—Feingold Lecturer, Columbia University, New York, NY.

1985—Feinstone Lecturer, U.S. Military Academy, West Point, NY.

1986—Godkin Lecturer, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA.

1986—Marnold Lecturer, New York University, New York, NY.

1987—Gannon Lecturer, Fordham University, Bronx, NY.

1991—Cyril Foster Lecturer, Oxford University, Oxford, England.

HONORARY DEGREES

LL.D. LaSalle College, 1966.

LL.D. Seton Hall College, 1966.

D.P.A. Providence College, 1967.

D.H.L. University of Akron, 1967.
 LL.D. Catholic University, 1968.
 D.S.W. Duquesne University, 1968.
 D.H.L. Hamilton College, 1968.
 LL.D. Illinois Institute of Technology, 1968.
 LL.D. New School for Social Research, 1968.
 LL.D. St. Louis University, 1968.
 LL.D. Tufts University, 1968.
 D.S.S. Villanova University, 1968.
 LL.D. University of California, 1969.
 LL.D. University of Notre Dame, 1969.
 LL.D. Fordham University, 1970.
 H.H.D. Bridgewater State College, 1972.
 D.S. Michigan Technological University, 1972.
 LL.D. St. Bonaventure University, 1972.
 LL.D. Indiana University, 1975.
 LL.D. Boston College, 1976.
 Ph.D. Hebrew University, 1976.
 LL.D. Hofstra University, 1976.
 LL.D. Ohio State University, 1976.
 LL.D. St. Anselm's College, 1976.
 D.H.L. Baruch College, 1977.
 LL.D. Canisius College, 1977.
 D.C.L. Colgate University, 1977.
 LL.D. LeMoyne College, 1977.
 LL.D. New York Law School, 1977.
 LL.D. Salem College, 1977.
 LL.D. Hartwick College, 1978.
 LL.D. Ithaca College, 1978.
 D.H.L. Rabinnical College of America, 1978.
 LL.D. Skidmore College, 1978.
 LL.D. College of St. Rose, 1978.
 LL.D. Yeshiva University, 1978.
 LL.D. Brooklyn Law School, 1978.
 D.H.L. Marist College, 1979.
 LL.D. Pace University Law School, 1979.
 LL.D. St. John Fisher College, 1980.
 LL.D. Dowling College, 1981.
 LL.D. Bar-Ilan University, 1982.
 LL.D. New York Medical College, 1982.
 LL.D. Pratt Institute, 1982.
 LL.D. Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1983.
 D.C.L. Union College, 1983.
 D.S.I. Defense Intelligence College, 1984.
 D.H.L. New York University, 1984.
 LL.D. Syracuse University School of Law, 1985.
 D.H.L. Bard College, 1985.
 D.H.L. Hebrew Union College, 1986.
 LL.D. Marymount Manhattan College, 1986.
 LL.D. Columbia University, 1987.
 LL.D. Touro College, 1991.
 D.H.L. Hobart and William Smith College, 1992.
 D.H.L. University of San Francisco, 1992.
 D.C.L. St. Francis College, 1993.
 LL.D. University of Rochester, 1994.
 LL.D. Union College, 1995.
 LL.D. Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 1997.
 D.H.L. Texas A&M University, 1998.

OTHER POSITIONS

Budget Assistant, U.S. Air Force base, Ruislip, England, 1951-53.
 Director of Public Relations, International Rescue Committee (IRC), New York, NY 1954.
 Human Rights Organization, assisted refugees forced to leave their own countries through persecution.
 Director, New York State Government Research Project, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, 1959-61.

COMMISSIONS AND COMMITTEES

Member, New York State Tenure Commission, 1958-60.
 Member, President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1962.
 Vice-Chairman, President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1965-74.
 Member, Advisory Committee on Traffic Safety, Department of HEW, 1966-68.

Member, President's Science Advisory Committee, 1971-73.

EDUCATION

Diploma, Benjamin Franklin High School, New York, NY, 1943.
 City College of New York (1943-44), New York, NY, followed by naval service.
 B.N.S., Tufts University, Medford, MA, 1946.
 B.A. (cum laude), Tufts University, Medford, MA, 1948.
 M.A. Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, MA, 1949.
 Fulbright Scholarship, London School of Economics, London, England, 1950.
 Ph.D., Doctor of Philosophy, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, MA, 1961; thesis: The U.S. and the I.L.O., 1889-1934.

DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL EXPERIENCE

Volunteer, New York City Mayoral campaign of Robert F. Wagner, 1953.
 Secretary, Public Affairs Committee of the New York State Democratic Party, 1958-60.
 Member, New York State Delegation to the Democratic National Convention, 1960, 1976.
 Authored position papers for presidential campaign of Sen. John F. Kennedy, 1960.

NAVAL SERVICE

1944-45—V-12 Naval Officer training program, Middlebury, VT.
 1945—ROTC Tufts University/B.N.S., 1946.
 1947—Communications, Gunnery Officer, U.S.S. *Quirinus*.

MEDALS

The American Campaign Medal.—Given to those in service between 1941 and 1946. Recipient must have served outside the United States for 30 days or within the United States for one year.
 The Naval Reserve Medal.—For ten years of honorable service in the Naval Reserve.
 World War II Victory Medal.—For service in the U.S. Armed Forces, 1941-1946.

BOOKS

Beyond the Melting Pot (with Nathan Glazer), The MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 1963.
 Study of ethnic life in American society and politics. Questioned contemporary conception of America as homogenous society and in which group differences were disappearing. (Winner of the Ansfield-Wolf Award in Race Relations)
 The Defenses of Freedom: The Public Papers of Arthur J. Goldberg, ed., Harper & Roe, New York, NY, 1966.
 Papers of the Supreme Court Justice and American Ambassador to the United Nations.
 Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding, The Free Press, New York, NY, 1969.
 On the role of community action in the war on poverty and why the Johnson Administration's poverty program failed to fulfill expectations.
 On Understanding Poverty, ed., Basic Books Inc., New York, N.Y. 1969.
 A collection of essays by leading academics and experts in the field of poverty studies.
 Toward a National Urban Policy., ed., Basic Books Inc., New York, NY, 1970.
 Essays by academics and urban experts on a range of subjects related to urban affairs, including housing urban planning, transportation, crime, health, education, and race.
 On Equality of Educational Opportunity, ed. (with Frederick Mosteller), Random House, New York, NY, 1972.
 Papers from the Harvard University Faculty Seminar on the Coleman Report "Equality of Educational Opportunity." The Report demonstrated that minority schools were not especially unequal in their facilities

and that neither teacher-pupil ratios nor per-pupil expenditures were directly related to academic achievement.

The Politics of A Guaranteed Income, Random House, New York, NY, 1973.

An explanation of the Family Assistance Plan (FAP) which guaranteed minimum income to families with children and why the proposal was defeated.

Coping: On the Practice of Government, Random House, New York, NY, 1973.

Essays on a range of subjects encountered during government service: welfare, political reform, race relations, traffic safety, education, urban affairs. Discusses how the trained social scientist can contribute to the practice of government.

Ethnicity: Theory and Experience, ed. (with Nathan Glazer), Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1975.

A collection of essays by academics and social commentators on the meaning and significance of ethnicity in modern society.

A *Dangerous Place* (with Suzanne Weaver), Little, Brown & Company, Boston, MA, 1978.

A testimonial from term as Ambassador to the United Nations. Recounts battle against Arab sponsored and Soviet inspired U.N. resolution equating Zionism with racism.

Counting our Blessings, Little, Brown & Company, Boston, MA, 1980.

A collection of essays on foreign policy, the judicial system, domestic and regional economic policy, arms control and other issues. Argues, among other things for public aid to nonpublic schools and that the Nation stress human rights as a priority in international relations.

Loyalties, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, NY, 1984.

On the history and meaning of the arms race, respect for international law, and the Communist theory of racism applied to those who opposed Soviet totalitarianism. The book argues for loyalty to principals of law, rights and humanity.

Family and Nation, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, NY, 1986.

On the disintegration of the American family. Argues for the establishment of a national policy to support and enhance the viability of families.

Came the Revolution: Argument in the Reagan Era, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, New York, NY, 1988.

A collection of speeches, essays and other writings from 1981-1986.

On the Law of Nations, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1990.

An examination of international law and the history of American internationalism in the twentieth century.

Pandaemonium: Ethnicity in International Politics, Oxford University Press Inc., New York, NY, 1993.

An account of ethnicity as an elemental force in international politics. How the power of ethnicity defied both the liberal myth of the melting pot and the Marxist prediction of proletarian internationalism.

Miles to Go: A Personal History of Social Policy, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1996.

A personal analysis of the changing welfare state and the nation's social strategies over the last half-century. Topics include welfare, family disintegration, health care, social deviance, addiction, and broader views on civil rights and capitalism.

Secrecy: The American Experience, Yale University Press, New Haven, CT, 1998.

A history of government secrecy in America since World War I. Based on findings as Chairman of the Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy (1995-1997). Secrecy is a mode of government regulation, indeed, "it is the ultimate mode for the citizen does not even know that he or she is being regulated."

HONORS AND AWARDS

Meritorious Service Award of the U.S. Department of Labor (1963)

For exceptional service as Staff Director of the President's Task Force on Employee-Management Relations and for outstanding contributions to development of the policy of Employee-Management Cooperation in the Federal Service.

Arthur S. Fleming Award as an "Architect of the Nation's War on Poverty" (1965)

Awarded to the ten most outstanding young men and women in the Federal service. Selected by an independent panel of judges.

International League of Human Rights Award (1975)

For extraordinary commitment to international human rights. Oldest human rights award in the nation.

John LaFarge Award for Interracial Justice (1980)

Given by the Catholic Interracial Council (NY) for commitment and leadership in fighting racism and discrimination.

American Political Science Association's Hubert H. Humphrey Award (1983)

First recipient of the award for "notable public service by a political scientist."

Medallion of the University, State University of New York at Albany (1984)

For extraordinary service to the University and to education. The highest award for distinguished service the university bestows.

Henry Medal of the Smithsonian Institution (1985)

Presented by the Board of Regents for outstanding service to the Smithsonian Institution.

Seal Medallion of the Central Intelligence Agency (1986)

In recognition of outstanding accomplishment as vice-chairman of the Senate Committee on Intelligence from February 1977 to January 1985.

Britannica Medal for the Dissemination of Learning and the Enrichment of Life (1986)

Presented by Encyclopedia Britannica. The award's first recipient.

Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center Medal (1986)

For distinguished service and outstanding achievement in the cancer field.

Gold Medal, American-Irish Historical Society (1986)

In appreciation of significant service rendered to the cause of Ireland.

Natan Sharansky Humanitarian Award, Rockland Committee for Soviet Jewry (1987)

For distinguished achievement on behalf of human rights and noble efforts in support of Soviet Jewry and the Jewish people throughout the world.

Honor Award, National Building Museum (1989)

For fostering excellence in the built environment. Received for championing the resurrection of Pennsylvania Avenue, for promoting quality in federal building programs, and for leading efforts to rebuild the nation's deteriorating infrastructure.

Wolfgang Friedmann Award, (Columbia University School of Law (1991)

For outstanding contributions to the field of international law. Given by the Columbia School of Law's Journal of Transnational Law.

President's Medal, Municipal Art Society of New York (1992)

President to an individual whose accomplishments have made an enduring contribu-

tion to urban life in America and especially to the City of New York.

Thomas Jefferson Award for Public Architecture, American Institute of Architects (1992)

For advocacy furthering the public's awareness and/or appreciation of design excellence.

Laetare Medal, University of Notre Dame (1992)

The University's highest honor. Given to those who have "ennobled the arts and sciences, illustrated the ideals of the Church, and enriched the heritage of humanity." Regarded as the most significant annual award conferred upon Catholics in the United States. Selected by a committee headed by the president of Notre Dame.

Thomas Jefferson Medal, American Philosophical Society (1993)

The society's most prestigious medal in recognition of distinguished achievement in the arts, humanities, or social sciences.

Distinguished Leadership Award, American Ireland Fund (1994)

In recognition of the Senator's long-time interest in and concern for Irish causes.

The Gold Medal Award for Distinguished Service to Humanity (1994)

Presented by the National Institute of Social Sciences.

United Jerusalem Award, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations (1994)

Awarded to "the single most consistent, thoughtful, and articulate champion of a united Jerusalem in the United States Congress."

Profiles in Courage Award, American Jewish Congress (1996)

For significant and courageous contributions to the cause of democracy and human freedom at home and abroad.

Award for Public Service Excellence (1996)

Presented by the Association of American Medical Colleges. For "visionary leadership in the U.S. Senate as a champion for the education, research, and patient care missions of our nation's medical schools and teaching hospitals."

Cartwright Prize, Columbia University (1997)

Presented by the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University for "outstanding contributions to medicine." The first non-physician to be honored.

John Heinz Award (1999)

CURRENT MEMBERSHIPS

Aleph Society, New York, NY.

American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge, MA.

American Association for the Advancement of Science, Washington, DC.

American Heritage Dictionary, Usage Panel.

American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA.

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

Bedford-Stuyvesant Development and Service Corporation, New York, NY.

Century Association, New York, NY.

Committee on the Constitutional System, Washington, DC.

Corporation for Maintaining Editorial Diversity in America, Washington, DC.

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (Board of Trustees), Medford, MA.

Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, Hyde Park, NY.

Harvard Club, New York, N.Y.

Irish Georgian Society, New York, NY.

Jacob K. Javits Foundation, Inc. (Board of Trustees), New York, NY.

Jerome Levy Economic Institute at Bard College (Board of Trustees), Annandale-on-Hudson, NY.

The Maxwell School (Board of Trustees), Syracuse, NY.

National Academy of Social Insurance, Washington, NY.

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, NY.

New York Landmarks Conservancy, New York, NY.

Project on Ethnic Relations, Princeton, NJ.

The Public Interest/National Affairs, Inc., Washington, DC.

Regent, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (Appointed 1987 and 1995).

The Harry S Truman Research for the Advancement of Peace, New York, NY.

PRIOR MEMBERSHIPS

President's Science Advisory Committee (1971-73).

American Association for Advancement of Science Council 1971; Member, Board of Directors, 1972-73; Chairman, Social, Economic and Political Science Section, 1971-72.

Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Vice Chairman (1971-76), Board of Trustees (1969-76).

Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden Founding Chairman; Board of Trustees (1971-85).

REPORTS AND GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

Executive Order 10988, "Employee-Management Cooperation in the Federal Service." Approved by President John F. Kennedy January 17, 1962. Permitted Federal government employees to join unions or other employee organizations.

"Report to the President by the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space," Committee on Public Works, U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, June 1, 1962. Includes reports on the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue and architectural guidelines for Federal office buildings.

"One Third of a Nation," report of the Task Force on Manpower Conservation, submitted to President Lyndon B. Johnson January 1, 1964 (Task Force included the Director of the Selective Service System and the Secretaries of Defense, Health, Education, and Welfare, and Labor). Concluded that one-third of draft-age men were unfit for military service and called for manpower conservation program to give physical training and medical attention as necessary to meet national standards.

"The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," Office of Policy Planning and Research, U.S. Department of Labor, March 1965.

Report on Traffic Safety, Secretary's Advisory Committee on Traffic Safety, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, February 29, 1968 (commonly known as The Moynihan Report on Traffic Safety).

"Toward a More Accurate Measure of the Cost of Living," report to the U.S. Senate Finance Committee from the Advisory Commission to Study the Consumer Price Index (Boskin Commission), December 4, 1996. Concluded that using the CPI as cost of living index—which it is not—creates enormous costs to the Federal government in increased outlays and decreased revenues. The present upward bias is 1.1 percent points per year over the next decade, an overstatement of roughly one-third. The Commission states: "The bias alone would be the fourth largest Federal program."

"Secrecy" Commission on Protecting and Reducing Government Secrecy, Chairman. Appendix: "Secrecy" A Brief History of the American Experience," March 4, 1997.

"Memorandum of Points and Authorities of Senator Robert C. Byrd, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and Carl Levin as Amici Curiae in Support of Plaintiff's Motions to Declare

Line Item Veto Act Unconstitutional," November 26, 1997. Brief filed in the case *The City of New York v. Clinton*, the lawsuit brought by New York City challenging the constitutionality of the Line Item Veto Act of 1996. In a 6-3 decision on June 25, 1998 the Supreme Court ruled the Line Item Veto Act unconstitutional. Perhaps the most important case on legislative-executive relations in the history of the Court.

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Will They Ever Finish Bruckner Boulevard? by Ada Louise Huxtable, 1970. Preface.

The Injury Industry and the Remedy of No-Fault Insurance," 1971. Foreword

That Most Distressful Nation: The Taming of the American Irish by Andrew M. Greeley, 1972. Foreword.

"Ending Insult to Injury: No-Fault Insurance for Products and Services," 1975. Foreword.

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Drawings, by David Levine, March 4, 1976. Introduction.

The Catskills: Land in the Sky, by John G. Mitchell, 1977. Preface.

Education and the Presidency, by Chester E. Finn, Jr., 1977. Foreword.

Encounters with Kennan: The Great Debate, by George Kennan et al., 1979. Introduction.

Best Editorial Cartoons, 1980. Introduction.

"Do They Tell You What to Draw?" A Decade of Political Cartoons by Hy Rosen, October 1980. Introduction.

"So How Come You Stay in Albany?" A Decade of Cartoons, 1980. Introduction.

No Margin for Error: America in the Eighties, by Sen. Howard H. Baker, Jr., 1980. Introduction.

"Another Opinion: A Labor Viewpoint," 1980. Introduction.

A Portrait of the Irish in America, by William D. Griffin, 1981. Introduction.

Strategies for the 1980s: Lessons of Cuba, Vietnam, and Afghanistan, by Philip van Slack, 1981. Foreword.

There You Go Again, by G. Fisher, 1987. Foreword.

Government by Choice: Inventing the United States Constitution, by Elizabeth P. McCaughey, 1987. Foreword.

Caste and Class in a Southern Town, by John Dollard, 1988. Introduction.

Government By Choice, 1989. Foreword.

Disraeli, A Picture of the Victorian Age, by Andre Maurois, 1989. Foreword.

A Blue Moonray in My Kitchen, by Gabriel Aubouin, September 1991. Foreword.

Autobiography of Robert J. Myers, 1992. Foreword.

India and the United States: Estranged Democracies, by Dennis Kux, 1992. Introduction.

DANA: The President's Man, by Douglass Cater, 1995. Preface.

The Tyranny of Numbers, by Nicholas Eberstadt, 1995. Foreword.

The Torment of Secrecy, by Edward A. Shils, 1996. Introduction.

Great American Railroad Stations, 1996. Foreword.

Welfare: Indicators of Dependency, by Paul E. Barton, 1998. Foreword.

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A Passion for Truth: The Selected Writings of Eric Breindel, ed. By John Podhoretz, 1998.

THE FEDERAL BUDGET AND THE STATES

An annual report since 1976 on the balance of payments between New York State and the Federal government. "The Fisc" compares the amount of taxes New York sends to Washington each fiscal year with the amount of all forms of Federal outlays received (social security, welfare, defense spending, Federal contracts, etc.). "The Fisc" has expanded to include all 50 states and is now published jointly with the Taubman Center for State and Local Government at the John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Publications

The Federal Government and the Economy of New York State, Fiscal Year 1976.

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1977.

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New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1979.

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New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1982—"Is Anybody Listening?"

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1983—"A Further Report on Manufactures."

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1984—"A disposition to be just . . . to all parts of the country."

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1985—"The Deficit Becomes Structural."

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1986—"Second Decade Thoughts."

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New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1989—"Deficit by Default."

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1990—"Reflections at Fifteen."

New York State and the Federal Fisc, 1991—"Who Cheated NY out of \$136 Billion?"

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The Federal Budget and the States, 1994—"Reagan's Revenge." With Monica E. Friar and Herman B. Leonard.

The Federal Budget and the States, 1995—"A Culture of Waste." With Monica E. Friar, Herman B. Leonard and Jay H. Walder.

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The Federal Budget and the States, 1997—"Work in Progress." With Herman B. Leonard and Jay H. Walder.

The Federal Budget and the States, 1998—"A Grand Compromise?" With Herman B. Leonard and Jay H. Walder.

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"New Roads and Urban Chaos." The Reporter, April 14, 1960.

"Changing Governors and Police." Public Administration, Autumn 1960.

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"How Catholics Feel About Federal School Aid." The Reporter, April 25, 1961.

"When the Irish Ran New York." The Reporter, June 8, 1961.

"Bosses and Reformers: A Profile on New York Democrats." Commentary, June 1961.

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- "Presenting the American Case." *The American Scholar*, Fall 1975.
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- "The Totalitarian Terrorists." *New York*, July 26, 1976.
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- "Meeting the Ideological Challenge." *The Washington Post*, March 19, 1977.
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- "Defenders and Invaders." *The Washington Post*, June 13, 1977 (Excerpt from address at the Capitol Page School commencement).
- "Freedom, Communism, and Poverty." *The Chicago Tribune*, June 24, 1977 (Excerpts from June 9, 1977 Baruch College Commencement address).
- "The Soviets Do Tap Our Phones." *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 17, 1977.
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- "The Politics of Human Rights." *Commentary*, August 1977.
- "Can Private Universities Maintain Excellence." *Change*, August 1977.
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"Secrecy as a Form of Government Regulation." Georgetown University, Washington, DC, March 3, 1997.

Remarks at the Memorial for Al Shanker. George Washington University, Washington, DC, April 9, 1997.

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Arts Education Technology Conference. Palisades, NY, May 3, 1997.

Dedication of the Chaim Herzog Center. Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Jerusalem, Israel, May 26, 1997.

"Secrecy." National Press Club, Washington, DC, June 13, 1997.

"Government Secrecy in the Information Age." Secretary's Open Forum, U.S. Department of State, Washington, DC, July 25, 1997.

Keynote address. Frank Lloyd Wright Building Conservancy Conference, Buffalo, NY, September 20, 1997.

"Fifty Years of 'Meet the Press.'" Al Smith Memorial Dinner, Waldorf-Astoria, New York, NY, November 3, 1997.

Joseph Henry Award Presented to Dr. Frederic Seitz. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, November 7, 1997.

"100 Years of Zionism." The Capitol, Washington, DC, November 14, 1997.

"On the Commodification of Medicine." The Cartwright Lecture, Columbia University School of Medicine, New York, NY, December 10, 1998. (Published in *Academic Medicine*, May 1998.)

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are cautioned not to refer to guests in the gallery.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 19, 1999, the gentleman from New York (Mr. WALSH) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to join in the tribute to our good friend and our distinguished Senator from New York, DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN; and I congratulate my colleague, the gentlewoman from New York (Mrs. MALONEY), for helping to organize this fitting tribute. It is fitting in many senses, not the least of which is its bipartisanship.

I begin by paraphrasing the great William Shakespeare's play *Julius Caesar*: We have come not to bury the Senator, but to praise him.

New York has great pride in Senator MOYNIHAN and his career. A native son, he began his life in Hell's Kitchen. That crucible of Hell's Kitchen helped to create the character that is now our great Senator.

George Will's column recently was an excellent explanation of his distinguished career, but there are many points that I think all of us have some identity with. Certainly the fact that he spends his summers in Pindar's Corners in upstate New York shows that he is a Senator for the entire State.

In New York State, we have what is commonly referred to as upstate and down state. Now, the people from down state, which we think of as New York City, refer to everything north of the Bronx as upstate, or as everybody from upstate refers to everything in the five bureaus and Long Island as down state.

I would like to think of Senator MOYNIHAN as being from mid-state. He has always defied that upstate-down state divide. There are a couple of songs that sort of sum up New York. Billy Joel wrote and sang a song called *New York State of Mind*. I prefer that to Frank Sinatra's *New York, New York*. New York, New York is a little presumptuous. The *New York State of Mind* I think explains perhaps the Senator, not playing the partisan role, not taking upstate versus down state, urban versus rural, or even domestic versus foreign in our policies. He has somehow avoided that trap.

Just as he did with many, many issues, you can describe him as a man for all seasons, a renaissance man; but certainly he has fulfilled many, many roles throughout his successful life.

As ambassador to India, he helped to bridge a gap between the world's two greatest democracies. India, for some reason, never saw itself as a friend of the United States until Senator MOYNIHAN served there with distinction and helped to create that bridge which we saw somewhat fulfilled the other day when Prime Minister Vajpayee spoke here before the United States Congress, a very important role for 2 great peoples. He served in the cabinet in many administrations, as a professor in my hometown at Syracuse University, as United States ambassador. What a tremendous resume.

He was able to take on issues that few others would be willing to enter into the fray. We have a tremendous environmental issue up home in my hometown, Onondaga Lake. He looked

at the factions that divided the cure for that problem and pointed at all of them and said you are all wrong. We need to get to work on this. He helped me as a Republican bring in the Army Corps of Engineers to play a major role.

I remember the first meeting we had with the Army Corps, and he said to the colonel who was going to take over this project, he said, this project can make a general out of you if you do a good job. Well, he is no longer on the job, but the job has begun and the lake is cleaner already. I owe my partner a great deal and the community does too.

The Erie Canal, the legacy of New York State which strung all of the pearls of the upstate cities together along this waterway, we are restoring that. We are recreating it; we are redeveloping it.

He was never shy about pointing out the peccadillos of our leaders, to his credit. He had a knack for reducing complex issues to the nut of the problem. But, on the other hand, he could also philosophize and wax thoughtfully and embellish. There was a saying when MOYNIHAN and D'Amato were the Senators, if you wanted to get the history of immigration in the United States, you saw MOYNIHAN. If you wanted a passport, you saw D'Amato.

That tells you a little bit about the man.

Somehow, he has managed over the years to avoid the slings and arrows of outrageous editorial writers, although I am sure he could point out a time or two when they took them on. I don't think too many of them were smart enough to take him on. He will be remembered for his witness and wisdom, for his devotion to his beloved wife, Liz, for his 6 decades of public service, for his pithy comments, but mostly for his honesty and integrity.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 19, 1999, the gentleman from New York (Mr. LAFALCE) is recognized during morning hour debates for 5 minutes.

Mr. LAFALCE. Senator MOYNIHAN, I wanted to thank you because I have gone to you not only for the history, but for the passports also.

I am very pleased to join with all my colleagues today as we honor a true giant of the United States Senate, and really one of the giants of public life within the history of the United States; and the words we express today will really pale in comparison to his accomplishments and the esteem in which he is held.

The breadth of his intellect is revealed in his literary output alone. He has authored 18 books on subjects ranging from poverty and race to education, urban policy, welfare, arms control, the family, government secrecy, international law. But while the