

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. I ask it be in order for me to deliver my remarks seated at my desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RES IPSA LOQUITUR

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the July edition of the American Legion magazine features a remarkable statement of obvious truth by a much maligned American who deserves far better than the petty sniping he endures at the hands of cunning politicians and the media, neither of whom would acknowledge the truth if they fell over it in the middle of the street.

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas pulled no punches in this article. His piece in the American Legion magazine was headed, appropriately, "Courage v. Civility." Mr. Justice Thomas knows a good bit about both. He is, himself, a civil gentleman who possesses great courage.

The subhead on his piece pinpoints a great deal about how a good many American freedoms are being lost. One of the things he says is, those who censor themselves put fear ahead of freedom. I will quote briefly from two or three statements made by the distinguished Justice of the Supreme Court.

He said:

I do not believe that one should fight over things that don't really matter. But what about things that do matter? It is not comforting to think that the natural tendency inside us is to settle for the bottom, or even the middle of the stream.

This tendency, in large part, results from an overemphasis on civility. None of us should be uncivil in our manner as we debate issues of consequence. No matter how difficult it is, good manners should be routine. However, in the effort to be civil in conduct, many who know better actually dilute firmly held views to avoid appearing "judgmental." They curb their tongues not only in form but also in substance. The insistence on civility in the form of our debates has the perverse effect of cannibalizing our principles, the very essence of a civil society. That is why civility cannot be the governing principle of citizenship or leadership.

By yielding to a false form of civility, we sometimes allow our critics to intimidate us. As I have said, active citizens are often subjected to truly vile attacks; they are branded as mean-spirited, racist, Uncle Tom, homophobic, sexist, etc. To this we often respond (if not succumb), so as not to be constantly fighting, by trying to be tolerant and nonjudgmental—i.e., we censor ourselves. This is not civility. It is cowardice, or well-intentioned self-deception at best.

I shall not quote further from this super article written by Mr. Justice Clarence Thomas, but I do ask unanimously consent the article by him be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the American Legion Magazine, July 2001]

COURAGE v. CIVILITY

THOSE WHO CENSOR THEMSELVES PUT FEAR AHEAD OF FREEDOM

(By Clarence Thomas)

My beliefs about personal fortitude and the importance of defending timeless principles of justice grew out of the wonderful years I spent with my grandparents, the years I have spent in Washington and my interest in world history—especially the history of countries in which the rule of law was surrendered to the rule of fear, such as during the rise of Nazism in what was then one of the most educated and cultured countries in Europe.

I have now been in Washington, D.C., for more than two decades. When I first arrived here in 1979, I thought there would be great debates about principles and policies in this city.

I expected citizens to feel passionately about what was happening in our country, to candidly and passionately debate the policies that had been implemented and suggest new ones.

I was disabused of this heretical notion in December 1980, when I was unwittingly candid with a young Washington Post reporter. He fairly and thoroughly displayed my naive openness in his op-ed about our discussion, in which I had raised what I thought were legitimate objections to a number of sacred policies, such as affirmative action, welfare, school busing—policies I felt were not well serving their intended beneficiaries. In my innocence, I was shocked at the public reaction. I had never been called such names in my entire life.

Why were these policies beyond question? What or who placed them off limits? Would it not be useful for those who felt strongly about these matters, and who wanted to solve the same problems, to have a point of view and to be heard? Sadly, in most forums of public dialogue in this country, the answer is no.

It became clear in rather short order that on very difficult issues, such as race, there was no real debate or honest discussion. Those who raised questions that suggested doubt about popular policies were subjected to intimidation. Debate was not permitted. Orthodoxy was enforced.

Today, no one can honestly claim surprise at the venomous attacks against those who take positions that are contrary to the canon laid down by those who claim to shape opinions. Such attacks have been standard fare for some time.

If you trim your sails, you appease those who lack the honesty and decency to disagree on the merits but prefer to engage in personal attacks. A good argument diluted to avoid criticism is not nearly as good as the undiluted argument, because we best arrive at truth through a process of honest and vigorous debate. Arguments should not sneak around in disguise, as if dissent were somehow sinister. One should not be cowed by criticism.

In my humble opinion, those who come to engage in debates of consequence, and who challenge accepted wisdom, should expect to be treated badly. Nonetheless, they must stand undaunted. That is required. And that should be expected, for it is bravery that is required to secure freedom. * * * For brutes, the most effective tactic is to intimidate an opponent into the silence of self-censorship.

In September 1975, The Wall Street Journal published a book review by Michael Novak of Thomas Sowell's book, "Race and Economics." The opening paragraph changed my life. It reads:

"Honesty on questions of race is rare in the United States. So many and unrecog-

nized have been the injustices committed against blacks that no one wishes to be unkind, or subject himself to intimidating charges. Hence, even simple truths are commonly evaded."

This insight applies with equal force to very many conversations of consequence today. Who wants to be denounced as a heartless monster? On important matters, crucial matters, silence is enforced.

Even if one has a valid position, and is intellectually honest, he has to anticipate nasty responses aimed at the messenger rather than the argument. The objective is to limit the range of the debate, the number of messengers and the size of the audience. The aim is to pressure dissenters to sanitize their message, so as to avoid being subjected to hurtful ad hominem criticism. Who wants to be caluminated? It's not worth the trouble.

But is it worth it? Just what is worth it, and what is not? If one wants to be popular, it is counterproductive to disagree with the majority. If one just wants to tread water until the next vacation, it isn't worth the agony. If one just wants to muddle through, it is not worth it. In my office, a little sign reads: "To avoid criticism, say nothing, do nothing, be nothing."

None of us really believes that the things we fear discussing honestly these days are really trivial—and the reaction of our critics shows that we are right. If our dissents are so trivial, why are their reactions so intense? If our ideas are trivial, why the head-hunting? Like you, I do not want to waste my time on the trivial. I certainly have no desire to be browbeaten and intimidated for the trivial.

What makes it all worthwhile? What makes it worthwhile is something greater than all of us. There are those things that at one time we all accepted as more important than our comfort or discomfort—if not our very lives: Duty, honor, country! There was a time when all was to be set aside for these. The plow was left idle, the hearth without fire, the homestead abandoned.

To enter public life is to step outside our more confined, comfortable sphere, and to face the broader, national sphere of citizenship. What makes it all worthwhile is to devote ourselves to the common good.

It goes without saying that we must participate in the affairs of our country if we think they are important and have an impact on our lives. But how are we to do that? In what manner should we participate?

I do not believe that one should fight over things that don't really matter. But what about things that do matter? It is not comforting to think that the natural tendency inside us is to settle for the bottom, or even the middle of the stream.

This tendency, in large part, results from an overemphasis on civility. None of us should be uncivil in our manner as we debate issues of consequence. No matter how difficult it is, good manners should be routine. However, in the effort to be civil in conduct, many who know better actually dilute firmly held views to avoid appearing "judgmental." They curb their tongues not only in form but also in substance. The insistence on civility in the form of our debates has the perverse effect of cannibalizing our principles, the very essence of a civil society. That is why civility cannot be the governing principle of citizenship or leadership.

By yielding to a false form of civility, we sometimes allow our critics to intimidate us. As I have said, active citizens are often subjected to truly vile attacks; they are branded as mean-spirited, racist, Uncle Tom, homophobic, sexist, etc. To this we often respond (if not succumb), so as not to be constantly fighting, by trying to be tolerant and

nonjudgmental—i.e., we censor ourselves. This is not civility. It is cowardice, or well-intentioned self-deception at best.

The little-known story of Dimitar Peshev shows both the power of self-deception and the explosive effect of telling the truth and the dangers inherent in allowing the rule of law and the truth to succumb to political movements of the moment.

Peshev was the vice president of the Bulgarian Parliament during World War II. He was a man like many—simple and straightforward, not a great intellectual, not a military hero—just a civil servant doing his job as best he could, raising his family, struggling through a terrible moment in European history.

Bulgaria was pretty lucky because it managed to stay out of the fighting, even though the Nazis had placed the Bulgarian government—and the king—under enormous pressure to enter the war on the side of the Axis, or at a minimum to permit the destruction of the Bulgarian Jews. Bulgaria had no tradition of widespread anti-semitism, and the leaders of the country were generally unwilling to turn over their own citizens to certain death. But like all the other European countries, Bulgaria moved toward the Holocaust in small steps.

Peshev was one of many Bulgarian officials who heard rumors of the new policy and constantly queried his ministers. They lied to him, and for a time he believed their lies. Perhaps the ministers somehow believed the lies themselves. But in the final hours, a handful of citizens from Peshev's hometown raced to Sofia to tell him the truth: that Jews were being rounded up, that the rains were waiting.

According to the law, such actions were illegal. So Peshev forced his way into the office of the interior minister, demanding to know the truth. The minister repeated the official line, but Peshev didn't believe him. He demanded that the minister place a telephone call to the local authorities and remind them of their legal obligations. This brave act saved the lives of the Bulgarian Jews. Peshev then circulated a letter to members of Parliament, condemning the violation of the law and demanding that the government ensure that no such thing take place.

According to his biographer, Peshev's words moved all those "who until that moment had not imagined what could happen but who now could not accept what they had discovered." He had broken through the wall of self-deception and forced his colleagues to face the truth.

There is no monument to this brave man. Quite the contrary, the ministers were embarrassed and made him pay the price of their wickedness. He was removed from the position of vice president, publicly chastised for breaking ranks and politically isolated.

But he had won nonetheless: The king henceforth found ways to stall the Nazis; the leader of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church publicly defended the country's Jews; and even the most convinced anti-Semites in the Bulgarian government dared not advocate active cooperation with the Third Reich.

After the war, when the communists took over Bulgaria, they rewrote the wartime history to give the Communist Party credit for saving the Jews. Peshev was sent to the Gulag, and his story was only rediscovered after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Pope John Paul II has traveled the entire world challenging tyrants and murderers of all sorts, speaking to millions of people, bringing them a single, simple message: "Be not afraid."

He preached this message to people living under communist tyranny in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in Nicaragua and in China:

"Be not afraid." He preached it to Africans facing death from marauding tribes and murderous disease: "Be not afraid." And he preached it to us, warning us how easy it is to be trapped in a "culture of death" even in our comfortable and luxurious country: "Be not afraid."

Those three little words hold the power to transform individuals and change the world. They can supply the quiet resolve and unvoiced courage necessary to endure the inevitable intimidation.

Today we are not called upon to risk our lives against some monstrous tyranny. America is not a barbarous country. Our people are not oppressed, and we face no pressing international threat to our way of life, such as the Soviet Union once posed.

Though the war in which we are engaged is cultural, not civil, it tests whether this "nation: conceived in liberty . . . can long endure." President Lincoln's words do endure: "It is . . . for us [the living] to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us . . . that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion . . . that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain . . . that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom . . . and that government of the people . . . by the people . . . for the people . . . shall not perish from the earth."

The founders warned us that freedom requires constant vigilance and repeated action. It is said that, when asked what sort of government the founders had created, Benjamin Franklin replied that they had given us "a republic, if you can keep it." Today, as in the past, we need a brave civic virtue, not a timid civility, to keep our republic. Be not afraid.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CORPORATION FOR NATIONAL SERVICE

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to recognize the recent meeting of the board of directors of the Corporation for National Service which was hosted by my home State of Mississippi. Mississippians are known for their hospitality and compassion, so playing host to this meeting in Jackson was a natural fit.

The board members used this forum to elect Stephen Goldsmith, chairman of the board of directors for the Corporation for National Service. As the former mayor of Indianapolis, Chairman Goldsmith earned a reputation for innovative thinking, reducing spending, and improving infrastructure. I wish him the best of luck in his new role as chairman.

I also understand that at this year's meeting of the board, a coalition of religious and community leaders praised President Bush for his faith-based and community initiatives, and announced the creation of the Mississippi Faith-Based Coalition for Community Renewal. My constituents advise me that this coalition will work with the President to implement his faith-based plan and bring hope and opportunity to all Mississippians.

Mississippi is truly proud to have been chosen as the host site for the 2001 meeting of the board of directors of the Corporation for National Service. I

want to encourage other boards, organizations, corporations, and groups to hold their special events in Mississippi and share in all we have to offer.

HONORING NOBEL LAUREATES

Mr. BIDEN. Mr. President, on July 18 here in Washington, the American College of Neuropsychopharmacology will be honoring its members who have won the Nobel Prize for Medicine or Physiology. The honorees include the three Nobel Prize winners from the year 2000: Dr. Arvid Carlsson from Goteborg University in Sweden, Dr. Paul Greengard from Rockefeller University in New York City, and Dr. Eric Kandel from Columbia University in New York City. Also being honored is the 1970 Nobel Prize winner, Dr. Julius Axelrod from the National Institutes of Health in Maryland. Together, these Nobel Prize winners have helped us begin to understand how that most mysterious and important human organ, the brain, actually works.

The brain is a huge collection of nerve cells, connected to each other in complicated networks. Nerve impulses, which are the means of communicating information from the brain to the various parts of the body, are conducted from one end of a nerve cell to another by a form of electrical action. Dr. Axelrod's work set the stage for our modern knowledge of brain neurochemistry by establishing the important role of neurotransmitters, which are chemicals that serve to transmit these nerve impulses from one nerve cell to another through a connecting region called the synapse. A key first step in understanding the brain was this discovery that, as nerve impulses move from nerve cell to nerve cell, they switch from an electrical conduction to a chemical conduction and then back again to an electrical conduction.

Dr. Carlsson started to fill in this general outline by discovering that the chemical dopamine was one of these important chemicals that transmits nerve signals from one nerve cell to another. Moreover, dopamine seemed to be very important in controlling body motions. Dr. Carlsson's work with experimental animals who were deficient in dopamine led to the seminal discovery that Parkinson's disease in humans, a disabling and progressive disease associated with tremors and impaired mobility, was directly related to a deficiency of dopamine in certain parts of the brain. This landmark finding led directly to the treatment of Parkinson's disease with L-dopa, a drug that is converted to dopamine in the body. To this very day, the foundation for treatment of this illness is the use of medications that increase dopamine in the brain or mimic its action there.

Dr. Carlsson also discovered that the drugs used to treat schizophrenia, a severe mental illness affecting thought processes, also seemed to work by affecting the action of dopamine in the