

such as the agricultural, service and construction industries. Immigrants are also vital to the smooth running of our daily lives—they educate our children, wash our dishes, mow our lawns, take care of our aging parents and grandparents, serve our food and clean our homes.

If these workers are able enough, are responsible enough to care for our children, parents, and grandparents, should they not at least be afforded the benefits they have rightfully earned?

A study highlighting the economic contributions of immigrants released just last month by the Center for Labor Market Studies at Northeastern University reported what many of us have understood for some time: Immigrant labor is absolutely essential to the health of the U.S. economy, both in terms of filling gaps in the labor market and expanding the nation's tax base.

Despite the well-documented contributions of immigrants, some people still might say, in light of the attacks of September 11, that this is a bill whose time cannot come.

I would strongly disagree. In fact, I would say that this bill is long overdue.

We must not let our national security concerns cast a dark shadow over the importance and real contributions of immigrants to our country. We should not allow terrorists to destroy the hopes and quest for a better life that is inherent in each and every immigrant seeking a better life while making a considerable contribution to our workforce.

Given the difficult lessons we learned from the tragedies of September 11th and our subsequent efforts to make this country safer for all of us, I would say we need this kind of bold immigration reform, like we have never needed it before. In fact, our national security demands it.

We are all aware than an estimated 8 to 9 million undocumented immigrants live in this country. Imagine this community of people currently living in the shadows brought forward to live openly in our society as legal permanent residents.

Imagine the relief it will provide to parents who, like the immigrants before them, came in search of a better life for their families.

Imagine the relief of employers who depend on the work of these immigrants to keep their hotels, restaurants, factories, and businesses afloat.

As a nation, we have committed immense resources to make our communities safer and to root out terrorists. Imagine our collective relief as Americans when we, alongside our immigrant friends who have come to build this Nation, are better able to focus our efforts on identifying and delivering justice to those that come to tear down this Nation.

The United States has been and always will be a country of immigrants. I believe the USEFUL Act will go far toward easing the plight of long-term U.S. residents who, for all practical purposes are here to stay, but who under current immigration law remain vulnerable. Ultimately, we will all benefit from a stronger, more stable workforce.

I also believe my bill will be extremely useful in our efforts to better secure the homeland and to protect us from future terrorist attacks.

I urge my colleagues to help achieve needed immigration reform by supporting the USEFUL Act.

CONGRATULATING THE WESTERN KENTUCKY UNIVERSITY HILLTOPPERS FOOTBALL TEAM

HON. RON LEWIS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 7, 2003

Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate the Western Kentucky University Hilltoppers on their first NCAA Division I-AA football championship.

Today in Bowling Green, they are putting up seven new signs for drivers to see when they come into the city, signs recognizing the Toppers as national champions. Here in Washington, I introduced a resolution congratulating the Hilltoppers on their win, and my Kentucky colleague Jim Bunning has introduced the same resolution in the Senate.

The 15th ranked Hilltoppers defeated top-ranked McNeese State 34-14 to take the championship on December 20. Western brought their best game to the playoffs and the championship, defeating the three highest ranked teams on their way to winning the title.

Just as they had all season, the Hilltoppers relied on their tough defense and strong running game. Jon Frazier rushed for 159 yards and two touchdowns, bringing his season total to 1,537 yards and moving him into second place in Western's running records. The defense combined for three interceptions and a sack, holding McNeese State well below its season scoring average.

In his 14th year at Western Kentucky, coach Jack Harbaugh saw the team's hard work pay off. He has built a successful program over the years that the university, the Bowling Green community and the state can be proud of.

After starting the season with a 2-3 record, and a loss to McNeese State, the Hilltoppers relied on their teamwork and dedication to win 10 straight games, finishing the season with the national championship.

I join Western Kentucky University and all of Bowling Green in congratulating the Hilltopper football team for its success. Go Big Red!

THE FAILED CHILD WELFARE SYSTEM

HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 7, 2003

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, there is an urgent need for the Congress to overhaul the failed child welfare system.

In 2000, almost 3 million instances of child abuse or neglect were reported and more than 870,000 incidents substantiated, and 556,000 children lived in foster care. A particularly horrendous example of abuse, and the failure of state agencies to address it, fills the newspapers today in reporting the tragedy in Newark, NJ.

Despite spending billions of dollars on child welfare, we continue to fail these and other children every day. Recent audits by the Department of Health and Human Services have found that *every state examined is out of compliance with federal regulations to protect children.*

Unfortunately, nearly every Member can find horrific stories in their own state about the failure of the child welfare system. In the most recent New Jersey tragedy, despite the state welfare system being repeatedly notified about abuse in this family over 10 years, two young brothers were found starving and neglected with their brother laying dead in another part of the basement. Serious reform at the local, state and federal levels is long overdue.

In November 2002, Representatives RANGEL and CARDIN and I convened a Child Welfare Summit that brought together child welfare experts, administrators, judges, and academicians to discuss the state of child welfare reform. Summit participants discussed the great need for reform and the communities in which improvements have been achieved. They called for more community involvement and partnerships, better investment in prevention, standards of accountability for welfare systems and improved caseworker training, supervision and retention.

The following article from The Washington Post discusses the urgent need for reform and some of the recommendations of the Summit. Congress needs to act without delay to review these findings and implement changes to safeguard our most vulnerable children.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 2, 2003]

BEFORE THE NEXT TRAGEDY

By Susan Notkin

We have become accustomed to the headlines: A child in foster care is missing. An infant is left alone in a locked car on a hot day. A child dies at the hands of a parent whose acts of abuse or neglect went unnoticed—or, worse, were noticed and ignored by those who might have helped. One week's troubling stories may come from Florida, Michigan or Texas, but the next week it could just as easily be another state, another child in the news.

These tragedies initiate predictable events. Politicians, journalists and others point fingers. A caseworker, supervisor or child welfare commissioner resigns. A blue ribbon panel is convened. But real system reform seems impossible, and the sense of urgency fades until the next headline.

In the year 2000, nearly 3 million cases of child abuse or neglect were reported, with more than 870,000 incidents substantiated. For each day of that year, three children died as a result of abuse or neglect. In 2000, more than half-a-million children were in foster care nationwide, many residing in communities far from their homes and families.

The problem is not lack of caring. Child welfare workers and administrators go to work everyday hoping to do their best for vulnerable children and families. But state and local agencies suffer from inadequate resources, high turnover, poor training, low pay and outrageously heavy caseloads. At present, dozens of states are either involved in child welfare class action lawsuits or are operating under court order for failing to adequately protect abused and neglected children. Still we lack the political will for major reform.

Recently, national child welfare experts and congressional leaders held a Child Welfare Summit to discuss urgent problems confronting child welfare services and to recommend priorities for reform.

Participants called for major changes in our nation's approach to protecting children. They recommended investing in prevention instead of continuing with inadequate after-the-fact responses. They stressed that efforts to hold child welfare systems more accountable must be coupled with relevant standards

for child welfare practice that make accountability possible. They supported measures to build skills and improve compensation for caseworkers, increase caseworker retention and provide rewards for superior performance. Nearly all participants spoke to the need to address the over representation of children of color in our child welfare system.

Perhaps the area of greatest consensus was that government alone cannot effectively protect children. We need much greater community involvement, especially in the form of partnerships between public child welfare agencies and local communities. Such partnerships make keeping children safe everybody's business. Neighbors and community leaders reach out to vulnerable families to talk about good parenting. They carry the challenge of child abuse prevention to neighborhood meeting, block parties, picnics and congregations of different faiths. These partnerships offer individualized services based on a family's needs and give families at risk more say in the decisions that affect their lives.

Because child welfare, mental health, substance abuse and domestic violence agencies typically work with the same families, community partnerships ensure that their services are coordinated. And when children must be placed outside their homes, every effort is made to keep them in their own communities. Community partnerships are already showing great promise in more than 50 locations across the country, including cities as diverse as Jacksonville, Fla., Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and Atlanta.

The task of changing the way we conduct child welfare is demanding, but we have no choice. The terrible cost to children and families who fall in the cracks of the current system is obvious enough, but the financial cost is also daunting. Prevent Child Abuse America reports that we spend more than \$93 billion annually in direct and indirect responses to child abuse and neglect. We could spend this money far more wisely by implementing the types of reforms recommended by the nation's leading child welfare experts. This is the future we must invest in.

OVERLAPPING ERAS

HON. AMO HOUGHTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 7, 2003

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, our former colleague, the extraordinary Daniel Patrick Moynihan, notes that from the summer of 1914 the world was at war, with only brief interludes, until the collapse of the Soviet Union. "But now we have to ask if it is once again the summer of 1914. Small acts of terror in the Middle East, in South Asia, could lead to cataclysm, as they did in Sarajevo . . . The eras are overlapping."

Senator Moynihan was speaking in the same forum from which General George C. Marshall summoned the American people to rebuild Europe—the Harvard University Commencement. He said that the end of the Cold War has brought not universal peace, but widespread violence. The new horrors occur on the fault lines between major conflicting cultures.

Recalling that General Marshall had spoken to the graduating class 47 years before, he said: "History summons us once more in different ways, but with even greater urgency. Civilization need not die. At this moment, only

the United States can save it. As we fight the war against evil, we must also wage peace, guided by the lessons of the Marshall Plan—vision and generosity can help make the world a safer place."

I would commend the address in its entirety to my colleagues and would like to insert the text in the RECORD at this point:

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS, JUNE 6, 2002

(By Daniel Patrick Moynihan)

A while back it came as something of a start to find in *The New Yorker* a reference to an article I had written, and I quote, "In the middle of the last century." Yet persons my age have been thinking back to those times and how, in the end, things turned out so well and so badly. Millions of us returned from the assorted services to find the economic growth that had come with the Second World War had not ended with the peace. The Depression had not resumed. It is not perhaps remembered, but it was widely thought it would.

It would be difficult indeed to summon up the optimism that came with this great surprise. My beloved colleague Nathan Glazer and the revered David Riesman wrote that America was "the land of the second chance" and so indeed it seemed. We had surmounted the depression; the war. We could realistically think of a world of stability, peace—above all, a world of law.

Looking back, it is clear we were not nearly so fortunate. Great leaders preserved—and in measure extended—democracy. But totalitarianism had not been defeated. To the contrary, by 1948 totalitarians controlled most of Eurasia. As we now learn, 11 days after Nagasaki the Soviets established a special committee to create an equivalent weapon. Their first atomic bomb was acquired through espionage, but their hydrogen bomb was their own doing. Now the Cold War was on. From the summer of 1914, the world had been at war, with interludes no more. It finally seemed to end with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the changes in China. But now . . .

But now we have to ask if it is once again the summer of 1914.

Small acts of terror in the Middle East, in South Asia, could lead to cataclysm, as they did in Sarajevo. And for which great powers, mindful or not, have been preparing.

The eras are overlapping.

As the United States reacts to the mass murder of 9/11 and prepares for more, it would do well to consider how much terror India endured in the second half of the last century. And its response. It happens I was our man in New Delhi in 1974 when India detonated its first nuclear device. I was sent in to see Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with a statement as much as anything of regret. For there was nothing to be done; it was going to happen. The second most populous nation on earth was not going to leave itself disarmed and disregarded, as non-nuclear powers appeared to be. But leaving, I asked to speak as a friend of India and not as an official. In twenty years time, I opined, there would be a Moghul general in command in Islamabad, and he would have nuclear weapons and would demand Kashmir back, perhaps the Punjab.

The Prime Minister said nothing; I dare to think she half agreed. In time, she would be murdered in her own garden; next, her son and successor was murdered by a suicide bomber. This, while nuclear weapons accumulated which are now poised.

Standing at Trinity Site at Los Alamos, J. Robert Oppenheimer pondered an ancient Sanskrit text in which Lord Shiva declares, "I am become Death, the shatterer of worlds." Was he right?

At the very least we can come to terms with the limits of our capacity to foresee events.

It happens I had been a Senate observer to the START negotiations in Geneva, and was on the Foreign Relations Committee when the treaty, having been signed, was sent to us for ratification. In a moment of mischief I remarked to our superb negotiators that we had sent them to Geneva to negotiate a treaty with the Soviet Union, but the document before us was a treaty with four countries, only two of which I could confidently locate on a map. I was told they had exchanged letters in Lisbon [the Lisbon Protocol, May 23, 1992]. I said that sounded like a Humphrey Bogart movie.

The hard fact is that American intelligence had not the least anticipated the implosion of the Soviet Union. I cite Stansfield Turner, former director of the CIA in Foreign Affairs, 1991. "We should not gloss over the enormity of this failure to forecast the magnitude of the Soviet crisis . . . The corporate view missed by a mile."

Russia now faces a near-permanent crisis. By mid-century its population could well decline to as few as 80 million persons. Immigrants will press in; one dares not think what will have happened to the nuclear materials scattered across 11 time zones.

Admiral Turner's 1991 article was entitled "Intelligence for a New World Order." Two years later Samuel Huntington outlined what that new world order—or disorder—would be in an article in the same journal entitled "The Clash of Civilizations." His subsequent book of that title is a defining text of our time.

Huntington perceives a world of seven or eight major conflicting cultures, the West, Russia, China, India, and Islam. Add Japan, South America, Africa. Most incorporate a major nation-state which typically leads its fellows.

The Cold War on balance suppressed conflict. But the end of the Cold War has brought not universal peace but widespread violence. Some of this has been merely residual proxy conflicts dating back to the earlier era. Some plain ethnic conflict. But the new horrors occur on the fault lines, as Huntington has it, between the different cultures.

For argument's sake one could propose that Marxism was the last nearly successful effort to Westernize the rest of the world. In 1975, I stood in Tiananmen Square, the center of the Middle Kingdom. In an otherwise empty space, there were two towering masts. At the top of one were giant portraits of two hirsute 19th century German gentlemen, Messrs. Marx and Engels. The other displayed a somewhat Mongol-looking Stalin and Mao. That wasn't going to last, and of course, it didn't.

Hence Huntington: "The central problem in the relations between the West and the rest is . . . the discordance between the West's particularly America's—efforts to promote universal Western culture and its declining ability to do so."

Again there seems to be no end of ethnic conflict within civilizations. But it is to the clash of civilizations we must look with a measure of dread. The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists recently noted that "The crisis between India and Pakistan, touched off by a December 13th terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament marks the closest two states have come to nuclear war since the Cuban Missile Crisis." By 1991, the minute-hand on their doomsday clock had dropped back to 17 minutes to midnight. It has since been moved forward three times and is again seven minutes to midnight, just where it started in 1947.

The terrorist attacks on the United States of last September 11 were not nuclear, but