opposition, and their efforts are also recognized. All of them are always courteous and helpful. I thank them and all the other staff on the other side of the aisle. At times, such as during close votes and intense debates, I wish that they were not quite as good as they are in their work, but I do want them to know that we, on this side, are aware of and appreciate their dedication and cooperation.

Mr. President, the Senate could not function without the support and services of many other offices. I wish now to recognize and thank them for the important work they do.

One of the most difficult and complicated jobs around here is ensuring the safety of this great, historic building and the people who work in it, while protecting the democratic rights of the American people. The American people not only have the right to see their government in action, they have the right to petition it, and to protest against it. Placed in the middle of this most difficult position in the U.S. Capitol police force headed by Chief Gary Abrecht and his assistant Chief Robert Langley. I thank them for the professional way in which they perform their important and sometimes dangerous duties.

I commend the staff of the Service Department under the able and dedicated leadership of Russell Jackson. These dedicated men and women are here early in the morning and late at night, when the Senate is in session and when it is not, making sure that Senate publications are ready the next day. I call special attention to their tireless efforts in ensuring that the publications of my Democratic Policy Committee are always prompt and timely. I happen to know that the Policy Committee has placed some extraordinary demands on them—and they always come through.

Officers and staff who are not always visible, but whose daily work is essential to the institution's operations are the acting director of the computer center, Mike Bartell, postmaster Gayle Cory, director of telecommunications Robert McCormick, the director of the photo studio Alan Porter, and director of the cabinet shop Don Gardner, and all of their staffs. The acknowledgement also goes to the financial management team of Chris Dey, Ray Payne, Richard Zelkowitz, Amy Blanchard, and Alan Block. They may not always get the recognition they deserve for their outstanding work in their very demanding jobs, but all of them are appreciated more than they will ever know.

Also, I would like to commend those who keep this building so clean and well maintained under the leadership of Karen Ellis, Phyllis Timms, and Ross Thomas.

Mr. President, 2 years ago, when I gave a similar talk, I pointed out that former Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson was fond of saying, "information is power." I also explained that while I always understood what he meant by the phrase, it is as majority leader that I have come to truly and fully appreciate what he meant. Two more years as Senate majority leader have not diminished, but enhanced this perspective as I am even more grateful for the Senate's information support systems. There is the Congressional Research Service—whose reports, issue briefs and other publications are well known and heavily utilized by every Member of this Chamber and their staffs. The ability of CRS to retrieve information, find the smallest fact, research the most important questions, and provide prompt, timely analysis on difficult issues makes them essential to the effective workings of the U.S. Senate.

I thank the Congressional Budget Office for its important and timely work. In this era of budget deficits and budget restraints, CBO's prompt, but thorough analysis of the costs of pending legislation and its analysis of historical and programmatic trends have become a vital part of the legislative process.

The Senate Library staff are remarkable for the effectiveness, the resourcefulness, and the speed with which they fulfill the research demands of the Senate. Senate Librarian Roger Haley, assistants Ann Womeldorf, Greg Harness, Donnee Gray, and all the others on his talented, hard-working staff are commended.

Mr. President, it is said that the "past is prolog." If that is the case, the Members of this Chamber could not have better resources to call upon for knowledge of the future as well as the past than Senate historian Dr. Richard Baker and his talented staff. I thank them for their work in carefully, tenaciously, and meticulously documenting the history of this Chamber.

The Reverend Dr. Richard Halverson, the Senate Chaplain, is truly appreciated. The 60th Chaplain of the Senate is a spiritual leader whose kindness and thoughtful words inspire us all. While the Members of this Chamber are not always able to perform the miracles for which he often prays, I thank him for at least making the request. He provides kind and guiding words every morning the Senate is in session, comfort when it is needed, and inspiration in good times and bad.

Attending to our physical needs and problems is Dr. Robert Krasner and his fine, competent, and ever pleasant medical staff.

Also attending to our physical needs, albeit in different ways, are the outstanding staffs of the Senate restaurants. I thank them for the food they prepare and their service.

I express my utmost and personal gratitude to Shirley Herath, "Irish" McLain, and Ruby Paone who manage the Senate reception room. Their friendliness and cooperation is well known and needs no elaboration, but it does deserve a thank you.

Those who work in the Senate press galleries, including Bob Peterson, Jim Talbert, Maurice Johnson, Larry Janezich, and their deputies perform a valuable service in assisting the media in following the activities in this Chamber, and I thank them for it.

The staff of the recording studio's broadcast control perform the important chore of helping to bring the workings of the U.S. Government into the homes of the American people. Their coverage of the deliberations of the Chamber enables the American people to follow the workings of their Government, and I thank them for it.

Finally, Mr. President, I express my deep appreciation for my own staff who have served me so splendidly and so tirelessly for the past 2 years. I begin by recognizing and commending my Senate leadership staff headed by my chief of staff, John Hilley. His calm demeanor under extraordinary demands, his ability to make the complex seem so simple, and his political sagacity make him an excellent chief of staff.

Also making my life and work as Senate majority leader much easier and more comfortable are the other dedicated professionals in the majority leader's office. These include Lisa Nolan, whose disciplined, orderly thinking and behavior are not only needed and utilized, they are blessings in an office where chaos constantly beckons.

My executive assistant, Pat Sarcone, is always there when I need her—indeed, she is the miracle worker that every office needs. She handles every demand and every task, no matter how difficult, with a professional style and with an infectious positive attitude. I know of no person who has not found it a pleasure to work with her.

I also commend the work and loyalty of special assistant Alice Aughtry and staff assistant Ross LaJeunesse for performing many of the needed tasks in the leader's office.

My communications office is under the direction of the very capable and talented Diane Dewhirst. Ms. Dewhirst works tirelessly to promote the Senate Democratic agenda, and she works splendidly with the press so that the public may be better informed on the workings of the Senate. Her capable assistants, Mary Helen Fuller, Jim Manley, Kevin McNanus, Chris Deckel, Clare Flood, Kevin Kelleher, and Mark Marchione work hard as well to make sure the communications office serves its important purpose—which it does.

I am deeply indebted to and grateful for the staffers in my personal office. Without them, I would not be where I am, and I applaud them. They are a talented, loyal group of men and

women who do an excellent job in serving both the State of Maine and the United States.

I begin by commending the work of my administrative assistant, Mary McAleney. An organizer, a troubleshooter, a counselor, and much more, Ms. McAleney is everything a Senator wants in an AA. I thank her for all her work and dedication.

My legislative staff is superior. I thank each and every one of them for the excellent work they do. Bobby Rozen's knowledge of tax and banking issues cannot be matched; I depend on him a lot and he never lets me down. Anita Jensen has been with me since the beginning. She brings an institutional knowledge and grasp of issues that is rare in the Senate. She does an excellent job as my staff person on the Judiciary Committee, as well as being the in-house expert on many social issues of the day. Grace Reef is truly "amazing Grace" as she handles issues as diverse as roads and bridges to housing and welfare—and does it all superbly. Chris Williams has been a major force behind my effort to ensure that every American has access to affordable, quality health care. Kim Wallace deals with appropriations, budget, education and many other important issues, and is a joy to know—if Will Rogers never met a person he did not like, I never met a person who did not like Kim. Rich Arenberg has worked for me for a long time in several different positions; he is currently doing an excellent job as my Special Assistant for National Security Affairs. I rely on Bob Carolla for many and various issues, defense conversion and economic development issues for the State of Maine. Steve Hart works on veterans, agriculture, forestry preservation issues—issues that are very important to Maine; this year he has worked on veterans' health care issues obtaining some funds for Vietnam veterans. Sandy Brown handles Maine and appropriations and is a very important liaison with my field staff on economic development projects as well as handling national arts issues. Seth Brewster and Peggy Dorothy, who work on trade and labor issues respectively, are completing their first year with me, and have already proven themselves to be very capable Senate staffers. Barry Valentine does important and excellent work by staffing me on the MIA/POW issue. Research assistant Kelly Riordian and speech writer Lee Lockwood work with the legislative staff to provide them with the background and reference they need on various issues and policies.

I am grateful for my capable foreign policy staff; their expert knowledge of defense issues and international affairs has been crucial to me during this session of Congress. I have relied on them constantly, and I have never been disappointed. Sarah Sewell, who covers Europe and the Middle East, has been with me for a long time, and I have always appreciated her work. Much of what she works on, such as Russian Aid and START Treaty are important, not only for the United States, but for much of the world. Ed King covers Asia and Central America. I valued his crucial work on the two votes on China-MFN status—although we were not successful, we fought the good fight for the right reasons. Brett O'Brien handles defense issues. His knowledge of the defense industry is especially needed and is being heavily utilized as we seek to balance the needs of our national defense and our domestic priorities in a changing world.

Kate Kimball, who deals with clean air and solid waste issues was a major force behind the passage of the Clean Air Act. This session she assisted with passage of key legislation, the Federal facilities bill and legislation to speed up transfer of contaminated Federal property. Also working for me on environmental issues—an area that I'm deeply concerned about—are two outstanding members of the Environment and Public Works staff, Jeff Peterson and Bob Davison. Jeff handles clean water issues; no one could be more concerned with protecting the quality and safety of our waters, and his work reflects it. No one could be more concerned with protecting our precious environment than Bob who handles wetlands and fisheries; to him belongs the delicate task of balancing environmental concerns against developmental ones.

I also express my deep appreciation for all those who perform the essential day-to-day tasks that keep the office functioning. Office manager Donna Beck takes care of those important office financial matters and responds to constituent requests. Donna's assistant, Sally Ehrenfried, trains and supervises the interns, and fills in wherever my office staff needs her. They not only provide the tools, they are the people who make an office function.

Performing the important tasks of answering constituent phone calls and letters so that I can stay in contact with the people of my State are Alice Steward, who I'm glad returned to my staff to oversee my legislative correspondents, Heidi Heal Bonner, Deb Cotter, Claude Berube, Chris Mann, Jim St. John, and Trey Kelleter. Staff assistants include Jill Ward, Amelia Johnson, Ashley Abbot, and Alexia Pappas. They are the eyes and ears and the voices to the many hundreds of people who, in one way or another, contact me each day.

Janie O'Connor is my liaison with visitors, especially tour and student groups, from my State who stop by to say hello. Her nearly 12 years experience has made her the best tour guide on the Hill. Diane Smith is responsible for my Maine schedule. She has the difficult job of balancing the many requests placed upon the majority leader against the time I am able to be in the State; she can schedule 12 hours of work into a 10 hour day and still leave time for a quick lunch. Jeff Hecker works long and hard to make sure that our new computer system is up and running. Faye Johnson ably runs the CMS system.

My Maine press Secretary David Bragdon, and his assistant, John Dougherty make sure the people of Maine are fully aware of our legislative efforts.

And a special thanks to my driver, Willie Allen, who cheerfully and ably ensures that I meet the hectic schedule demands of majority leader.

My office could not function without the splendid assistance of all those interns who come and pass through its doors. I assure each one of them that I and the rest of my staff truly appreciated their assistance throughout the year, and I wish each one of them future success and happiness.

Ensuring that the citizens of Maine have access to their Federal Government are my field staff. Under the superb supervision of Larry Beniot, this dedicated group of men and women includes Jeff Porter, Sharon Sudbay, Margaret Kneeland, Judy Cadorette, Ann Marie Paquette, Jan Welch, Joan Pederson, Sue Gurney, Tom Bertocci, Clyde MacDonald, Margaret Samways, Jeannie Hollingsworth, Elaine Huber-Neville, Mary Leblanc, and Marcia Gartley. Whether it be finding a lost Social Security check, making a little league keep its tax exempt status, working with leaders of a community to develop a grant proposal, or representing me at meetings and functions, they are my eyes and ears and representatives to the people in Maine. I thank them for the important work they do each and every day.

Mr. President, there are many other people who contribute to the productive workings of the U.S. Senate. While time does not permit me to thank everyone by name, each has my most profound and sincere appreciation for the work they do for this body. As a former Senate staffer myself, I know the tendency to feel underappreciated for all those long, hard hours of work that they put in. But I assure them that they are not under-appreciated. It has been together, working as a team, that we have made a difference—that together we made the 102d Congress a most successful Congress.

THANKING DEPARTING SENATORS

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, we are about to close. Many fine words have been said today about those colleagues who will not be returning in the next session of the Congress: Senator ADAMS, Senator CRANSTON, Senator DIXON, Senator GARN, Senator RUDMAN, Senator SYMMS, and Senator WIRTH.

I cannot equal those words of my colleagues in praise of those who will not be with us in the 103d Congress. I found each of them to be my friend. I found each of them to make a special contribution to the Senate. I think each is unique in their own way. They brought a variety of thought, a variety of positions, and gave us an opportunity to look at the issues that we face in this country squarely and to make what I feel are better determinations as we came to the compromise from their thoughts.

So I will miss them, the Senate will miss them, and the country will miss them. Let us hope that those who will replace them will be as dedicated and as diligent and as thoughtful as those Senators I just mentioned.

I could not let this moment pass, Mr. President, without thanking them for their major contributions.

And before I quit, and we are about to close, I think maybe I will make one or two more statements.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair, in his capacity as the Senator from California, thanks the Senator from Kentucky for his joint work on behalf of myself and the other Senators.

Mr. FORD. I thank the Chair. I have been doing little work here, kind of reading some papers. You find that a Senator comes in and says, "Can I get an agreement to build such-and-such?" And, lo and behold, it appears. If it does not, we fuss and fume a little bit and people go back and scramble, and that is the staff.

This is a well-oiled operation. And it is only that way because we have some of the most tremendous people that work for us here in the Senate, from the pages to the doorkeepers, to those that make the computers work—and they spit out the information that we need. I cannot thank them enough.

I just want to say to each and every one of them it has been a pleasure. I hope the Lord is willing for us all to meet here again on January 5, and that we have another opportunity to work together to do those things that we feel that are in the best interests.

I have never had one of these individuals fuss, complain, or say anything about the long hours and the drudgery which they go through. They are a special kind, and in a special place.

So I am pleased that I can say a few kind words. I wish I could paint a word picture as to how I really feel about these individuals, but I hope they understand that I do appreciate their efforts, and the Senate is much better off because of them, and hopefully in the future we will be able to make improvement on the foundations that we have laid this year.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I want to echo what my friend from Kentucky says. You do not realize it until you become part of the leadership—and Senator FORD and I have been privileged to be that—what we owe to this fine staff.

I wonder if they ever run down. And yet I know they do, because we pressed them throughout the entire night the other evening, through the entire night, while the rest of us were resting, except one, and the person in the chair, in shifts. This entire staff was up the entire night at a time when it is so stressful. In any event, it is extraordinary to me that we make demands and they respond with patience and grace.

They are very skilled. And they are so attuned, so dedicated to this institution, and I marvel at their acumen, and careful and meticulous attention to detail that they force upon us to make this institution work as it does. And it works beautifully as an institution, and the mechanics and the rest of it is politics and government. That is tough to work sometimes. It has been going like that for over 200 years. They make this remarkable body function, and I really truly do salute them.

I say again what the Senator from Kentucky has said; we have just completed in the last few hours a tremendous amount of work, which this staff will be working on for days to come, and it was more than usual, because of the delays that occurred in these last hours, but what we did tonight, what we call wrap up, occurs every day. It just does not happen. It is a result of negotiations, and phone calls, and directions, and complaints, and scripts, and an incredible amount of floor duties that these people do and how they assist. They are really the unsung heroes.

I particularly want to thank the Republican and Democratic floor staff, Charles Kinney, Marty Paone, Lula Davis, and Elizabeth Greene, and Bobbie Holsclaw, and the majority secretary's office, Abby Saffold, and on our side, Howard Greene. And I want to recommend and commend our Cloakroom staffs on both sides, John Doney, Dave Schiappa, Brad Holsclaw, Laura Dove, special thanks to Martha Pope, who I knew in my first months in this remarkable body and have watched her succeed in every aspect of her life, and I am very proud to see what she does.

Loretta Symms, another splendid woman, who is of great help. These people are very courteous and kind and very wonderful to us. I want to commend the rest of the staff of the Sergeant at Arms, the Reading Clerks, the Journal Clerks, the Bill Clerk, Parliamentarians, the Reporters of Debates. I thank those who watch the doors in this very special place that you give us in which to do our work. You do not get the official credit, but we know that you indeed make this place operate.

And finally, the Republican leader's office, I mention Sheila Burke, who all of you know as a special person and the way she handles her duties. Jim Whittinghill, and his complete accessibility; Bob Dove, Al Lehn, who is working, leaving to work with Senator SYMMS and the people who assist there, Pam and Clarkson, Walt Riker, and Pat Wade, and Jon Lynn Kerchner, and Jim McMillan, and Marilyn, Vicki Stack, Joyce, Pat, Ellie, Nina Olvieda, Kerry Timchuk, Kathy Ormiston, and the rest of the excellent staff.

That sounds trite when we do that. You think, well, what does it all mean? It means that we thank you, and I have not the words to quite say it either as my colleague from Kentucky has said. I have enjoyed working with him as always, and we do, I think, both dedicate ourselves to trying to see that this operation works properly. And I have been very privileged to work with the Senator from Kentucky for several years now in that capacity. I enjoy it very much. And I trust him when we work together, and enjoy that. Even though we do get a little rambunctious from time to time, it passes. That is part of our personality. Of course, I am looking forward with bated breath to next year.

To our colleague in the chair, good luck, and Godspeed.

ADJOURNMENT SINE DIE

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, if there is no further business, and no Senator is seeking recognition, I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand adjourned sine die in accordance with the provisions of House Concurrent Resolution 384.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 9:46 p.m., adjourned sine die in accordance with the provisions of House Concurrent Resolution 384, until 12 noon, January 5, 1993.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate October 8, 1992:

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

RAY E. WITTER, OF MISSOURI, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE CHEMICAL SAFETY AND HAZARD INVESTIGATION BOARD FOR A TERM OF 5 YEARS. (NEW POSITION)

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive Nominations Confirmed by the Senate October 8, 1992:

FEDERAL RETIREMENT THRIFT INVESTMENT BOARD

SHIRLEY CHILTON-O'DELL, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL RETIREMENT THRIFT INVESTMENT BOARD FOR A TERM EXPIRING SEPTEMBER 25, 1994.

STEPHEN NORRIS, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL RETIREMENT THRIFT INVESTMENT BOARD FOR A TERM EXPIRING OCTOBER 11, 1994.

FEDERAL LABOR RELATIONS AUTHORITY

TONY ARMENDARIZ, OF TEXAS, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE FEDERAL LABOR RELATIONS AUTHORITY FOR A TERM OF 5 YEARS EXPIRING JULY 29, 1997.

SUPERIOR COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

BROOK HEDGE, OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE AN ASSOCIATE JUDGE OF THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FOR THE TERM OF 15 YEARS.

LEE F. SATTERFIELD, OF THE DISTRACT OF COLUMBIA, TO BE AN ASSOCIATE JUDGE OF THE SUPERIOR COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FOR THE TERM OF 15 YEARS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

EDWARD S. WALKER, JR., OF MARYLAND, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE THE DEPUTY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS, WITH THE RANK AND STATUS OF AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY.

PAUL S. SARBANES, OF MARYLAND, TO BE A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE 47TH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

THE FOLLOWING NAMED PERSONS TO BE REPRESENTATIVES AND ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE 47TH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS:

REPRESENTATIVES:
EDWARD JOSEPH PERKINS, OF OREGON.
ALEXANDER FLETCHER WATSON, OF MASSACHUSETTS.
LARRY PRESSLER, OF SOUTH DAKOTA.
GLORIA ESTEFAN, OF FLORIDA.
ALTERNATE REPRESENTATIVES:
IRVIN HICKS, OF MARYLAND.
SHIRIN R. TAHIR-KHELI, OF PENNSYLVANIA.
PARKER G. MONTGOMERY, OF NEW YORK.
FREZELL RUSSELL ROBINSON, OF NORTH CAROLINA.
MARGARETTA F. ROCKEFELLER, OF NEW YORK.

POSTAL RATE COMMISSION

WAYNE ARTHUR SCHLEY, OF ALASKA, TO BE A COMMISSIONER OF THE POSTAL RATE COMMISSION FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE TERM EXPIRING OCTOBER 14, 1994.

THE ABOVE NOMINATIONS WERE APPROVED SUBJECT TO THE NOMINEES' COMMITMENT TO RESPOND TO REQUESTS TO APPEAR AND TESTIFY BEFORE ANY DULY CONSTITUTED COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE.

THE JUDICIARY

TIMOTHY K. LEWIS, OF PENNSYLVANIA, TO BE U.S. CIRCUIT JUDGE FOR THE THIRD CIRCUIT.

URSULA MANCUSI UNGARO, OF FLORIDA, TO BE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF FLORIDA.

JOHN W. SEDWICK, OF ALASKA, TO BE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF ALASKA.

KATHRYN H. VRATIL, OF KANSAS, TO BE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF KANSAS.

PAUL J. BARBADORO, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, TO BE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

STEVEN J. MCAULIFFE, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, TO BE U.S. DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

DISTRICT COURT OF GUAM

JOHN S. UNPINGCO, OF GUAM, TO BE JUDGE FOR THE DISTRICT COURT OF GUAM FOR THE TERM OF 10 YEARS.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR LITERACY

JOHN CORCORAN, OF CALIFORNIA, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE BOARD FOR THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR LITERACY FOR A TERM OF 3 YEARS.

JIM EDGAR, OF ILLINOIS, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE BOARD FOR THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR LITERACY FOR A TERM OF 3 YEARS.

JON DEVEAUX, OF NEW YORK, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE BOARD FOR THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR LITERACY FOR A TERM OF 3 YEARS.

RONALD M. GILLUM, OF MICHIGAN, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE BOARD FOR THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR LITERACY FOR A TERM OF 3 YEARS.

BADI G. FOSTER, OF ILLINOIS, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE BOARD FOR THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR LITERACY FOR A TERM OF 3 YEARS.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ANNETTE L. KENT, OF HAWAII, TO BE U.S. MARSHAL FOR THE DISTRICT OF HAWAII FOR THE TERM OF 4 YEARS.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION

BRIG. GEN. PAT M. STEVENS IV, 079-34-5622, U.S. ARMY, FOR APPOINTMENT AS A MEMBER AND PRESIDENT OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 2 OF AN ACT OF CONGRESS, APPROVED 28 JUNE 1879 (21 STAT. 37) (33 USC 642).

BRIG. GEN. ALBERT J. GENETTI, JR., 504-46-6534, U.S. ARMY, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER COMMISSION, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 2 OF AN ACT OF CONGRESS, APPROVED 28 JUNE 1879 (21 STAT. 37) (33 USC 642).

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

EDWARD ERNEST KUBASIEWICZ, OF VIRGINIA, TO BE AN ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF PATENTS AND TRADEMARKS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DAVID J. DUNFORD, OF ARIZONA, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE SULTANATE OF OMAN.

WILLIAM ARTHUR RUGH, OF MARYLAND, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF CAREER MINISTER, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED ARAB EMIRATES.

JOHN CAMERON MONJO, OF MARYLAND, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF CAREER MINISTER, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF PAKISTAN.

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE TRADE OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601:

To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. STEPHEN B. CROKER, 483-50-2040, U.S. AIR FORCE.

MESSAGES RECEIVED FROM THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of January 3, 1991, the Secretary of the Senate, on November 9, 1992, subsequent to sine die adjournment, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution:

H.R. 2321. An act to establish the Dayton Aviation Heritage National Historical Park in the State of Ohio, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2324. An act to amend title 28, United States Code, with respect to witness fees;

H.R. 2446. An act to provide for the minting of medals in commemoration of Benjamin Franklin and to enact a fire service bill of rights;

H.R. 3665. An act to establish the Little River Canyon National Preserve in the State of Alabama;

H.R. 4016. An act to amend the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980 to require the Federal Government, before termination of Federal activities on any real property owned by the Government, to identify real property where no hazardous substance was stored, released, or disposed of;

H.R. 5258. An act to provide for the withdrawal of most-favored-nation status from Serbia and Montenegro and to provide for the restoration of such status if certain conditions are fulfilled;

H.R. 5337. An act to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 to improve the provision of electric and telephone service in rural areas, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5483. An act to modify the provisions of the Education of the Deaf Act of 1986, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 542. Joint resolution designating the week beginning November 8, 1992, as "Hire a Veteran Week".

Under the authority of the order of January 3, 1991, the enrolled bill, H.R. 2448, was signed on November 9, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress by the Vice President.

Under the authority of the order of January 3, 1991, the remaining enrolled bills and joint resolution were signed on November 9, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, by the President pro tempore [Mr. BYRD].

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1991, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 14, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions:

S. 1145. An act to amend the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 to remove the limitation on the authorization of appropriations for the Office of Government Ethics;

S. 1146. An act to establish a national advanced technician training program, utilizing the resources of the Nation's 2-year associate-granting colleges to expand the pool of skilled technicians on strategic advanced-technology fields, to increase the productivity of the Nation's industries, and to improve the competitiveness of the United States in international trade, and for other purposes;

S. 1181. An act for the relief of Christy Carl Hallien of Arlington, TX;

S. 1530. An act to authorize the integration of employment, training, and related services provided by Indian tribal governments;

S. 1583. An act to increase the safety to humans and the environment from the transportation by pipeline of natural gas and hazardous liquids, and for other purposes;

S. 2044. An act to assist Native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their language;

S. 2201. An act to authorize the admission to the United States of certain scientists of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Baltic States as employment-based immigrants under the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes;

S. 2322. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to increase, effective as of December 1, 1992, the rates of disability compensation for veterans with service-connected disabilities and the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation for survivors of such veterans;

S. 2625. An act to designate the United States courthouse being constructed at 400 Cooper Street in Camden, NJ, as the "Mitchell H. Cohen United States Courthouse";

S. 2661. An act to authorize the striking of a medal commemorating the 250th anniversary of the founding of the American Philosophical Society and the birth of Thomas Jefferson;

S. 2834. An act to designate the United States Post Office Building located at 100 Main Street, Millsboro, DE, as the "John J. Williams Post Office Building";

S. 2875. An act to amend the National School Lunch Act and the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 to better assist children in homeless shelters, to enhance competition among infant formula manufacturers and to reduce the per unit costs of infant formula for the special supplemental food program for women, infant, and children [WIC], and for other purposes;

S. 3006. An act to provide for the expeditious disclosure of records relevant to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy;

H.R. 240. An act for the relief of Rodgito Keller;

H.R. 776. An act to provide for improved energy efficiency;

H.R. 1101. An act for the relief of William A. Cassity;

H.R. 1216. An act to modify the boundaries of the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2042. An act to authorize appropriations for activities under the Federal Fire Prevention and Control Act of 1974, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2156. An act for the relief of William A. Proffitt;

H.R. 2859. An act to direct the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a study of the historical and cultural resources in the vicinity of the city of Lynn, MA, and make recommendations on the appropriate role of the Federal Government in preserving and interpreting such historical and cultural resources;

H.R. 3635. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend the programs of block grants for preventive health and health services, and for other purposes;

H.R. 3638. An act making technical amendments to the law which authorizes modifications of the boundaries of the Alaska Maritime National Wildlife Refuge;

H.R. 4398. An act to remove outdated limitations on the acquisition or construction of branch buildings by Federal Reserve banks which are necessary for bank branch expansion of the acquisition or construction is approved by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System;

H.R. 4489. An act to provide for a land exchange with the city of Tacoma, Washington;

H.R. 4771. An act to designate the facility under construction for use by the United States Postal Service at FM 1098 Loop in Prairie View, Texas, as the "Esel D. Bell Post Office Building";

H.R. 4841. An act granting the consent of the Congress to the New Hampshire-Maine Interstate School Compact;

H.R. 4844. An act to restore Olympic National Park and the Elwha River ecosystem and fisheries in the State of Washington;

H.R. 4999. An act to authorize additional appropriations for implementation of the development plan for Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House;

H.R. 5006. An act to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for military activities of the Department of Defense, for military construction, and for defense activities of the Department of Energy, to prescribe personnel strengths for such fiscal year for the Armed Forces, to provide for defense conversion, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5013. An act to provide the conservation of wild exotic birds, to provide for the Great Lakes Fish and Wildlife Tissue Bank, to reauthorize the Fish and Wildlife Conservation Act of 1980, to reauthorize the African Elephant Conservation Act, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5021. An act to amend the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act for the purpose of determining the eligibility and suitability of designating a segment of the New River as a national wild and scenic river;

H.R. 5061. An act to establish the Dry Tortugas National Park in the State of Florida;

H.R. 5122. An act relating to the settlement of the water rights claims of the Jicarilla Apache Tribe;

H.R. 5164. An act for the relief of Craig B. Sorenson and Nita M. Sorenson;

H.R. 5222. An act to designate the Federal building and United States courthouse located at 204 South Main Street in South Bend, IN, as the "Robert A. Grant Federal Building and United States Courthouse";

H.R. 5291. An act to provide for the temporary use of certain lands in the city of South Gate, CA, for elementary school purposes;

H.R. 5328. An act to amend title 35, United States Code, with respect to the late payment of maintenance fees;

H.R. 5419. An act to amend the Marine Mammal Protection Act of 1972 to authorize the Secretary of State to enter into international agreements to establish a global moratorium to prohibit harvesting of tuna through the use of purse seine nets deployed on or to encircle dolphins or other marine mammals, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5431. An act to designate the Federal Building located at 200 Federal Plaza in Peterson, NJ, as the "Robert A. Poe Federal Building";

H.R. 5452. An act granting consent to the Congress to a supplemental compact or agreement between the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the State of New Jersey concerning the Delaware River Port Authority;

H.R. 5453. An act to designate the Central Square facility of the United States Postal Service in Cambridge, MA, as the "Clifton Merriman Post Office Building";

H.R. 5479. An act to designate the facility of the United States Postal Service located at 1100 Wythe Street in Alexandria, VA, as the "Helen Day United States Post Office Building";

H.R. 5491. An act to designate the Department of Veterans Affairs medical center in Marlin, TX, as the "Thomas T. Connally Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center";

H.R. 5572. An act to designate May of each year as "Asian/Pacific American Heritage Month";

H.R. 5575. An act to authorize certain additional uses of the Library of Congress Special Facilities Center, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5602. An act granting the consent of the Congress to the Interstate Rail Passenger Network Compact;

H.R. 5605. An act to authorize and direct land ownership consolidation in the Cedar River Watershed, Mt. Baker-Snoqualmie National Forest, WA;

H.R. 5749. An act for the relief of Krishanthi Sava Kopp;

H.R. 5998. An act for the relief of the Wilkenson County School District, in the State of Mississippi;

H.R. 6000. An act to redesignate Springer Mountain National Recreation Area as "Ed Jenkins National Recreation Area";

H.R. 6072. An act to direct expedited negotiated settlement of the land rights of the Kenai Natives Association, Inc., under section 14(h)(3) of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, by directing land acquisition and exchange negotiations by the Secretary of the Interior and certain Alaska Native corporations involving lands and interests in lands held by the United States and such corporation;

H.R. 6165. An act to amend certain provisions of law relating to establishment, in the District of Columbia or its environs, of a memorial to honor Thomas Paine;

H.R. 6179. An act to amend the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act;

H.R. 6183. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide protections from legal liability for certain health care professionals providing services pursuant to such Act;

H.R. 6184. An act to amend the National Trails System Act to designate the American Discovery Trail for study to determine the feasibility and desirability of its designation as a national trail;

S.J. Res. 218. Joint resolution designating the calendar year 1993, as the "Year of American Craft: A Celebration of the Creative Work of the Hand";

S.J. Res. 252. Joint resolution designating the week of April 18 through 24, 1993, as "National Credit Education Week";

S.J. Res. 305. Joint resolution to designate October 1992 as "Polish-American Heritage Month"; and

S.J. Res. 319. Joint resolution to designate the second Sunday in October of 1992 as "National Children's Day".

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1991, the enrolled bills and joint resolutions were signed on October 14, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, by the President pro tempore [Mr. BYRD].

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1991, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 16, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions:

S. 225. An act to expand the boundaries of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, VA;

S. 758. An act to clarify that States, instrumentalities of States, and officers and employees of States acting in their official capacity, are subject to suit in Federal court by any person for infringement of patents and plant variety protections, and that all the remedies can be obtained in such suit that can be obtained in a suit against a private entity;

S. 2532. An act to support freedom and open markets in the independent states of the former Soviet Union, and for other purposes;

H.R. 707. An act to amend the Commodity Exchange Act to improve the regulation of futures and options traded under rules and regulations of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission; to establish registration standards for all exchange floor traders; to restrict practices which may lead to the abuse of outside customers of the marketplace; to reinforce development of exchange audit trails to better enable the detection and prevention of such practices; to establish higher standards for service on governing boards and disciplinary committees of self-regulatory organizations, to enhance the international regulation of futures trading; to regularize the process of authorizing appropriations for the Commodity Futures Trading Commission; and for other purposes;

H.R. 939. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, with respect to housing loans for veterans;

H.R. 1252. An act to authorize the State Justice Institute to analyze and disseminate information regarding the admissibility and quality of testimony of witnesses with expertise relating to battered women, and to develop and disseminate training materials to increase the use of such experts to provide testimony in criminal trials of battered women, particularly in cases involving indigent women;

H.R. 1253. An act to amend the State Justice Institute Act of 1984 to carry out research, and to develop judicial training curricula relating to child custody litigation;

H.R. 2109. An act to direct the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a study of the feasibility of including Revere Beach, located in the city of Revere, MA, in the National Park System;

H.R. 2181. An act to permit the Secretary of the Interior to acquire by exchange, lands in the Cuyahoga National Recreation Area that are owned by the State of Ohio;

H.R. 2263. An act to amend chapter 45 of title 5, United States Code, to authorize awards for cost savings disclosures;

H.R. 2431. An act to amend the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act by designating a segment of the Lower Merced River in California as a component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System;

H.R. 2660. An act to authorize appropriations for the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2896. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to revise the boundaries of the Minute Man National Historical Park in the State of Massachusetts, and for other purposes;

H.R. 3118. An act to designate Federal Office Building Number 9 located at 1900 E Street, Northwest, in the District of Columbia, as the "Theodore Roosevelt Federal Building";

H.R. 3336. An act for the relief of Florence Adeboyeku;

H.R. 3475. An act to assist business in providing women with opportunities in apprenticeship and nontraditional occupations;

H.R. 3598. An act to amend title 49, United States Code, to provide for verification of weights, and for other purposes;

H.R. 3673. An act to authorize a research program through the National Science Foundation on the treatment of contaminated water through membrane processes;

H.R. 3818. An act to designate the building located at 80 North Hughey Avenue in Orlando, FL, as the "George C. Young United States Courthouse and Federal Building";

H.R. 4059. An act to amend the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 to authorize additional functions within the Enterprise for the American Initiative, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4250. An act to authorize appropriations for the National Railroad Passenger Corporation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 4281. An act to designate the Federal building and courthouse to be constructed at 5th and Ross Streets in Santa Ana, CA, as the "Ronald Reagan Federal Building and Courthouse";

H.R. 4412. An act to amend title 17, United States Code, relating to fair use and copyrighted works;

H.R. 4539. An act to designate the general mail facility of the United States Postal Service in Gulfport, MS, as the "Larkin I. Smith General Mail Facility" and the building of the United States Postal Service in Poplarville, MS, as the "Larkin I. Smith Post Office Building";

H.R. 4542. An act to prevent and deter auto theft;

H.R. 4773. An act to provide for the reporting of pregnancy success rates of assisted reproductive technology programs and for the certification of embryo laboratories;

H.R. 4996. An act to extend the authorities of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5008. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to reform the formula for payment of dependency and indemnity compensation to survivors of veterans dying from service-connected causes, to increase the rate of payments for benefits under the Montgomery GI bill, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5095. An act to authorize appropriations for fiscal year 1993 for intelligence and intelligence-related activities of the United States Government and the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement and Disability System, to revise and restate the Central Intelligence Agency Retirement Act of 1964 for certain employees, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5482. An act to revise and extend the program of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5686. An act to make technical amendments to certain Federal Indian statutes;

H.R. 5716. An act to extend for two years the authorizations for appropriations for certain programs under title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968;

H.R. 5739. An act to reauthorize the Export-Import Bank of the United States;

H.R. 5751. An act to provide for the distribution within the United States of certain materials prepared by the United States Information Agency;

H.R. 5763. An act to provide equitable treatment to producers of sugarcane subject to proportionate shares;

H.R. 5809. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct and operate an interpretive center for the Ridgefield National Wildlife Refuge in Clark County, WA;

H.R. 5831. An act to designate the Federal Building located at Main and Church Streets in Victoria, TX, as the "Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Building";

H.R. 5853. An act to designate segments of the Great Egg Harbor river and its tributaries in the State of New Jersey as components of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System;

H.R. 5862. An act to amend title I of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 to ensure an equitable and timely distribution of benefits to public safety officers;

H.R. 5923. An act for the relief of Anna C. Massari;

H.R. 5954. An act to amend the Food, Agriculture, Conservation, and Trade Act of 1990 to improve health care services and educational services through telecommunications, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6014. An act to designate certain land in the State of Missouri owned by the United States and administered by the Secretary of Agriculture as part of the Mark Twain National Forest;

H.R. 6022. An act to amend the Fair Credit Reporting Act to require the inclusion in consumer reports of information provided to consumer reporting agencies regarding the failure of a consumer to pay overdue child support;

H.R. 6047. An act to amend the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, the Foreign Service Act of 1980, and other provisions of law to make certain changes in administrative authorities;

H.R. 6049. An act to amend the Congressional Award Act to revise and extend authorities for the Congressional Award Board;

H.R. 6050. An act to facilitate recovery from recent disasters by providing greater flexibility for depository institutions and their regulators, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6128. An act to amend the United States Warehouse Act to provide for the use of electronic cotton warehouse receipts, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6129. An act to amend the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act to establish a program to aid beginning farmers and ranchers to improve the operation of the Farmers Home Administration, and to amend the Farm Credit Act of 1971, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6133. An act to enable the United States to maintain its leadership in land remote sensing by providing data continuity for the Landsat program, to establish a new national land remote sensing policy, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6164. An act to amend the John F. Kennedy Center Act to authorize appropriations for maintenance, repair, alteration, and other services necessary for the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts;

H.R. 6180. An act to authorize appropriations for the National Telecommunications and Information Administration, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6181. An act to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to authorize human drug application, prescription drug establishment, and prescription drug product fees, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6182. An act to amend the Public Health Service Act to establish the authority for the regulation of mammography services and radiological equipment, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6185. An act to implement the recommendations of the Federal Courts Study Committee, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6191. An act to protect the public interests and the future development of pay-per-call technology by providing for the regulation and oversight of the applications and growth of the pay-per-call industry, and for other purposes;

H.J. Res. 271. Joint resolution authorizing the Go For Broke National Veterans Association Foundation to establish a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs to honor Japanese-American patriotism in World War II;

H.J. Res. 353. Joint resolution designating the week beginning January 3, 1993, as "Braille Literacy Week";

H.J. Res. 399. Joint resolution designating the week beginning November 1, 1992, as "National Medical Staff Services Awareness Week";

H.J. Res. 429. Joint resolution designating May 2, 1993, through May 8, 1993, as "Be Kind to Animals and National Pet Week";

H.J. Res. 457. Joint resolution designating January 16, 1993, as "Religious Freedom Day";

H.J. Res. 458. Joint resolution designating the week beginning October 25, 1992, as "World Population Awareness Week";

H.J. Res. 467. Joint resolution designating October 24, 1992, through November 1, 1992, as "National Red Ribbon Week for a Drug-Free America";

H.J. Res. 471. Joint resolution designating October 14, 1992, as "National Occupational Therapy Day";

H.J. Res. 484. Joint resolution designating the week beginning February 14, 1993, as "National Visiting Nurse Associations Week";

H.J. Res. 489. Joint resolution designating February 21, 1993, through February 27, 1993, as "American Wine Appreciation Week", and for other purposes;

H.J. Res. 500. Joint resolution designating March 1993 as "Irish-American Heritage Month";

H.J. Res. 503. Joint resolution acknowledging the sacrifices that military families have made on behalf of the Nation and designating November 23, 1992, as "National Military Families Recognition Day";

H.J. Res. 520. Joint resolution to designate the month of October 1992 as "Country Music Month";

H.J. Res. 523. Joint Resolution designating October 8, 1992, as "National Firefighters Day";

H.J. Res. 529. Joint resolution supporting the planting of 500 redwood trees from Cali-

fornia in Spain in commemoration of the quincentenary of Christopher Columbus and designating the trees as a gift to the people of Spain;

H.J. Res. 543. Joint resolution designating November 30, 1992, through December 6, 1992, as "National Education First Week";

H.J. Res. 547. Joint resolution designating May 2, 1993, through May 8, 1993, as "National Walking Week"; and

H.J. Res. 563. Joint resolution providing for the convening of the One Hundred Third Congress.

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1991, the enrolled bills and joint resolutions were signed on October 16, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress by the President pro tempore [Mr. BYRD].

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1991, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 19, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bill:

H.R. 5334. An act to amend and extend certain laws relating to housing and community development, and for other purposes.

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1991, the enrolled bill was signed on October 20, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, by the President pro tempore [Mr. BYRD].

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1991, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 20, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions:

S. 347. An act to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950 to revitalize the defense industrial base of the United States, and for other purposes;

S. 474. An act to prohibit sports gambling under State law;

S. 759. An act to amend certain trademark laws to clarify that States, instrumentalities of States, and officers and employees of States acting in their official capacity, are subject to suit in Federal court by any person for infringement of trademarks, and that all the remedies can be obtained in such suit that can be obtained in a suit against a private entity;

S. 775. An act to improve the compensation of certain veterans for exposure to ionizing radiation, to improve the administration of veterans benefits programs, and for other purposes;

S. 893. An act to amend title 18, United States Code, to impose criminal sanctions for violation of software copyright;

S. 1002. An act to impose a criminal penalty for flight to avoid payment of arrearages in child support;

S. 1439. An act to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands in Livingston Parish, LA;

S. 1569. An act to implement the recommendations of the Federal Courts Study Committee, and for other purposes;

S. 1577. An act to amend the Alzheimer's Disease and Related Dementias Services Research Act of 1986 to reauthorize the act, and for other purposes;

S. 1623. An act to amend title 17, United States Code, to implement a royalty payment system and a serial copy management system for digital audio recording, to prohibit certain copyright infringement actions, and for other purposes;

S. 1664. An act to establish the Keweenaw National Historical Park, and for other purposes;

S. 1671. An act to withdraw certain public lands and to otherwise provide for the operation of the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant in Eddy County, NM, and for other purposes;

S. 2481. An act to amend the Indian Health Care Improvement Act to authorize appropriations for Indian health programs, and for other purposes;

S. 2679. An act to promote the recovery of Hawaii tropical forests, and for other purposes;

S. 2890. An act to provide for the establishment of the Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site in the State of Kansas, and for other purposes;

S. 2941. An act to provide the Administrator of the Small Business Administration continued authority to administer the Small Business Innovation Research Program, and for other purposes;

S. 3134. An act to expand the production and distribution of educational and instructional video programming and supporting educational materials for preschool and elementary school children as a tool to improve school readiness, to develop and distribute educational and instructional video programming and support materials for parents, child care providers, and educators of young children, to expand services provided by Head Start programs, and for other purposes;

S. 3144. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to improve the health care system provided for members and former members of the Armed Forces and their dependents, and for other purposes;

S. 3224. An act to designate the United States Courthouse to be constructed in Fargo, ND, as the "Quentin N. Burdick United States Courthouse";

S. 3279. An act to extend the authorization of use of official mail on the location and recovery of missing children, and for other purposes;

S. 3309. An act to amend the Peace Corps Act to authorize appropriations for the Peace Corps for fiscal year 1993 and to establish a Peace Corps foreign exchange fluctuations account, and for other purposes;

S. 3312. An act entitled the "Cancer Registries Amendment Act";

S. 3327. An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to permit the acre-for-acre transfer of an acreage allotment or quota for certain commodities, and for other purposes;

H.R. 429. An act to authorize additional appropriations for the construction of the Buffalo Bill Dam and Reservoir, Shoshone Project, Pick-Sloan Missouri Basin Program, WY;

H.R. 2130. An act to authorize appropriations for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5432. An act to designate the Federal building and United States courthouse located at the corner of College Avenue and Mountain Street in Fayetteville, AR, as the "John Paul Hammerschmidt Federal Building and United States Courthouse";

H.R. 6125. An act to enhance the financial safety and soundness of the banks and associations of the Farm Credit System, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6138. An act to amend the Consolidated Farm and Rural Development Act;

H.R. 6167. An act to provide for the conservation and development of water and related resources, to authorize the United States Army Corps of Engineers civil works program to construct various projects for improvements to the Nation's infrastructure, and for other purposes;

S.J. Res. 166. Joint resolution designating the week of October 4 through 10, 1992, as "National Customer Service Week";

S.J. Res. 304. Joint resolution designating January 3, 1993, through January 9, 1993, as "National Law Enforcement Training Week";

S.J. Res. 309. Joint resolution designating the week beginning November 8, 1992, as "National Women Veterans Recognition Week";

S.J. Res. 318. Joint resolution designating November 13, 1992, as "Vietnam Veterans Memorial 10th Anniversary Day";

H.J. Res. 409. Joint resolution designating January 16, 1993, as "National Good Teen Day"; and

H.J. Res. 546. Joint resolution designating February 4, 1993, and February 3, 1994, as "National Women and Girls in Sports Day".

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1991, the enrolled bills and joint resolutions were signed on October 20, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, by the President pro tempore [Mr. BYRD].

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1991, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 21, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bill:

H.R. 11. An act to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide tax incentives for the establishment of tax enterprise zones, and for other purposes.

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1991, the enrolled bill was signed on October 22, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress by the President pro tempore [Mr. BYRD].

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1991, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 23, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, received a message from the House of Representatives announcing that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolution:

S. 2572. An act to authorize an exchange of lands in the States of Arkansas and Idaho;

S. 2984. An act granting the consent of Congress to a supplemental compact or agreement between the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the State of New Jersey concerning the Delaware River Port Authority;

H.R. 2032. An act to amend the Act of May 15, 1965, authorizing the Secretary of the In-

terior to designate the Nez Perce National Historical Park in the State of Idaho, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2152. An act to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations international driftnet fishery conservation program;

H.R. 5193. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to improve health care services for women veterans, to expand authority for health care sharing agreements between the Department of Veterans Affairs and the Department of Defense, to revise certain pay authorities that apply to Department of Veterans Affairs nurses, to improve preventive health services for veterans, to establish discounts on pharmaceuticals purchased by the Department of Veterans Affairs, to provide for a Persian Gulf War Veterans Health Registry, and to make other improvements in the delivery and administration of health care by the Department of Veterans Affairs;

H.R. 5194. An act to amend the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 to authorize appropriations for fiscal years 1993, 1994, 1995, and 1996, and for other purposes;

H.R. 5617. An act to provide Congressional approval of a Governing International Fishery Agreement, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6135. An act to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, space flight, control and data communications, construction of facilities, research and program management, and Inspector General, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6168. An act to amend the Airport and Airway Improvement Act of 1982 to authorize appropriations, and for other purposes;

H.R. 6187. An act to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 with respect to international narcotics control programs and activities, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 422. Joint resolution designating November 1992 as "Neurofibromatosis Awareness Month".

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1991, the enrolled bills and joint resolution were signed on October 23, 1992, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress by the President pro tempore [Mr. BYRD].

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that he had presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions:

On October 9, 1992:

S. 1880. An act to amend the District of Columbia Spouse Equity Act of 1988.

S. 3007. An act to authorize financial assistance for the construction and maintenance of the Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial Arts Center.

S. 3095. An act to restore and clarify the Federal relationship with the Jena Band of Choctaws of Louisiana.

S.J. Res. 287. Joint resolution to designate the week of October 4, 1992, through October 10, 1992, as "Mental Illness Awareness Week."

On October 15, 1992:

S. 1145. An act to amend the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 to remove the limitation on the authorization of appropriations for the Office of Government Ethics.

S. 1146. An act to establish a national advanced technician training program, utilizing the resources of the Nation's 2-year associate-granting colleges to expand the pool of skilled technicians in strategic advanced-technology fields, to increase the productivity of the Nation's industries, and to improve the competitiveness of the United States in international trade, and for other purposes.

S. 1181. An act for the relief of Christy Carl Hallien of Arlington, Texas.

S. 1530. An act to authorize the integration of employment, training, and related services by Indian tribal governments.

S. 1583. An act to increase the safety to humans and the environment from the transportation by pipeline of natural gas and hazardous liquids, and for other purposes.

S. 2044. An act to assist native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their languages.

S. 2201. An act to authorize the admission to the United States of certain scientists of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Baltic States as employment-based immigrants under the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes.

S. 2322. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to increase, effective as of December 1, 1992, the rates of disability compensation for veterans with service-connected disabilities and the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation for survivors of such veterans.

S. 2625. An act to designate the United States courthouse being constructed at 400 Cooper Street in Camden, New Jersey, as the "Mitchell H. Cohen United States Courthouse."

S. 2661. An act to authorize the striking of a medal commemorating the 250th anniversary of the founding of the American Philosophical Society and the birth of Thomas Jefferson.

S. 2834. An act to designate the United States Post Office building located at 100 Main Street, Millsboro, Delaware, as the "John J. Williams Post Office Building."

S. 2875. An act to amend the National School Lunch Act and the Child Nutrition Act of 1966 to better assist children in homeless shelters, to enhance competition among infant formula manufacturers and to reduce the per unit costs of infant formula for the special supplemental food program for women, infants, and children [WIC], and for other purposes.

S. 3006. An act to provide for the expeditious disclosure of records relevant to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

S.J. Res. 218. Joint resolution designating the calendar year, 1993, as the "Year of American Craft: A Celebration of the Creative Work of the Hand."

S.J. Res. 252. Joint resolution designating the week of April 18 through 25, 1993, as "National Credit Education Week."

S.J. Res. 305. Joint resolution to designate October 1992 as "Polish-American Heritage Month."

S.J. Res. 319. Joint resolution to designate the second Sunday in October of 1992 as "National Children's Day."

S. 225. An act to expand the boundaries of the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania County Battlefields Memorial National Military Park, Virginia.

On October 16, 1992:

S. 2532. An act to support freedom and open markets in the independent states of the former Soviet Union, and for other purposes.

On October 19, 1992:

S. 758. An act to clarify that States, instrumentalities of States, and officers and employees of States acting in their official capacity, are subject to suit in Federal court by any person for infringement of patents and plant variety protections, and that all the remedies can be obtained in such suit that can be obtained in a suit against a private entity.

On October 20, 1992:

S. 347. An act to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950 to revitalize the defense industrial base of the United States, and for other purposes.

S. 474. An act to prohibit sports gambling under State law.

S. 759. An act to amend certain trademark laws to clarify that States, instrumentalities of States, and officers and employees of States acting in their official capacity, are subject to suit in Federal court by any person for infringement of trademarks, and that all the remedies can be obtained in such suit that can be obtained in a suit against a private entity.

S. 775. An act to improve the compensation of certain veterans for exposure to ionizing radiation, to improve the administration of veterans benefits programs, and for other purposes.

S. 893. An act to amend title 18, United States Code, to impose criminal sanctions for violation of software copyright.

S. 1002. An act to impose a criminal penalty for flight to avoid payments of arrearages in child support.

S. 1439. An act to authorize and direct the Secretary of the Interior to convey certain lands in Livingston Parish, Louisiana.

S. 1569. An act to implement the recommendations of the Federal Courts Study Committee, and for other purposes.

S. 1577. An act to amend the Alzheimer's Disease and Related Dementias Services Research Act of 1986 to reauthorize the act, and for other purposes.

S. 1623. An act to amend title 17, United States Code, to implement a royalty payment system and a serial copy management system for digital audio recording, to prohibit certain copyright infringement actions, and for other purposes.

S. 1664. An act to establish the Keweenaw National Historical Park, and for other purposes.

S. 1671. An act to withdraw certain public lands and to otherwise provide for the operation of the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant in Eddy County, New Mexico, and for other purposes.

S. 2418. An act to amend the Indian Health Care Improvement Act to authorize appropriations for Indian health programs, and for other purposes.

S. 2679. An act to promote the recovery of Hawaii tropical forests, and for other purposes.

S. 2890. An act to provide for the establishment of the Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site in the State of Kansas, and for other purposes.

S. 2941. An act to provide the Administrator of the Small Business Administration continued authority to administer the Small Business Innovation Research Program, and for other purposes.

S. 3134. An act to expand the production and distribution of educational and instructional video programming and supporting educational materials for preschool and elementary school children as a tool to improve school readiness, to develop and distribute educational and instructional video programming and support materials for parents, child care providers, and educators of young children, to expand services provided by Head Start programs, and for other purposes.

S. 3144. An act to amend title 10, United States Code, to improve the health care system provided for members and former members of the Armed Forces and their dependents, and for other purposes.

S. 3224. An act to designate the United States Courthouse to be constructed in Fargo, North Dakota, as the "Quentin N. Burdick United States Courthouse."

S. 3279. An act to extend the authorization of use of official mail in the location and recovery of missing children, and for other purposes.

S. 3309. An act to amend the Peace Corps Act to authorize appropriations for the Peace Corps for fiscal year 1993 and to establish a Peace Corps foreign exchange fluctuations account, and for other purposes.

S. 3312. An act entitled the "Cancer Registries Amendment Act."

S. 3327. An act to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to permit the acre-for-acre transfer of an acreage allotment or quota for certain commodities, and for other purposes.

S.J. Res. 166. Joint resolution designating the week of October 4 through 10, 1992, as "National Customer Service Week."

S.J. Res. 304. Joint resolution designating January 3, 1993, through January 9, 1993, as "National Law Enforcement Training Week."

S.J. Res. 309. Joint resolution designating the week beginning November 8, 1992, as "National Women Veterans Recognition Week."

S.J. Res. 318. Joint resolution designating November 13, 1992, as "Vietnam Veterans Memorial 10th Anniversary Day."

On October 26, 1992:

S. 2572. An act to authorize an exchange of lands in the State of Arkansas and Idaho.

S. 2964. An act granting the consent of the Congress to a supplemental compact or agreement between the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the State of New Jersey concerning the Delaware River Port Authority.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-4012. A communication from the Comptroller of the Department of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of violations of the Antideficiency Act; to the Committee on Appropriations.

EC-4013. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report on research, development, test and evaluation activities conducted under the Biological Defense Research Program for fiscal year 1991; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-4014. A communication from the Secretary of the Air Force, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of increased cost of a major defense acquisition program over the Program Acquisition Unit Cost as reflected in the baseline Selected Acquisition Report; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-4015. A communication from the Executive Office of the President, Director of the Office of Management and Budget, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the enactment of appropriations legislation; to the Committee on Budget.

EC-4016. A communication from the Under Secretary for Oceans and Atmosphere, Department of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, the "Biennial Report to the Congress on Coastal Zone Management, Volume I: Executive Summary: September 1992"; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-4017. A communication from the Deputy Associate Director for Collection and Disbursement, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of intent to make refunds of offshore lease revenues where a refund or recoupment is appropriate; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-4018. A communication from the Secretary of Energy, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Report of the Demonstration Project on Mandatory Interim Energy Conservation Performance Standards for Federal Residential Buildings; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-4019. A communication from the Acting Assistant General Counsel, Department of Energy, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of a meeting related to the International Energy Program; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-4020. A communication from the Acting Assistant Secretary of the Army (Civil Works), transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of a deletion concerning the White River Basin Study; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4021. A communication from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "The AHCPR's Program of Patient Outcomes Research and Related Activities"; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-4022. A communication from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting, pursuant to law, the eighth annual report prepared in accordance with Section 216 of the Caribbean Basin Economic Recovery Act; to the Committee on Finance.

EC-4023. A communication from the Assistant Legal Adviser for Treaty Affairs, Department of State, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on international agreements other than treaties entered into by the United States in the 60-day period prior to October 8, 1992; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-4024. A communication from the Acting Assistant Secretary (Legislative Affairs), transmitting, a draft of proposed legislation to provide for the adjudication of certain claims against Iraq and for other purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-4025. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, the final report of the White House Conference on Indian Education, recommendations, and an executive summary; to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

EC-4026. A communication from the National Commander of American Ex-Prisoners of War, transmitting, pursuant to law, the 1992 audit report of the American Ex-Prisoners of War as of August 31, 1992; to the Committee on Judiciary.

EC-4027. A communication from the Commissioner of the Office of Special Education and Rehabilitative Services, Rehabilitation Services Administration, Department of Education, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of Supported Employment Activities for fiscal year 1991; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-4028. A communication from the Secretary of Health and Human Services, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Head Start Research and Evaluation: A Blueprint for the Future"; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-4029. A communication from the Secretary of Education, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of final priorities—Early Education Program for Children with Disabilities; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-4030. A communication from the Secretary of Education, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Vocational Education in the United States: 1969-1990"; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-4031. A communication from the Director of the Congressional Budget Office, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Final Sequestration Report for fiscal year 1993; pursuant to the order of January 30, 1975, as modified by the order of April 11, 1986, referred jointly to the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on Budget, the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, the Committee on Armed Services, the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs, the Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation, the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, the Committee on Environment and Public Works, the Committee on Finance, the Committee on Foreign Relations, the Committee on Governmental Affairs, the Committee on the Judiciary, the Committee on Labor and Human Resources, the Committee on Rules and Administration, the Committee on Small Business, the Committee on Veterans Affairs, the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, and the Select Committee on Intelligence.

EC-4032. A communication from the Director, Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting, pursuant to law, the cumulative report on budget rescissions and deferrals dated October 1, 1992; pursuant to the order of January 30, 1992, as modified by the order of April 11, 1986, referred jointly to the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on Budget, the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, the Committee on Environment and Public Works, the Committee on Foreign Relations, and the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-4033. A communication from the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of a violation of the Antideficiency Act; to the Committee on Appropriations.

EC-4034. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of Energy (Environmental Restoration and Waste Management), transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of delay of submission of a report to the Congress on the management of environmental restoration and waste management activities at Department of Energy facilities; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-4035. A communication from the Director, Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting, pursuant to law, the 20th report on United States costs in the Persian Gulf conflict and foreign contributions to offset such costs; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-4036. A communication from the Chief of the Programs and Legislation Division (Office of Legislative Liaison), Department of the Air Force, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of an extension of an F-15 Full Scale Development contract; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-4037. A communication from the Director, Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report to Congress on direct spending or receipts legislation; to the Committee on the Budget.

EC-4038. A communication from the Director, Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report to Congress on direct spending or receipts legislation; to the Committee on the Budget.

EC-4039. A communication from the Director, Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on appropriations legislation within 5 days of enactment; to the Committee on Budget.

EC-4040. A communication from the Director, Office of Management and Budget, Executive Office of the President, a report to Congress on direct spending or receipts legislation; to the committee on the Budget.

EC-4041. A communication from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of action on the Murtala Muhammed International Airport [LOS], Lagos, Nigeria; to the Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation.

EC-4042. A communication from the Secretary of Transportation, transmitting pursuant to law, a report entitled "Driving Under the Influence: A Report to Congress on Alcohol Limits; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-4043. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of Energy (Conservation and Renewable Energy), transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of delay of submission of a report on the Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Technology Competitiveness Act of 1989; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-4044. A communication from the Deputy Associate Director (Collection and Disbursement), Minerals Management Service, Department of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of intent to make refunds of offshore lease revenues where a refund or recoupment is appropriate; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

EC-4045. A communication from the Chairman of the United States Nuclear Regulatory Commission, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report to Congress on Abnormal Occurrences at licensed nuclear facilities for the period April through June 1992; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4046. A communication from the Deputy Inspector General, Inspector General, Department of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Army Audit Agency report on the review of the Superfund Financial Transaction for fiscal year 1991; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-4047. A communication from the Acting Assistant Secretary of State (Legislative Affairs), transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of a Presidential determination authorizing the use of $1,500,000 from the United States Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance Fund; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-4048. A communication from the Under Secretary of State (Political Affairs), transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of a determination concerning the transfer of Foreign Assistance Funds under the Fishermen's Protective Act; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-4049. A communication from the Acting Assistant Secretary of State (Legislative Affairs), transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of a Presidential determination concerning peacekeeping operations in Nagorno-Karabakh; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-4050. A communication from the Director of the Federal Domestic Volunteer Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, a final regulation to exempt a system of records from certain provisions of the Privacy Act of 1974; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-4051. A communication from the Manager, Employee Benefits, Air Force Morale, Welfare, Recreation and Services Agency (Retirement Plan Administrator), Department of the Air Force, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report on the Air Force Nonappropriated Fund Retirement Plan for Civilian Employees; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-4052. A communication from the Secretary of Education, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of final regulations—Institutional Eligibility under the Higher Education Act of 1965; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-4053. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, notice of suspension of certain provisions of the Davis-Bacon Act within a limited geographic area; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-4054. A communication from the Secretary of Labor, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled "Homeless Veterans Reintegration Project Evaluation Study"; to the Committee on Veterans Affairs.

EC-4055. A communication from the Acting Director, Office of Personnel Management, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report to Congress on Veterans' Employment in the Federal Government dated October 1, 1990 through September 30, 1991; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

EC-4056. A communication from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, the 1992 Joint Military Net Assessment; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-4057. A communication from the Assistant Secretary of Treasury (Legislative Affairs), transmitting, pursuant to law, a copy of an amendment to the Iraqi Sanctions Regulations; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

EC-4058. A communication from the First Vice President and Vice Chairman of the Export-Import Bank of the United States, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report with respect to a transaction involving United States exports to Australia; to the Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs.

PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The following petitions and memorials were laid before the Senate, and referred or ordered to lie on the table as indicated:

POM-491. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 30

"Whereas, By the enactment of Resolution Chapter 128 of the Statutes of 1987 (Assembly Concurrent Resolution 25) and other measures, the Legislature has long recognized the importance of providing to highway travelers information on points of interest and the availability of facilities and services; and

"Whereas, Tourists traveling California's rural highways would benefit from information regarding nearby small businesses and attractions which do not have their own outdoor advertising facilities on the highways; and

"Whereas, The Federal Highway Administration, in its Manual on Uniform Traffic Control Devices, authorizes the states to establish a tourist-oriented directional sign program to provide business identification and directional information for small businesses, including those offering seasonal agricultural products, and to guide travelers on rural highways to these services and activities; and

"Whereas, a tourist-oriented directional sign program is required to be adopted by the Legislature prior to implementation; and

"Whereas, The information provided by a tourist-oriented directional sign program to the traveling public in rural areas would be a great assistance to travelers and significantly benefit rural economic development; and

"Whereas, There is presently no program in California for providing this kind of information to the traveling public; and

"Whereas, A study has been conducted under a Phase I grant through the Small Business Innovative Research Program of the United States Department of Agriculture which demonstrated the benefits, to small businesses in Oregon and Washington, of a tourist-oriented directional sign program; and

"Whereas, That program also makes available Phase II grants for purposes of administering the development of a tourist-oriented directional sign program plan in a state such as California; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President and Congress of the United States to direct the United States Department of Agriculture to award a Phase II grant for the purpose of developing a tourist-oriented directional sign program plan for rural highways in California; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the development of a tourist-oriented directional sign program plan in California under a Phase II grant be accomplished in consultation with the Department of Transportation of the State of California; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, and to the United States Secretary of Agriculture."

POM-492. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 51

"Whereas, The nation's forests face an emergency situation due to the volume of dead fuel, which threatens green timber, wildlife habitat, water quality, and residential structures; and

"Whereas, Congress is considering legislation concerning stewardship of national forests and or funding for pest prevention; and

"Whereas, Short- and long-term solutions must be found in order to effectively foster healthy conditions in all forests; and

"Whereas, A need exists to develop a method built on the foundation of a forest health management model; and

"Whereas, A model would assist the United States Forest Service in examining the utility of stewardship contracts in improving the management of forests on particularly sensitive forest lands; and

"Whereas, Lake Tahoe is an outstanding national resource that is experiencing continued degradation of its water quality, to

the detriment of the residents of the Lake Tahoe Basin, the States of California and Nevada, and the nation as a whole; and

"Whereas, The use, beauty, and enjoyment of Lake Tahoe is being imperiled by the degredation of forest health in the Lake Tahoe Basin due to the extremely high mortality of trees caused by drought and insect infestation; and

"Whereas, The Task Force on Bark Beetle Remediation of the California Senate has recommended that the Tahoe Basin be used as a scale model for the development of forest health management improvement objectives for particularly sensitive, previously damaged lands by the United States Forest Service, which would impact favorably on forest land management in California and in the rest of the United States; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to designate the Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit as a working model for other forests, as a means to develop a forest health management plan which provides for the following:

"(a) Designation of the Lake Tahoe Basin Management Unit as a model for forest health management and forest land stewardship, and provision of funds for this purpose from appropriate federal programs.

"(b) Initiation and administration by the Forest Service of a model program for purposes of developing a national forest health maintenance plan.

"(c) Development by the Forest Service of short-term and long-term management plans for thinning and sanitation of dead and diseased trees on national forest lands for the purposes of fire hazard reduction and pest management, including the use of prescribed burning and the restocking of a diversity of native species consistent with environmental and watershed protections.

"(d) Consultation by the Forest Service with the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency, the California State Water Resources Control Board, and other appropriate agencies in California and Nevada, to assure that all Forest Service activities are consistent with the highest degree of water quality and other environmental protections, and to assure that those activities assist the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency in achieving and maintaining the environmental threshold carrying capacities adopted by the agency pursuant to the Tahoe Regional Planning Compact.

"(e) Assistance by the Forest Service in the development of noncommercial forest land management plans within the stewardship plan areas.

"(f) Provision for individuals or other private landowners to enter into a stewardship agreement with the Forest Service for the maintenance of healthy forest lands.

"(g) Stewardship contracting authority for the Pacific Southwest Region (Region 5) of the Forest Service; and be in further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Secretary of Agriculture, to the Chief of the United States Forest Service, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-493. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 57

"Whereas, The Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC Program) is an extremely cost-effective, preventive program which provides important supplemental food assistance, nutrition education, health information and referral for low-income women and children; and

"Whereas, Federal and private studies have shown that the WIC Program saves, for each dollar spent, up to $4.21 in health care costs in the first 60 days of a child's life, plus another $3.50 over a child's first 18 years; and

"Whereas, Federal funding is not allocated in proportion to need, resulting in the average state serving 55 percent of its WIC target population, but in California serving only 35 percent of its target population; and

"Whereas, Nearly half of all states serve 50 percent or more of the eligible children in their WIC target population, seven states serve less than 40 percent of eligible children, including California, which at 23 percent, has the lowest service rate of any state in the nation; and

"Whereas, California received 14.7 percent of all births in the nation in 1990, but only 10 percent of allocated federal WIC funds; and

"Whereas, The current federal funding formula for WIC used by the United States Department of Agriculture contains 1980, rather than 1990, census data; and

"Whereas, Less than 2 percent of the $2.6 billion appropriated for WIC is set aside to address caseload imbalances, preventing California and other states from adequately addressing the inequities noted above, now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to amend the federal funding formula for the WIC Program to ensure that it: (1) either allocates newly appropriated growth funds to the most underfunded states or bases allocations on the estimated number of eligible women, infants, and children; (2) addresses the serious underallocation of funds to states, like California, that are serving far below the national average of individuals eligible for WIC funding; and (3) permits states to use WIC grants for two years or carry forward up to 5 percent of the food funds from one fiscal year to the next, allowing more prudent expenditure of those funds; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Secretary of Agriculture, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-494. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Armed Services:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 48

"Whereas, Proposed military budget reductions have targeted the 143rd Evacuation Hospital of the California Army National Guard at the Los Alamitos Armed Forces Reserve Center in southern California; and

"Whereas, Loss of the 143rd Evacuation Hospital will directly impact the citizens of California, and will not achieve the cost savings that are expected by Congress; and

"Whereas, The 143rd Evacuation Hospital is a 400-bed field hospital capable of treating all classes of patients, and has recently been equipped with state-of-the-art deployable medical systems equipment. The entire unit is transportable, and is located on an airfield to permit rapid deployment; and

"Whereas, The 143rd Evacuation Hospital is California's most important medical asset in response to disasters. In 1989, the unit was mobilized for the Loma Prieta Earthquake at 8:00 p.m. on a weeknight. Before dawn the next morning the hospital was mobilized, equipped, and transported to the scene; and

"Whereas, More recently, the 143rd Evacuation Hospital designed and built a permanent field hospital site on the Armed Forces Reserve Center airfield. This deployable medical systems facility will provide support to all southern California residents in the event of a major disaster. Casualties would be flown from affected areas by military helicopters, stabilized by the evacuation hospital, then loaded on fixed-wing military aircraft for long-range evacuation to hospitals unaffected by the disaster; and

"Whereas, This disaster support area concept is the basis for many community, county, and state disaster plans; and

"Whereas, Humanitarian support has been provided for wildlife operations, Diablo Canyon, floods, prison strikes, and Mediterranean fruit fly missions. Other unit activities include community support to Red Cross health fairs, city athletic events, and community disaster planning assistance; and

"Whereas, The 143rd Evacuation Hospital is the only California Army Reserve National Guard asset trained and equipped with deployable medical systems equipment. The entire Armed Forces Reserve Center Disaster Support Area plan is predicated on the 143rd Evacuation Hospital's existence. the unit's location on the airfield permits its rapid deployment anywhere in the state. Without the 143rd Evacuation Hospital, the Governor has lost his most important military asset to the health and welfare of the people of the state; and

"Whereas, The proposed military budget reductions are intended to reduce costs to the taxpayer, but the loss of the 143rd Evacuation Hospital will be counterproductive to this effort. Most of the services provided to other National Guard units, including, but not limited to, aviation physicals, periodic physicals, and medical evaluations and consults will have to be obtained by contract with civilian health care providers. These contract expenses and the associated administrative burden will not be cost-effective. In 1990, the 143rd Evacuation Hospital provided in excess of 2,000 physical examinations and medical evaluations. When combined with other medical support provided for both the military and humanitarian missions, the cost savings to the taxpayer is substantial; and

"Whereas, The 143rd Evacuation Hospital is unique in that it has a positive budget impact, and no other California National Guard unit possesses the features and capabilities of the 143rd Evacuation Hospital, nor is as vitally important to the needs of the residents of California; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature and citizens of the State of California strongly urge the President of the United States, the Secretary of Defense, and the Congress of the United States to take action to prevent the elimination of the 143rd Evacuation Hospital; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United

States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, to the Secretary of Defense of the United States and to the Governor and the Adjutant General of the State of California."

POM-495. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Armed Services:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 47

"Whereas, The State of California has implemented a statewide, mandatory job training and education program known as the Greater Avenues for Independence (GAIN) program, for all recipients of assistance under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program; and

"Whereas, GAIN is a program designed to end long-term dependency, and over 90,000 AFDC recipients have obtained employment through the GAIN program in just three years; and

"Whereas, Almost two-thirds of those eligible for GAIN services do not have a high school education, and require basic education skills to establish basic literacy and enter the job market; and

"Whereas, Eighty-five percent of persons eligible for GAIN services have received AFDC previously, indicating the need for fundamental intervention to break the cycle of dependency and create economic competitiveness; and

"Whereas, Current funding restrictions have resulted in six counties closing intake and 34 counties restricting intake; and

"Whereas, According to the Legislative Analyst's office, due to continued funding shortages, GAIN has been able to serve less than 50 percent of eligible recipients; and

"Whereas, Lengthy waiting lists for GAIN services now exist throughout the state; and

"Whereas, An educated and employed citizenry is a benefit to the State of California, and contributes to economic prosperity; and

"Whereas, The federal government has available over one billion dollars for the federal Job Opportunity and Basic Skills (JOBS) program that funds programs like GAIN, but states will not be able to fully access these moneys due to existing federal-state matching requirements; and

"Whereas, Due to state fiscal constraints, states will continue to be unable to utilize all the federal job training funds set aside for AFDC recipients; and

"Whereas, California has the existing programmatic framework to serve eligible AFDC recipients if funds are made available; and

"Whereas, Legislation is under consideration by Congress which would provide full funding for state programs such as GAIN; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and the Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to immediately pass legislation that provides full funding for the Job Opportunity and Basic Skills program without additional state matching requirements; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Legislature of the State of California encourages the Congress of the United States to act quickly on this issue to allow states to budget these additional training funds in the next fiscal year; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-496. A concurrent resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Louisiana; to the Committee on Appropriations:

"SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 6

"Whereas, Louisiana has often been the target of powerful hurricanes that move out of the Gulf of Mexico and inflict tremendous damage on the southern part of our state; and

"Whereas, the threat and power of Hurriance Andrew required the rapid evacuation of a large number of citizens in Louisiana's southern parishes; and

"Whereas, the evacuation of these citizens created traffic problems on most of the highways leading north out of South Louisiana; and

"Whereas, the vast majority of these evacuation routes are two-lane highways; and

"Whereas, the winds associated with Hurriance Andrew inflicted tremendous damage to the property of the citizens of South Louisiana; and

"Whereas, various fishing industries in South Louisiana were devastated by Hurriance Andrew: Now therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That the Constitutional Convention of Louisiana of 1992 memorializes Congress and the President of the United States to provide federal aid for the following:

"(1) Shrimpers, oyster fishermen, crab fishermen, livestock farmers, commercial fishermen, crawfishermen, shrimp processors, oyster processors, crab processors, crawfish processors, and shrimp dealers in those South Louisiana parishes that have been declared federal disaster areas.

"(2) Hurricane protection levees, floodgates, locks, dams, and weirs in Terrebonne Parish for the South Terrebonne Tidewater Conservation and Management District.

"(3) Feasibility studies for evacuation routes from Lafourche Parish, Terrebonne Parish, St. Mary Parish, Iberia Parish, Jefferson Parish, St. Bernard Parish, Plaquemines Parish, Lafayette Parish, Vermilion Parish, Acadia Parish, Allen Parish, Ascension Parish, Avoyelles Parish, Beauregard Parish, Bienville Parish, Bossier Parish, Caddo Parish, Calcasieu Parish, Caldwell Parish, Cameron Parish, Catahoula Parish, Claiborne Parish, Concordia Parish, DeSoto Parish, East Baton Rouge Parish, East Carroll Parish, East Feliciana Parish, Evangeline Parish, Franklin Parish, Grant Parish, Iberville Parish, Jackson Parish, Jefferson Davis Parish, LaSalle Parish, Lincoln Parish, Livingston Parish, Madison Parish, Morehouse Parish, Natchitoches Parish, Orleans Parish, Ouachita Parish, Pointe Coupee Parish, Rapides Parish, Red River Parish, Richland Parish, Sabine Parish, St. Helena Parish, St. James Parish, St. Landry Parish, St. Martin Parish, St. Tammany Parish, Tangipahoa Parish, Tensas Parish, Union Parish, Vernon Parish, Washington Parish, Webster Parish, West Baton Rouge Parish, West Carroll Parish, West Feliciana Parish, Winn Parish, Louisiana Highways 27 and 82 in Cameron Parish, St. John the Baptist Parish, St. Charles Parish, and Assumption Parish.

"(4) Four-laning Louisiana Highway 1 from Grande Isle to Golden Meadow.

"(5) Four-laning or relocation of Louisiana Highways 1 and 308 from Larose to Raceland at U.S. Highway 90.

"(6) Any other evacuation route projects deemed feasible.

"(7) Hurriance protection levees and an evacuation route from Lafitte to Larose.

"Be it further resolved, That a copy of this Resolution shall be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the United States Senate and the Clerk of the United States House of Representatives, and to each member of the Louisiana congressional delegation."

POM-497. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 45

"Whereas, It is extremely important that the State of California and the federal government continue to demand a safe and sound banking system in this country; and

"Whereas, The Legislature of the State of California reaffirms and restates its strong support for a safe and sound banking system in California; and

"Whereas, California's financial institutions must meet certain safety and soundness standards enforced by federal and state regulators, and know that they must either strengthen or maintain their financial condition; and

"Whereas, Many California businesses, agricultural concerns, and private citizens are experiencing difficulties obtaining nonresidential loans today; and

"Whereas, Credit worthy borrowers, especially those credit worthy businesses that employ thousands of Californians, should not be prevented from obtaining loans; and

"Whereas, *In late 1991 the Congress found* that:

"(1) During the past year and half a credit crunch of crisis proportions has taken hold of the economy and grown increasingly severe, particularly for real estate;

"(2) To date the credit crisis has shown no sign of improvement with its effects being felt broadly throughout the nation as business failures soar, financial institutions weaken, real estate values decline, and state and local property tax bases further erode;

"(3) Approximately two hundred billion dollars ($200,000,000,000) of the nearly four hundred billion dollars ($400,000,000,000) in commercial real estate loans now held by commercial banks are coming due within the next two years;

"(4) Banks for a variety of reasons, are reluctant to renew these maturing real estate loans; and

"(5) Many regulatory practices encourage banks to reduce their real estate lending without regard to long-term historical risk; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President, the Congress, and the Treasury Department to find and implement immediate solutions to resolving what is popularly known as the "credit crunch," while at the same time maintaining reasonable and consistently enforced safety and soundness laws and regulations.

"These solutions should center around, but not be limited to, such things as: (1) regulatory agencies judging individual financial institutions on their financial strength and ability to make a profit, rather than viewing all of them as potential problem institutions similar to bankrupt savings and loans; (2) having federal regulators work with, not against, those financial institutions that are financially sound and have a history of making prudent loans; (3) encouraging pension funds to do more investing in real estate

while at the same time maintaining the prudent expert standard; and (4) "credit crises" related solutions that are listed in Subtitle J, Sense of the Congress Regarding the Credit Crisis, Sec. 456. (b)(2)(A-D), of the Comprehensive Deposit Insurance Reform and Taxpayer Protection Act of 1991 which do the following:

"(A) Strengthen the secondary market for commercial real estate debt and equity by removing arbitrary obstacles to private forms of credit enhancement.

"(B) Restore balance to the regulatory environment by considering the impact of risk-based capital standards on commercial multifamily and single-family real estate; ending market-to-market, liquidation-based, appraisals; encouraging loan renewals; and, fully communicating the supervisory policy to bank examiners in the field.

"(C) Rationalize the tax system for real estate owners and operators by modifying the passive loss rules and encouraging loan restructures; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Secretary of the Treasury, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-498. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 38

"Whereas, Six million dolphins are known to exist in the eastern tropical Pacific Ocean, and similar dolphin populations exist in all other oceans of the world; and

"Whereas, In recent years purse seine nets in the eastern tropical Pacific Ocean and large-scale pelagic drift nets in other oceans have drowned thousands of dolphins and other marine mammals annually in the pursuit of tuna; and

"Whereas, The United States supports the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 44/225, which recommends, worldwide, a 50-percent reduction of all large-scale pelagic drift net fishing on the high seas by June 30, 1992, and a moratorium on all pelagic drift net fishing by December 31, 1992, because of the high rate of marine mammal mortality associated with this method of fishing; and

"Whereas, The United States has been instrumental in reducing dolphin mortality associated with the international tuna purse seine fleet in the eastern tropical Pacific Ocean from 400,000 in 1972 to 25,000 in 1991, in part by encouraging bilateral agreements requiring 100 percent observer coverage on all vessels capable of setting purse seine nets in the eastern tropical Pacific Ocean; and

"Whereas, All United States tuna processors in 1990 voluntarily stopped purchasing any tuna or tuna products caught in association with dolphins in the eastern tropical Pacific Ocean or by drift nets anywhere in the world, and this action has led the federal government to set forth labeling standards for "dolphin safe" tuna products; and

"Whereas, A multinational agreement, based on the United States Marine Mammal Protection Act, is the optimum method to ensure worldwide dolphin protection; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature respectfully memorializes the Congress and the President of the United States to amend the Marine Mammal Protection Act to prohibit the importation of tuna caught by nations which do not have 100-percent Inter-America Tropical Tuna Committee (ITTC) certified observer coverage on vessels capable of using large-scale purse seines; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the California Legislature memorializes the Congress and the President of the United States to enact legislation to immediately require the Secretary of State to enter into negotiations with all foreign nations fishing in, and importing fish caught in, the eastern tropical Pacific Ocean in order to reach a multinational agreement coordinated by the ITTC, or similar international entity, to supersede the General Agreement on Trades and Tariffs, and to govern the worldwide fishing of tuna and which will do all of the following:

"(a) Require a worldwide ban on the use of large-scale drift nets.

"(b) Require 100-percent Inter-America Tropical Tuna Commission certified observer coverage on all vessels capable of using large-scale purse seine nets for the taking of tuna in the eastern tropical Pacific Ocean and all other oceans in association with dolphins in which tuna fishing occurs.

"(c) Prohibit the use of explosives to separate tuna from dolphins.

"(d) Prohibit the use of purse seine sets at night to harvest tuna.

"(e) Limit the incidental take of marine mammals per vessel in an amount not to exceed the 1991 average incidental take of marine mammal per United States vessel.

"(f) Require a financial commitment from all tuna fishing nations for funding research and development of alternative fishing technologies which reduce, with the goal of zero, dolphin mortality associated with the harvesting of tuna; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the California Legislature respectfully memorializes the Congress and the President of the United States to authorize the appropriation of funds in the 1992-93 fiscal year in the amount of five million dollars ($5,000,000) for the research and development of alternative fishing technologies which electronically or otherwise locate tuna not associating with dolphins and make the practice of setting nets on dolphins obsolete; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and the Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, to the Secretary of Commerce, to the Chairperson of the National Marine Fisheries Service, to the Chairpersons of the Senate Committees on Commerce and State, to the Chairperson of the House of Representatives Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, and to the Chairperson of the House of Representatives Committee on Energy and Commerce."

POM-499. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 39

"Whereas, The United States Clean Air Act of 1990, the United States Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991, the California Transportation Blueprint for the 21st century, and other state and federal policies, individually and collectively, emphasize the importance of public transportation as an alternative to growing numbers of single-occupant private vehicles and their adverse effect on air quality; and

"Whereas, The United States Department of Transportation requires the state to enforce a maximum vehicle axle weight limit established by the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, and any failure by a state to adequately enforce vehicle axle weight limits may result in a reduction of federal funds authorized for allocation to the state; and

"Whereas, The State of California has enacted statutes which establish a maximum vehicle axle weight for trucks and passenger buses to comply with federal law and to prevent premature deterioration of highway pavement and structures; and

"Whereas, The Federal Transit Administration approves the design of public transit buses that are purchased with federal financial assistance, including safety ratings for vehicle axles and for gross weight of the vehicle and passengers; and

"Whereas, There are two applicable federal standards, one pertaining to the maximum weight for vehicle axles and the other pertaining to the design and safety weight limits for federally funded transit vehicles; and

"Whereas, Public transit buses currently offered by domestic manufacturers and approved by the Federal Transit Administration, when laden with required operational and safety equipment and a full load of passengers, will be in violation of both the federal and California statutes limiting the weight on rear axles; and

"Whereas, It is a common practice for public transit operators in California and throughout the nation to carry on busy routes full loads of seated and standing passengers within design and safety weight limits; and

"Whereas, The California Highway Patrol has commenced enforcement of the maximum vehicle axle weight limits for public transit buses carrying full passenger loads and has, in some cases, required passengers to get off crowded and heavily loaded buses, necessitating those passengers to wait for another bus; and

"Whereas, Achieving efficiency in transit service means that buses must operate at the highest possible passenger load, and California law penalizes, by loss of state transit assistance funds and Transportation Development Act funds, any operator that does not meet operating efficiency standards based upon the total operating cost per revenue vehicle hour and minimum recovery of operating costs through the farebox; and

"Whereas, In order to comply with maximum vehicle axle weight limits, public transit operators in California and throughout the nation would be required to operate additional buses and incur higher costs without carrying any additional passengers; and

"Whereas, Public transit operators in California are currently unable to comply with maximum axle weight limit laws without incurring substantial additional operating costs and violating state efficiency and farebox recovery standards; and

"Whereas, The protection of passengers, the preservation of highway pavement, and the safeguard of public funds through efficient transit operation are each of important public concern; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That state and federal standards and policies should encourage the availably and operation of safe and efficient public transportation to meet mobility and air quality goals; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully requests the Congress of the United States and the United States Department of Transportation to ad-

dress the disparity between vehicle axle weight limit standards and the design and safety weight limits for federally funded transit vehicles, and to resolve the weight limit issues for passenger buses so public transit operators can continue to serve the maximum number of passengers, in an economically efficient manner, without jeopardizing passenger safety or the integrity of road highway systems; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, and to the United States Secretary of Transportation."

POM-500. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 44

"Whereas, A 1978 study by the Department of Transportation, as required by Chapter 954 of the Statutes of 1976, determined that unmarked utility power lines constitute a hazard to aircraft, especially helicopters, resulting in accidents that are commonly known as wirestrikes; and

"Whereas, According to the National Transportation Safety Board, between 1985 and 1990, there were 71 helicopter accidents due to wirestrikes, and these accidents resulted in 35 deaths and 27 serious injuries; and

"Whereas, Five people were killed while investigating an oil spill in a January 11, 1992, wirestrike accident over the Carquinez Strait in the San Francisco Bay Area in the same location where two persons were killed in a 1974 wirestrike accident; and

"Whereas, Public safety dictates the need for helicopters to operate at low altitudes in areas with many aerial wires for investigations, emergency rescues, fire fighting, law enforcement, and other activities; and

"Whereas, The successful performance of these public safety missions is dependent on a safe environment for the helicopter, and a safe environment requires the distinct marking of wires; and

"Whereas, Much of this essential helicopter work is done over terrain and in visibility conditions that tend to mask wires; and

"Whereas, The location of a wire, not just its height or length of span, should also be considered in determining a hazard; and

"Whereas, The Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) is responsible for operation of the air traffic and airways service system, regulation of aviation safety and security, provision of technological assistance to airports, and formulation and coordination of national and international aviation-related policy; and

"Whereas, The FAA developed guidelines on obstruction marking and lighting, entitled "Objects Affecting Navigable Airspace," in Part 77 of the Federal Aviation Regulations in 1965, and these guidelines have not been revised since 1972; and

"Whereas, New technology, such as microwave towers, has been introduced since 1972, and the regulations regarding obstruction marking and lighting are seriously outdated; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved, by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California hereby memorializes the Federal Aviation Administration to update Part 77 of the Federal Aviation Regulations, relating to objects affecting navigable airspace, especially with regard to the prevention of wirestrike accidents; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the FAA use the knowledge and expertise of the helicopter pilot community and utilities to immediately identify and mark specific locations that pose a danger to pilots; and be further

"*Resolved*, That the FAA conduct research, and make recommendations, on new safety technologies that could be used to avert wirestrike accidents; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the FAA distribute and explain these guidelines and findings to the helicopter pilot community, to state and local governments, and to utility companies that construct or alter power lines; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, to the Secretary of the United States Department of Transportation, to the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-501. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation:

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 53

"Whereas, United States products and technology are facing strong competition in the global marketplace thereby increasing the importance of innovation in maintaining and enhancing the competitiveness of American businesses worldwide; and

"Whereas, One of the most important aspects of product and technology development and advancement is testing; and

"Whereas, A well-structured testing program produces high quality, reliable, and competitive products and technology in areas including aeropropulsion, energy, environmental and waste management, natural hazards, and building safety construction; and

"Whereas, There is currently no large scale multipurpose multiagency testing facility in the United States committed to product development and demonstration; and

"Whereas, There has been relatively little comprehensive testing in the United States of the capacity of buildings and infrastructures to withstand severe environmental challenges including earthquakes; and

"Whereas, To best achieve cost savings, there should be a large scale centralized testing center with the equipment and facilities to test products and technology in a wide range of industries and product lines; and

"Whereas, The siting of a National Testing Center will require a suitable location with adequate infrastructure and support services, proximity to industry, business, transportation, and universities, a large accessible labor pool, a cadre of experienced personnel with demonstrated capabilities in product testing, and a commitment of resources from the national, state and local governments; and

"Whereas, The State of California would particularly benefit from the location of a National Testing Center within its boundaries because of its unique natural hazards, its acute environmental issues, the burden placed on its transportation system, its singular energy needs, its limited water resources, its highly advanced and specialized industries, and its need to transform its defense industrial base; and

"Whereas, A number of locations in the State of California amply satisfy all of the foregoing requirements; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly, That the Legislature respectfully memorializes the Congress of the United States to establish a National Testing Center located in the State of California; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit a copy of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, the Director of the National Institute of Standards and Technology, the Secretary of Transportation, the Secretary of Energy, the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, the Director of the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Director of the National Science Foundation, the Director of the United States Geological Survey, the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Director of the Office of Technology Assessment, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, and to the Governor of the State of California."

POM-502. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 43

"Whereas, Airports and highways in California, which are in part supported by federal tax money, are experiencing severe and increasing traffic congestion; and

"Whereas, The southern California association of Governments has predicted an increase in air traffic of 50 percent over the next 20 years in the southern California area; and

"Whereas, The San Francisco Airports Commission anticipates an increase in air travel passengers of 71 percent by 2006, which would result in an addition 329 flights per day, together with the additional noise from those 329 aircraft, over the San Francisco Bay area; and

"Whereas, Nearly 40 percent of commercial air carrier flights from the San Francisco International Airport go directly to the Los Angeles area; and

"Whereas, The Department of Transportation of the State of California has predicted that vehicle miles traveled on state highways will increase by 52 percent over the next 20 years; and

"Whereas, Numerous studies have indicated that the development of high speed train systems could relieve both air and highway traffic congestion; and

"Whereas, The National Research Council recently released a report concluding that the benefits of high speed train systems may justify financial support from federal highway and airport trust funds; and

"Whereas, The Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy, commonly known as the Little Hoover Commission, has recommended that the California Legislature support the use of federal highway trust funds for the development of a high speed passenger train system in California; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President and Congress of the United States to support and enact legislation to authorize federal highway trust funds to be used for the development of a high speed passenger train system in California; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, and to the United States Secretary of Transportation."

POM-503. Resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey; to the Committee on Finance:

"ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION NO. 83

"Whereas, The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 requires state and local employees who are earning in excess of $100 per year, and who are neither covered by a state and local retirement system nor a voluntary agreement, to pay Social Security withholding taxes; and

"Whereas, The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 makes election workers who earn in excess of $100 per year liable for Social Security withholding taxes; and

"Whereas, A majority of election workers in New Jersey are retired senior citizens who participate in the operation of general elections more out of civic duty than as a result of the remuneration provided; and

"Whereas, The effect of deducting Social Security taxes from the already low pay of election workers has further depleted the critically deficient number of election workers, as well as created a time consuming and expensive burden on local boards of election; and

"Whereas, Given the effect of Social Security tax extension has had and will continue to have on the recruitment and retention of election workers, and considering the small amount of revenue this tax extension derives, it is incumbent on the Congress to take steps to ensure election workers' continued participation in the democratic process by increasing the Social Security tax exemption for election workers; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey:*

"1. The Congress of the United States is respectfully memorialized to increase the Social Security tax exemption for election workers from the current $100 per year to $1,000 per year, as contained in the Older Americans Act Amendments presently before the Congress.

"2. Duly authenticated copies of this resolution shall be transmitted to the presiding officers of the United States Senate and House of Representatives and to every member of Congress from the State of New Jersey."

POM-504. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Finance:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 37

"Whereas, The limits on resources for the purposes of determining eligibility for benefits under the federal Supplemental Security Income program, two thousand dollars ($2,000) for an individual recipient, and three thousand dollars ($3,000) for a married couple, do not reflect adequate consideration of typical and sudden expenses, including, but not limited to, home maintenance and taxes, automotive insurance, maintenance, or replacement, and appliance maintenance or replacement; and

"Whereas, A senior citizen with income exceeding allowable resources must spend down or bury savings; and

"Whereas, Noncompliance notices based on computations of minor monthly or intermittent fluctuations in income create unnecessary administrative costs to government agencies, and hardship to recipients of federal Supplemental Security Income program benefit; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to adjust the Supplemental Security Income program resource limits to five thousand dollars ($5,000) for individual recipients and to seven thousand five hundred dollars ($7,500) for married couples, and which would require the computations used to determine compliance with those limits shall be based on the average amount of funds in a recipient's applicable accounts over a significant period of time, such as one year; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-505. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Alaska; to the Committee on Finance:

"JOINT RESOLUTION

"Whereas the past year's fluctuations in prices and supply patterns for oil once again demonstrate that the access of the United States to this vital strategic resource is vulnerable to concerted political action by governments in the Middle East; and

"Whereas, in 1990, the reliance of the United States on imported oil increased to 47 percent, the highest percentage in nine years, and with the demand in the United States for oil increasing at an average rate of three percent each year for the past five years, this reliance on imported oil will increase because the domestic oil exploration and production capability of the United States has seriously eroded; and

"Whereas, until 1986, the United States had successfully increased its import of petroleum products from its neighbors in the Western Hemisphere and decreased its imports from the volatile Middle East, but this positive trend has been reversed, and Middle East imports of crude oil to the United States continue to increase; and

"Whereas the energy crisis of the 1970's taught the United States that manipulation of the world oil market by sovereign governments can run counter to the interests of the geographical neighbors that, like Mexico and Canada, share similar forms of democratic government; and

"Whereas, since the United States will need to rely on foreign sources of oil for the foreseeable future and the oil situations and long-term energy interests of Venezuela and the United States are complementary, the United States and Venezuela should continue to be important commercial partners for many years under fair conditions of trade; and

"Whereas Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, and the United States are long-standing energy trading partners who share a history of working together in successful oil and gas exploration and development and who share the fluctuations of a rapidly changing energy environment; and

"Whereas Canada, Mexico, Venezuela, and the United States share a common vision of the future in which a sound energy industry in each of the countries is able to provide the energy security needed to ensure the health and vitality of the entire economy of the American nations; and

"Whereas the governments of the United States, Canada, Mexico, and Venezuela are striving to improve the overall well-being of all of their citizens while providing rich opportunities for individual freedom and growth, and it is natural for their representatives to explore options that will increase the energy security of the Western Hemisphere; and

"Whereas the Energy Council, of which Alaska is a member, actively supports and promotes the concept of an energy alliance among the nations of the Western Hemisphere;

"*Be it resolved*, that in recognition of the long-standing trading history with Canada, Mexico, and Venezuela and, in order to plan for increased security of the people and economies of the United States, Canada, Mexico, and Venezuela, the Alaska State Legislature urges the President of the United States and the United States Congress to engage in formal talks with the governments of Canada, Mexico, and Venezuela, as well as with other interested American countries, to develop a Pan-American energy alliance to provide reciprocal energy security measures for the nations of the Western Hemisphere; and be it

"*Further resolved*, that the Alaska State Legislature supports the efforts and work of the Energy Council to promote a Pan-American energy alliance and urges Governor Hickel and the current administration of the state to participate in these efforts.

"Copies of this resolution shall be sent to the Honorable George Bush, President of the United States; the Honorable Dan Quayle, Vice-President of the United States and President of the U.S. Senate; the Honorable Robert C. Byrd, President Pro Tempore of the U.S. Senate; the Honorable George J. Mitchell, Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate; the Honorable Thomas S. Foley, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives; to the Honorable Ted Stevens and the Honorable Frank Murkowski, U.S. Senators, and the Honorable Don Young, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress; and to Lori Cameron, Executive Director of the Energy Council."

POM-506. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 58

"Whereas, The United States and Mexico have long-held close economic ties that serve to strengthen their economic positions within an ever-more competitive international system; and

"Whereas, Canada, the United States, and Mexico have entered into historic discussions to negotiate a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); and

"Whereas, The California-Mexico border region is in severe need of infrastructure development, including affordable housing, roads, sewage treatment plants, water reclamation facilities, telecommunications facilities, and deep water ports; and

"Whereas, Economic recession in the United States and 10 years of economic stagnation in Mexico has caused a lack of funds to pay for these infrastructure projects; and

"Whereas, The United States, particularly California and the states of the Southwest, would be benefited by infrastructure development in the border region; and

"Whereas, The proposed NAFTA is expected to increase the need for infrastruc-

ture because of increased trade opportunities; and

"Whereas, The California-Mexico relationship is expected to expand whether or not a free trade agreement is ratified; and

"Whereas, The creation of a North American Development Bank and Adjustment Fund would facilitate increased investment in targeted sectors of the Mexican economy and structural adjustment in Canada, the United States, and Mexico; and

"Whereas, This institution would serve two functions: (1) as a regional investment bank, it would lend funds to finance long-term development projects; and (2) as an adjustment fund, it would provide short- to medium-term assistance to facilitate the reallocation of resources required to generate productivity increases in the region; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California hereby respectfully memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States to enter into an agreement for the creation of a North American Development Bank and Adjustment Fund; and be it further

Resolved, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, each Senator and Representative in the Congress of the United States, the President of Mexico, the members of the Mexican Congress, the United States Trade Representative, and the Governors of California, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas."

POM-507. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 58

"Whereas, The Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is internationally recognized as an independent state and is a member of the United Nations, and a participant in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe; and

"Whereas, Attempts to bring about a permanent cessation of hostilities precipitated by the warring factions in the former Yugoslavia states in Bosnia-Herzegovina through negotiations have repeatedly failed; and

"Whereas, Horrible atrocities are being committed by various forces involved in this conflict against the civilian population, including the practice of "ethnic-cleansing"; and

"Whereas, The United States and other Contracting Parties to the International Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide may, under Article VIII, "call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide" or any of the other "Acts Constituting Genocide" enumerated in Article III; and

"Whereas, Officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross have been denied access to prison camps and internment camps throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina and throughout other republics of the former Yugoslavia even though these officials are entitled access to these camps under Article 143 of the 1949 Geneva Convention; and

"Whereas, United Nations and Red Cross relief convoys carrying much needed supplies of food and medicine are being repeatedly blocked and in some cases have been attacked; and

"Whereas, The Security Council of the United Nations voted unanimously to dispatch additional forces to reopen Sarajevo's airport, and the delivery of supplies of humanitarian assistance to the city's beleaguered population is taking place under the protection of these forces but with great difficulty; and

"Whereas, The Security Council of the United Nations also endorsed the cease-fire plan negotiated by the European Community Envoy that would place all heavy weapons in the possession of factions in Bosnia-Herzegovina under international supervision; and

"Whereas, The Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina has issued urgent appeals for immediate assistance from the international community; and

"Whereas, The situation in Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia-Herzegovina has reached a critical point requiring immediate and decisive action by the international community; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorialize the President and the Congress of the United States to immediately call for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council in order to authorize, under Article 42 of the Charter of the United Nations, all necessary means, including the use of multilateral military force under a Security Council mandate, giving particular consideration to the possibility of demonstrations of force, to give effect to Security Council decisions to ensure the provision of humanitarian relief in Bosnia-Herzegovina and to gain access for United Nations and International Red Cross personnel to refugee and prisoner-of-war camps in the former Yugoslavia; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That, during the meeting, the Security Council of the United Nations should do all of the following:

"(a) Develop the means by which to implement the July 17, 1992, cease fire plan sponsored by the United Nations, which includes placing heavy weapons belonging to all factions in Bosnia-Herzegovina under United Nations supervision; and

"(b) Review the effects on Bosnia-Herzegovina of the arms embargo imposed on all states in the former Yugoslavia pursuant to United Nations Security Council Resolution 713 and determine whether the termination or suspension of the application of that resolution to Bosnia-Herzegovina could result in increased security for the civilian population of that country; and

"(c) Convene a tribunal to investigate allegations of war crimes and crimes against humanity committed within the territory of the former Yugoslavia and to accumulate evidence, charge, and prepare the basis for trying individuals believed to have committed such crimes; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the California Legislature resolves all of the following:

"(a) The California Legislature strongly supports the measures announced by the President on August 6, 1992; and

"(b) No United States military personnel shall be introduced into combat or potential combat situations without clearly defined objectives and sufficient resources to achieve those objectives; and

"(c) The California Legislature supports the use of American funds as may be necessary for United States participation in humanitarian relief and multilateral military force activities, pursuant to any mandates as may be adopted by the United Nations Security Council, consistent with the terms of this resolution; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Congress of the United States, when requested to do so by the President, should promptly consider authorization for any use of United States military forces pursuant to, and only pursuant to, the United Nations authorization described above; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-508. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on the Judiciary:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 1

"Whereas, The First Congress of the United States of America at its First Session, in both houses by a constitutional majority of two-thirds thereof, adopted the following proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States of America in the following words, to wit:

"The Conventions of a number of the States, having at the time of their adopting the Constitution, expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added: And as extending the ground of public confidence in the Government, will best ensure the beneficent ends of its institution

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring*, that the following Articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which Articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution, viz.;

"Articles in addition to, and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.

"Article the second—No law, varying the compensation for the services of the Senators and Representatives, shall take effect, until an election of Representatives shall have intervened."; and

Whereas, This proposed amendment will be valid as part of the Constitution of the United States when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states; and

Whereas, This proposed amendment has already been ratified by the legislatures of the following states: Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That this proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America be and the same is hereby ratified by the Legislature of the State of California; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit certified copies of this resolution to the Archivist of the United States, Washington, D.C., the President of the United

States Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, with the request that it be printed in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD."

POM-509. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on the Judiciary:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 56

"Whereas, The State of California has had a significant increase in crimes of violence and drug trafficking offenses committed with firearms; and

"Whereas, The State of California has significantly increased criminal penalties for the possession or use of firearms in crimes of violence and drug trafficking; and

"Whereas, The State of California is experiencing unparalleled fiscal problems which preclude even greater state efforts to prosecute and incarcerate crimes of violence and drug trafficking; and

"Whereas, At least 70 percent of the individuals who are in the state prison system could be prosecuted under federal law for their crimes; and

"Whereas, Since 1968, the federal Gun Control Act has provided a jurisdictional basis to prosecute individuals in federal court for crimes of violence and drug trafficking offenses committed with firearms; and

"Whereas, Notwithstanding the enactment of federal statutes since the enactment of the Gun Control Act of 1968, that impose heavy criminal penalties for persons who supply weapons knowing the weapons will be used in crimes of violence or drug trafficking, or individuals with serious criminal records who possess firearms, there has been a lack of federal prosecutorial effort to incarcerate dangerous criminals who are subject to the foregoing criminal penalties; and

"Whereas, The federal government has cut back on criminal justice assistance to cover state incarceration costs; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President of the United States to direct the United States Department of Justice to prosecute under federal law all individuals who violate the Gun Control Act of 1968, as amended (P.L. 90-618), prohibiting, among other things:

"(a) The use of a firearm during, or in relation to, any crime of violence or drug trafficking crime.

"(b) Violations of the Armed Career Criminal Act of 1984.

"(c) Traveling with a firearm in interstate commerce with intent to commit a felony.

"(d) Supplying firearms to others knowing that they will be used in drug trafficking offenses or crimes of violence.

"(e) Knowingly supplying firearms to prohibited persons.

"(f) Trafficking in stolen or obliterated firearms; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and the Vice President of the United States, to the United States Attorney General, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-510. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 55

"Whereas, Manufacturing firms in the United States need to maintain and enhance the quality of their products, the rate of their productivity, and the intensity of their competitiveness in order to face the tremendous economic challenges of the 1990's; and

"Whereas, California's 48,500 small and midsized firms, comprising more than 13 percent of those in the United States, need to upgrade their manufacturing capabilities, implement quality control methods, and improve workforce training in order to maintain and enhance their performance as intermediate supplies to larger firms and to continue to provide jobs; and

"Whereas, Today, there are more than 25 industrial extension programs in other states whose primary function is to help small and midsized businesses, particularly manufacturers, adopt new technologies; and

"Whereas, There is a critical need for California to develop initiatives and programs to advance its critical growth sectors in technology and to revitalize its basic manufacturing sectors, especially through assistance to small- and medium-sized companies; and

"Whereas, The Agricultural Experiment Station and Cooperative Extension Program administered by the University of California have long provided the link for individuals, families, and communities to benefit directly from university agricultural research in the application of new knowledge and research-based technologies to improve practice and productivity; and

"Whereas, The University of California has (1) unique resources in the fields of engineering, business, and management with programs and centers of expertise that aim to expand research frontiers and transfer technology to the private sector, (2) extension programs in business, engineering, and manufacturing, and (3) access to the advanced technologies and facilities of national laboratories; and

"Whereas, The California Community Colleges and the California State University campuses offer geographically accessible resources and opportunities for developing industrial engineering technology to the state's manufacturing community; and

"Whereas, A vehicle is needed to provide access by the manufacturing community to the expertise and resources of the University of California and other public institutions of higher education of the state in a uniform manner; and

"Whereas, Federal support for manufacturing and industrial expansion will increase as funds historically expended on defense programs are redirected to industrial development programs which will, in turn, lead to a national competition for state leveraged programs in manufacturing expansion; and

"Whereas, The University of California is proposing to establish a Manufacturing Extension Program by forming an active statewide network of outreach specialists to work closely with manufacturing firms to solve production problems, enhance quality and productivity, introduce new technology, and improve employee training; and

"Whereas, The University of California proposes to seek federal support for the Manufacturing Extension Program from funds reallocated from defense programs and other programs: Now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That, in order to restore and maintain California's economic progress, to maintain and enhance the quality, productivity, and competitiveness of California's small and midsized manufacturing companies, and to permit those companies to compete effectively for federal support, the Legislature of the State of California endorses efforts to establish the Manufacturing Extension Program of the University of California; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully requests the President and Congress of the United States to support the effort of the University of California to establish a manufacturing extension program for purposes of restoring and maintaining California's economic progress, maintaining and enhancing the quality, productivity, and competitiveness of small and midsized manufacturing companies, enabling the manufacturing extension program to compete effectively for federal support, and permitting those companies to benefit accordingly; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-511. Joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 50

"Whereas, The preservation of human lives and the extinction of fires are two of the primary roles of the professional firefighter, and the ability to save human lives and fight fires has been made more difficult by the construction of highrise buildings which require firefighters to rely on fire service aerial devices to perform their jobs; and

"Whereas, The failure of fire service aerial devices used to fight fires has caused numerous fatalities and serious injuries to firefighters and the general public; and

"Whereas, Fire service aerial device failures are caused by poor engineering, manufacturing defects, loss of integrity because of use, poor maintenance, and operator error; and

"Whereas, The testing, inspection, and certification of all fire service aerial devices is urgently needed to protect the safety of firefighters and the general public from injuries and fatalities caused by the failure of fire service aerial devices; and

"Whereas, Federal occupational safety and health regulations governing safety factors for fire departments have not been significantly revised since 1980; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and the Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States to enact legislation that would require the Department of Labor to promulgate occupational safety and health regulations requiring the testing, inspection, and certification of fire service aerial devices on an annual basis; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, to the Secretary of Labor, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-512. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 46

"Whereas, After the longest peacetime economic expansion in the U.S. history, the United States has fallen on economic hard

times with the recession extending from months into years and Corporate America continuing to lay off thousands of workers; and

"Whereas, Defense spending soared in the 80's to record high levels; however, with the end of the Cold War, defense spending is now being reduced by billions in the 90's; and

"Whereas, The private sector cannot make a sufficient impact on unemployment because the demand for products and services is reduced during a recession; and

"Whereas, Congress authorized an Emergency Employment Act Program in 1971 that employed about 400,000 people until its termination in 1973; and

"Whereas, In 1977, Congress drastically expanded the existing modest Public Service Employment Program during a high unemployment period to fund 725,000 jobs and thousands of unemployed persons filled jobs that provided pay checks in an amount higher than their unemployment insurance benefit checks; and

"Whereas, In 1992 with persistently high unemployment, Congress could reinstate the Public Employment Program as authorized by the federal Emergency Employment Act of 1971 which could put thousands of people to work within a few weeks of its inception; and

"Whereas, Reinstatement of the jobs program could assist cities and counties, provide essential services by generating taxes, offsetting public assistance costs, and reducing the rapidly rising number of homeless people, and lend self-esteem and dignity to those jobless individuals; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California petition the President and the Congress of the United States to reinstate the Public Employment Program, as authorized by the federal Emergency Employment Act of 1971; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-513. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 32

"Whereas, Every 12 minutes a woman dies of breast cancer in the United States; and

"Whereas, One in nine American women can expect to develop breast cancer in her lifetime, and it is estimated that breast cancer will take the lives of over 46,000 American women in 1992; and

"Whereas, In California, one in 10 women can expect to develop breast cancer in her lifetime, and it is estimated that breast cancer will take the lives of 4,695 women in California in 1992; and

"Whereas, The incidence rate in California is lower than the national average of 110 per 100,000, while, in some regions of this state, the incidence rate is as high as 124 per 100,000; and

"Whereas, Unless we take steps to reverse the trend, one in seven women could expect to develop breast cancer in her lifetime by the end of the decade; and

"Whereas, Despite advancements in detection and treatment methods, the incidence of breast cancer is on the rise; and

"Whereas, Breast cancer is increasingly being diagnosed among younger women for whom mammography screening is not an effective diagnostic tool; and

"Whereas, Despite 20 years of research, experts still do not understand the cause of breast cancer, nor do they know how to prevent breast cancer; and

"Whereas, According to the National Cancer Institute, the United States lost ground during the 1980's in federal cancer research funding, experiencing an overall reduction of 6 percent in constant dollars, with cuts as high as 34 percent in some cancer research programs; and

"Whereas, Although the incidence rate of breast cancer is lower among African-American women as compared to Anglo-American women, the death rate among African-American women is higher; and

"Whereas, Latino, Asian, and Pacific Islander women face significant cultural barriers to adequate breast care and cancer prevention efforts; and

"Whereas, The survival rate in the first five years for women diagnosed in the earliest stages of breast cancer is over 90 percent, but, the rate of survival drops sharply every five years thereafter; and

"Whereas, Without adequate health care, the 2.7 million uninsured women in California face the harsh risk of discovering breast cancer only in the more advanced and deadly stages of development; and

"Whereas, While mammography screening plays a vital role in early diagnosis, it by no means displaces or in any way mitigates the vital need for research into the prevention and cure of breast cancer; and

"Whereas, In 1990, only 5 percent of all federal cancer research dollars were earmarked for breast cancer research; and

"Whereas, Increased federal and state commitments to breast cancer prevention and cure will, in the long run, not only save millions of women's lives but also reduce the economic costs associated with the disease; and

"Whereas, The recent tide of public activism focusing attention on breast cancer and the need to accelerate the investigation into the cause, cure, and prevention of disease must be matched by state and federal commitments to these ends; and

"Whereas, The Legislature of the State of California pledges to enact state legislation in response to this epidemic that will advance the cause of finding a cure and developing cost-effective prevention methods; and

"Whereas, The Legislature of the State of California urges the executive branch of the State of California to also recognize breast cancer as an epidemic and to take all appropriate steps and administrative actions to advance the causes of finding a cure and effective prevention measures; and

"Whereas, The Legislature of the State of California supports congressional intent that the initiatives undertaken in response to this national health emergency not replace current expenditures for breast cancer research activities; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California, in order to give breast cancer prevention and cure the research priority they deserve, a priority that will save millions of lives and reduce health care costs, declares breast cancer a disease of epidemic proportions in both California and the United States and urges that state and federal governments recognize it as a public health emergency; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Legislature of the State of California strongly urges the United States Congress to enact legislation recommending that the Secretary of Health and Human Services declare breast cancer a public health emergency for the purpose of accelerating investigation into the cause, treatment, and prevention of the cause of the emergency, and urge the President of the United States to sign the legislation into law; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to each Member of the California Senate and the California Assembly, to the Governor of the State of California, to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the President pro Tempore of the United States Senate, to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States, to the Chief Clerk of the United States House of Representatives, to the Secretary of the United States Senate, and to the presiding officer of each of the other states in the Union."

POM-514. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources:

"ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 43

"Whereas, Mergers, takeovers, and buyouts in the business community are current and ongoing; and

"Whereas, Those mergers, takeovers, and buyouts have created severe disturbances in the lives and welfare of those who receive retirement pensions and health benefits from the involved companies; and

"Whereas, The capture of pension fund assets, including health benefit funds, by those business entities has caused erosion of pension plan members' incomes and the diminution or outright loss of medical coverage; and

"Whereas, Both pensions and medical coverage have been honorably earned by years of loyal service; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California hereby respectfully memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States to enact appropriate legislation to provide guidelines, rules, and restrictions to govern and protect pension fund assets, including health benefit funds, against inappropriate capture and use, other than for the benefit and well-being of beneficiaries and survivors, and to protect the pension plan incomes and medical coverage of retirees, beneficiaries, and survivors, which have been bargained for in good faith during working years, from erosion or abbreviation; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit copies of this measure to the President and Vice President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Chairpersons of the House and Senate Committees on Aging, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-515. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs:

"SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 31

"Whereas, California is home to over 2.8 million men and women who unselfishly served in the American Armed Services during times of conflict and war; and

"Whereas, Over 400,000 California veterans depend on the Martinez Veterans' Hospital for their general medical services, surgical, psychiatric, and ambulatory care; and

"Whereas, The Martinez Veterans' Hospital serves California veterans from as far

north as the Oregon border, and as far east as the Nevada state line; and

"Whereas, The current travel time for veterans living in the far northern Sacramento Valley is over three hours to the Martinez Veterans' Hospital; and

"Whereas, On August 9, 1991, the federal Department of Veterans Affairs announced plans to close the Martinez Veterans' Hospital within 180 days; and

"Whereas, Following the hospital's closure, the nearest facility available to northern California veterans will be located in the City of Palo Alto, well over four hours from the far reaching portions of the Sacramento Valley; now, therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the Senate and Assembly of the State of California, jointly*, That the Legislature of the State of California proclaims that closure of the Martinez Veterans' Hospital seriously threatens the delivery of needed health care services to thousands of California veterans; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectively memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States of America to take emergency action to secure adequate funding to ensure that California veterans will not suffer a loss in quantitative or qualitative medical care as a result of the Martinez closure; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectively memorializes the President of the United States of America to implement procedures through the federal Department of Veterans Affairs to permit veterans currently receiving medical care at the Martinez facility to receive the needed medical care at local health facilities within their own communities, until a time in which a replacement facility is completed; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Legislature of the State of California respectively memorializes the President and the Congress of the United States of America to enact and execute a development schedule for the construction and completion of a replacement facility of sufficient size and capability to provide the highest quality medical care for the increasing population of northern California veterans in need of such care; and be it further

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, and each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-516. A resolution adopted by the City Council of the City of Seattle expressing the city's deep concern about the need for a national policy of preserving ancient forests in the Pacific Northwest, including the forests of eastern and western Washington and Oregon, northwestern California, and the Sierra Nevada of California; to the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

MORTON HALPERIN—ABLE DEFENDER OF THE CONSTITUTION

• Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, earlier this year, Dr. Morton K. Halperin announced that he was stepping down as director of the Washington office of the American Civil Liberties Union to accept an appointment as a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. On September 30, Senators and Representatives joined many of his friends at a reception to pay tribute to his outstanding work for more than a decade in preserving and protecting the Constitution and the rights and liberties of the American people.

Mort Halperin's wise counsel has been enormously helpful on a broad variety of legislative initiatives to make America a land of justice for all. He played an indispensable role in the enactment of the Grove City College Act in 1988 and the Civil Rights Act of 1991. On every civil liberties issue in the past decade, Mort has been there. Millions of Americans are better off today because of his work at the ACLU.

Mort knows how to write good laws—and how to stop bad laws. Some of his most impressive contributions have come in making a strong case against unwise and unfair proposals, and persuading Congress to reject them. In so many ways, he has been the 101st Senator on civil liberties.

When the Supreme Court first struck down the Texas flagburning law, only a handful of elected officials defended the Court's action at first. But through Mort's tireless work and the outstanding effort of the ACLU, the misguided attempt to amend the first amendment was defeated.

Under the guise of fighting crime, the Reagan and Bush administrations have waged a 12-year battle to subvert civil liberties, repeal the exclusionary rule, and deny habeas corpus. But Congress has held those efforts at bay, and the leadership of Mort Halperin and the ACLU was a significant factor in that result.

Prior to his appointment at the ACLU, Mort had a distinguished career in national security. After receiving his doctorate from Yale at the age of 23, he taught at Harvard, before serving in the Defense Department and on the National Security Council from 1966 through 1969. He is the author of more than a dozen books.

Now, as Mort moves from the ACLU to the Carnegie Endowment, I expect that we will be seeing a little less of him at the Senate Judiciary Committee, but a lot more of him at the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. I wish him every success, and I am proud to take this opportunity to commend him for all he has done to make America a better and fairer land.•

RURAL HEALTH CARE CONCERNS

• Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, as we face the health care crisis in America, it is essential that we include the medical and health care concerns of our rural areas. In Washington State alone, over 33 percent of the population resides in rural areas. These people deserve access to the best possible health care. One step I have taken to address this need is to cosponsor S. 1125, the Rural Primary Care Act, a bill that provides incentives to attract more health care professionals to rural America.

Recently, I contacted people in Washington's rural communities to ask for their opinion on S. 1125 and to solicit their advice on different ways to attract and encourage health care professionals to practice in their areas. Most respondents supported the efforts and incentives offered by S. 1125. However, they voiced their concern that health care professionals, in spite of the incentives, may choose to practice in urban areas where they would be virtually assured that their practice will thrive.

I have listened to these concerns and recognize that while S. 1125 is a positive step in the right direction, it is only one of many that need to be taken in order to assure the best possible health care at reasonable prices to everyone in America, including rural areas. In the upcoming session I will work diligently to address the health care crisis in America. I am committed to building on the strong points of existing plans, such as S. 1125, and to introducing or supporting legislation that creates a comprehensive health care package for the American people.

To achieve real solutions we must work together. And, with the help of constituent input, I look forward to representing Washington State's particular needs as we address this issue.•

THE YEAR OF THE WOMAN

• Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, it is indeed fitting that 1992 has been called the Year of the Woman. Women now constitute 52 percent, or a clear majority, of our Nation's citizens who are eligible to vote. While, regrettably, voter turnout rates have declined for both women and men since the 1960's, since 1980, women have voted at a higher rate than men, reversing a pattern which had existed for much of the time since women were extended the vote in 1920.

I am very pleased to note that this year a record number of women are running for congressional seats, with 11 women candidates for the U.S. Senate and 106 women candidates for the House of Representatives. As you know, only 3 percent of current Senate seats are held by women and only 7 percent of House seats. This is in stark contrast to not only many of the industrial countries of the West, but also to nations of the Third World. For example, the percentage of women in the national parliament of Norway is 34.4 percent, in Sweden 38.1 percent, Finland 31.5 percent, Italy 12.9 percent, The Netherlands 20 percent, Tanzania 10.7 percent, and Mexico 14.7 percent. Nations as diverse as India, Pakistan, Ice-

land, England, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Norway have had women as heads of state. The increased political activity of women in our country is long overdue and is a reflection of the transformation of women in the electorate. My own State of Maryland serves as a good example of this transformation, and we take great pride in having Senator BARBARA MIKULSKI as one of only three women currently serving in the U.S. Senate.

Mr. President, the need for more women in elected office at all levels is especially apparent when you consider the enormous obstacles encountered by those of us who have attempted during the 102d Congress to enact legislation of vital importance to women. Recently, I joined with a number of my colleagues in efforts to increase funding for breast cancer research during Senate floor consideration of the fiscal year 1993 appropriations bill for the Department of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education. The breast cancer rate in this country has increased dramatically, with 1 in 9 women today expected to develop breast cancer in her lifetime, as opposed to 1 in 20 in 1961. Despite this, we were unable to pass several measures which would have increased funding for breast cancer research. I am, however, pleased that related legislation that I joined in sponsoring, the Mammography Quality Standards Act, passed the Senate on October 9, 1992.

I am deeply concerned that several other measures of vital importance to women have been prevented from moving forward in the 102d Congress because of opposition from the White House and its allies in the Congress. These measures include the Violence Against Women Act, which I joined in cosponsoring, and the reauthorization of the National Institutes of Health—legislation to reauthorize and strengthen research programs on breast cancer, cancers of the reproductive system, osteoporosis, and other diseases. This measure also includes provisions to ensure that women and minorities are included in appropriate clinical research conducted by NIH.

It is especially disappointing that President Bush chose once again to veto the Family and Medical Leave Act. This legislation, which would provide for 12 weeks of unpaid leave for employees to care for a seriously ill child, spouse, or parent, or in the event of the birth or adoption of a child, is long overdue—our Nation is the only industrialized country without a national family leave policy. In fact, almost every country in the world has a national parental leave requirement, including our most successful economic competitors in Western Europe and Asia, and these nations typically have requirements which go beyond those of the legislation we have considered this Congress with respect to leave duration and income replacement. For example, in Europe, 5 to 6 months of paid leave is the norm for new mothers, and even Japan, which is often behind European nations in terms of labor standards, provides 12 to 14 weeks of partially paid leave with full job guarantees. I strongly supported the Senate's successful effort to override the veto of the Family and Medical Leave Act and deeply regret that the House of Representatives subsequently failed to override the veto on September 30, 1992.

The Congress has been blocked repeatedly from moving forward on legislation to ensure women of their reproductive rights. I joined with many of my colleagues in efforts to overturn regulations issued in 1988 by the Department of Health and Human Services which prohibit workers at family planning clinics from counseling women facing unintended pregnancies, on abortion. The legislation I joined in introducing would require family planning grantees to provide pregnant women, on request, information and counseling on all legal and medical options. Exemptions from these provisions are included for providers who object to providing such information on the grounds of religious beliefs or moral convictions and family planning clinics are required to comply with applicable parental notification laws within the State in which the clinic is located. Nevertheless, the administration opposed this legislation and it was subsequently vetoed by President Bush. While the Senate voted, 73-26, to override this veto on September 25, 1992, the House later failed on October 2 in its attempt to override. Opposition from the White House also blocked both the House and the Senate from moving forward on the Freedom of Choice Act, which I have cosponsored, and in the end, prevented either body of Congress from even bringing this legislation to the floor for consideration.

Finally, I note that legislation to establish the equal rights amendment has once again languished in the Congress. As a longtime supporter of the ERA, I was privileged to serve during the 92d Congress on the subcommittee of the House Committee on the Judiciary which set the equal rights amendment on the path toward congressional approval and near-adoption nearly 21 years ago. Again, my own State of Maryland was at the forefront of these efforts, and was one of the first to ratify the ERA following its approval by Congress in 1972, and 1 of only 16 States to have included an equal rights provision in its own constitution.

Mr. President, women of today are becoming more fully engaged in the political process in an effort to overcome inadequacies in our society that have denied them fair and equal opportunities in all aspects of their lives. Not surprisingly, the evolution of legislation affecting the rights and interests of women has tended to parallel the advancement in the status of women. While we have been unable in the 102d Congress to enact several very important initiatives which would further the status of women in our society, I am committed to a continuing effort to promote legislation to remedy inequities in public policy, eliminate economic disparities that handicap women, and update existing programs to reflect the changes in women's lifestyles and needs. As we look toward the 103d Congress, I urge all of my colleagues to join me in this very important task.•

NOTICE OF DETERMINATION BY THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS UNDER RULE 35, PARAGRAPH 4, PERMITTING ACCEPTANCE OF A GIFT OF EDUCATIONAL TRAVEL FROM A FOREIGN ORGANIZATION

• Mr. SANFORD. Mr. President, it is required by paragraph 4 of rule 35 that I place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD notices of Senate employees who participate in programs, the principal objective of which is educational, sponsored by a foreign government or a foreign educational or charitable organization involving travel to a foreign country paid for by that foreign government or organization.

The select committee received a request for a determination under rule 35 for Faye Drummond, a member of the staff of Senator MOYNIHAN, to participate in a program in Czechoslovakia, sponsored by the University of Bratislava, from October 16 to 18, 1992.

The committee has determined that participation by Ms. Drummond in this program, at the expense of the University of Bratislava, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee received a request for a determination under rule 35 for T. Scott Bunton, a member of the staff of Senator KERRY, to participate in a program in Japan, sponsored by the Japan Center for International Exchange [JCIE], from December 6 to 12, 1992.

The committee has determined that participation by Mr. Bunton in this program, at the expense of the JCIE, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee received a request for a determination under rule 35 for Anthony H. Cordesman, a member of the staff of Senator MCCAIN, to participate in a program in China, sponsored by the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, from November 28 to December 12, 1992.

The committee has determined that participation by Mr. Cordesman in this program, at the expense of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, is

in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee received a request for a determination under rule 35 for Lisa Stocklan, a member of the staff of Senator SMITH, to participate in a program in Taiwan, sponsored by the Chung Yuan Christian University, from October 12 to 18, 1992.

The committee determined that participation by Ms. Stocklan in this program, at the expense of Chung Yuan Christian University, was in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee received a request for a determination under rule 35 for Drew Bolin, a member of the staff of Senator BROWN, to participate in a program in Taiwan, sponsored by the Chung Yuan Christian University, from October 11 to 18, 1992.

The committee determined that participation by Mr. Bolin in this program, at the expense of the Chung Yuan Christian University, was in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee received a request for a determination under rule 35 for Katherine Brunett, a member of the staff of Senator SIMPSON, to participate in a program in Taiwan, sponsored by the Chung Yuan Chirstian University, from October 12 to 18, 1992.

The committee determined that participation by Ms. Brunett in this program, at the expense of the Chung Yuan Christian University, was in the interest of the Senate and the United States.

The select committee received a request for a determination under rule 35 for Sam Spina, a member of the staff of Senator GORTON, to participate in a program in Taiwan, sponsored by the Chung Yuan Christian University, from October 13 to 18, 1992.

The committee has determined that participation by Mr. Spina in this program, at the expense of the Chung Yuan Christian University, is in the interest of the Senate and the United States.•

THE HOLE IN THE WALL GANG CAMP

• Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I want to take this opportunity to praise a unique and inspiring camp for young people with cancer, leukemia, and other serious diseases.

The camp, called the Hole in the Wall Gang Camp, was founded by Paul Newman in 1988 and is located in Ashford, CT. It is designed as a wild West hideout, and is named for the legendary hideout in Mr. Newman's famous movie, "Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid."

The camp is designed to meet the medical, physical, and emotional needs of these young victims of serious diseases. In keeping with the generous vision that conceived the camp, there is no cost to the campers.

The camp is fully equipped with state-of-the-art medical facilities. In many cases, it is the only opportunity for these youngsters to be away from their hospitals. In creating the camp, Mr. Newman recognized that the intensive continuing medical care that the patients need is depriving them of their childhood. The Hole in the Wall Gang Camp is an impressive means to fill that gap.

I commend Mr. Newman for his innovative leadership and for the extraordinary difference that the Hole in the Wall Gang Camp is making in the lives of these deserving children and their families. I ask unanimous consent that articles from the New York Times magazine and the Reader's Digest on the camp may be printed in the RECORD.

[From the New York Times Magazine, Sept. 6, 1992]

HUGGING LIFE

(By Calvin Trillin, staff writer for The New Yorker)

On my first morning at the Hole in the Wall Gang Camp, Joe Frustaci, the woodworking director, stepped up to the dining-hall microphone after breakfast to read a poem that had been written on the back of a wooden heart by Shawn Valdez, a 9-year-old camper who has spent about half his life under treatment for leukemia. The poem was for a counselor named Wendy Whitehill—Shawn's favorite person at the camp, unless you count Tadger, who lives in the woods rather than in the camp itself and may well be a bear.

Shawn—a dark, frail-looking little boy with large brown eyes—wasn't facing the microphone. He was sitting on Wendy's lap, with his arms around her neck. What Shawn had written on the heart was:

Wendy
I love your golden hair
Gold as a sunrise
I love the way your blood
warms me up like two eskimoes
snuggling.
I love your smile from
ear to ear
I love every
thing about you.

SHAWN.

I met Wendy a few minutes later. Actually, her hair didn't look quite as gold as a sunrise to me, but that may have been because of the light we were in. I said, "Shawn seems to find you an acceptable person."

She smiled and nodded. One of the things that had most struck her about the camp, she said, was the widespread presence of "unconditional love." Partly because all of the campers have been treated for diseases *frightening enough to make schoolmates* hesitant or even hostile, unconditional love is more or less camp policy. Children hug counselors. Counselors hug children. When Huggy Bear—a bear suit inhabited by an adult, often Robert (Woody) Wilkins, the camp director—delivers the mail from Tadger every morning at breakfast, he hugs everybody in sight. When a counselor is sitting down he is likely to have a camper in his lap.

The Hole in the Wall Gang Camp, which was founded and continues to be energized by the actor Paul Newman, is an unconditional sort of place. It looks like the camp that summer-camp kids have always dreamed of when they were not dreaming of being back home in their own beds, just down the hall from their parents—a shrewdly designed, dazzlingly equipped Wild West hideout in eastern Connecticut. The theater resembles the sort of place where dancing girls are about to appear on the stage to be hooted at by rowdies who have just come off a cattle drive. The lake is so well stocked that fish that really want to get caught may have to take a number.

Visitors nearly always remark that the children enjoying these facilities—who range in age from 7 to 15—look sort of, well, normal. The camp is specifically for children with cancer or serious blood disorders; what's wrong with them is on the inside. You might notice a child who is temporarily bald from the effects of chemotherapy or one whose growth has been stunted by the side effects of radiation or one who looks particularly thin; there might be a hemophiliac boy (virtually all hemophiliacs are boys) who is in a wheelchair because he had a bleed into his spinal cord that couldn't be stopped. Some of the campers tire easily and some were in the hospital when other children their age were developing the hand-eye coordination it takes to look good on the tennis court.

But a dance I went to at the camp seemed at first glance to vary from a dance at an ordinary camp mainly in that campers and *counselors and staff members were dancing* without regard to age or size or gender, the way people sometimes do in the later stages of a particularly joyous wedding reception—including a boy in a wheelchair whose derring-do must by now have inspired some medical center to post a sign saying "No Wheelie-Popping in Blood Lab Area." After the dance, a swarm of children, still excited, burst into the infirmary to take care of whatever medical procedure—an infusion of clotting factor a fistful of pills, a battery-driven pump designed to rid the body of excess iron—it takes to get them through the night.

By necessity, the Hole in the Wall Gang Camp is run largely through the infirmary. The closest thing to an admissions director is Sue Johnson, the head nurse, whose pool of applicants is gathered mainly through tertiary-care medical centers. She figures out, for instance, how many hemophiliacs can come to camp in any one session, since the constant need for factor makes them labor-intensive campers. (The diseases themselves impose a certain amount of racial and ethnic balance. Sickle-cell anemia afflicts mainly black people, and sicklers, as they're often called, tend to make up about a tenth of the children at the camp. One of the blood diseases, thalassemia, is so strongly associated with families of Italian and Greek origin that it is sometimes called Mediterranean anemia.) But the infirmary, a rough-wood building in the Western style, is not labeled "The Infirmary"; a sign outside says "The O.K. Corral." Nobody working there wears a white coat. At the camp, medical treatment is supposed to be the engine that doesn't call attention to itself—like the legendary assembly of pipes and cables and computers under Disney World.

Paul Newman thought of the camp as a place where children would be able to escape doctors and hospitals for a while and just be campers. It savors the sort of traditions found in conventional camps. If someone is caught leaving the dining hall through the

In door rather than the Out door, for instance, he has to stand in the middle of the dining hall and pantomime the words to the bushy-tail song. When Newman visits the camp—he has built a cabin across the lake, and he's normally around for at least a day or two each 10-day session—he always seems to stroll out through the In door, and he is caught by a pack of alert campers every time. Then he has to stand in the middle of the room, doing the appropriate motions, while everyone sings:

Paul, Paul.
Shake your bushy tail
Shake your bushy tail
Wrinkle up your little nose.
Stick your head between your toes
Shake your bushy tail.

As far as I could tell, the only reminder of medicine in the regular camp program is a form of action painting that children in arts and craft like to do with syringes. Dahlia Lithwick, one of two former counselors who have put together a book of writings by Shawn Valdez and other campers called "I Will sing Life: Voices From the Hole in the Wall Gang Camp," told me that the older girls in her cabin always spent the conventional amount of time discussing who might be going to the dance with whom. On the other hand, she thinks that campers tend to see their counselors as grown-ups who, unlike parents, don't have to be protected—campers are likely to have spent a lot of time seeing parents with what Shawn's mother calls in the book "tear eyes"—so the question asked a counselor after the dance could be, "I don't want to freak you out, but why do you think God picked me to die?"

The counselor asked such a question will more than likely be freaked out. Although a few of the counselors have had childhood cancer themselves, the camp, which had its first summer in 1988, hasn't been in operation long enough to produce a supply of counselors from former campers. Most of the counselors are college students who have led relatively protected lives, and most of them arrive, in the words of a letter quoted in Newman's introduction for "I Will Sing Life," with "a natural terror of disease, and a couple of books about coping with grief bought in a panic the previous week."

For them, the experience of being at the camp tends to be intense, partly because of the constant juxtaposition of the constant juxtaposition life-threatening illness and problems like who is going to the dance with whom. When Huggy Bear comes through the dining hall, the counselors who jump up to get hugged are partly just joining in, the way they join in the bushy-tail song and the dancing, but some of them may well feel the need of some hugging.

The Hole in the Wall Gang Camp is not, in fact, a camp for dying children. The overwhelming majority of campers, Sue Johnson says, "have a lot to put up with, but they're not terminal." According to Carroll W. Brewster, a former college president who is the executive director of the Hole in the Wall Gang Fund, "the theory is that every child here is going to be an adult and needs a good childhood to become one"—meaning that the camp sees its business as returning to the campers some of the childhood they've lost to illness and treatment.

On the theory that the proper work of childhood is learning and having fun, the camp concentrates on the equivalent of putting the children back to work—teaching horseback riding even if the hemophiliacs have to be given a shot of factor before getting on the horse, for instance, or letting everyone go swimming even if the tendency of sicklers to be thrown into a pain crisis by a chill means that the pool has to be particularly warm and a gazebo next to it is outfitted with heat lamps in the ceiling.

The heated gazebo is known locally as the Pearson French-Fryer Warmer, after Howard A. Pearson, the Yale pediatrician who molded Newman's vision into what became the Hole in the Wall Game Camp. When Newman was casting around for advice on how to establish a camp in Connecticut for children with cancer, Pearson was the chairman of pediatrics at Yale Medical School and the Yale-New Haven Hospital. His advice seemed to extend naturally into participation. Pearson has been the medical director at the camp from the beginning. He also served for a couple of years as executive director of the Hole in the Wall Gang Fund, which annually raises the $2 million it takes to run a camp that has dazzling equipment but not fees. He's a low-key, grandfatherly man—not the sort of person who finds being a camp doctor beneath the station of an eminent professor who this year is also the president-elect of the American Academy of Pediatrics.

It was Pearson who recommended that children with blood disorders as well as children with cancer be part of the camp mix. Partly because so much of childhood cancer is leukemia, there has always been a strong overlap in pediatrics between oncology and hematology. Pearson's own research interest is genetic blood disorders. Although the camp now has a couple of special sessions for campers with a single ailment—one for sickle-cell, one for immunological, disorders, including HIV infection—Pearson says that a mix is salutary for the general sessions, partly because there is something about any serious disease or its treatment that can make someone with another serious disease count his blessings.

In fact, the camp is one place where a child who has had cancer may have reason to feel in an enviable position, although I suspect that would be a hard proposition to sell to a 10-year-old who's in the middle of an intense course of chemotherapy. The campers who have had a diagnosis of cancer—normally about two-thirds of the 120 children in a regular session—have almost all been through chemotherapy, and some of them have also had surgery and radiation. But the ones who have completed their treatment are likely to lead lives that are not dominated or shortened by disease; the cure rate for the most common type of childhood leukemia is now approaching 80 percent.

That's not true of the sicklers, who are never through with the pain crises and whose bodies tend to give out in their 40's or 50's. Because of considerable progress in recent years in the treatment of hemophilia—mainly the invention of a process to manufacture clotting factor, making constant blood transfusions unnecessary—it appeared for a while that many hemophiliacs would have to face futures of only inconvenience and enormous expense rather than inevitable crippling and early death. But until 1985, the factor supply was not screened for HIV, so about half of the hemophiliacs at the Hole in the Wall Gang Camp are HIV positive.

Although Tadger has never been seen—he is said to be extremely shy—he can be counted on to answer a letter overnight. The campers rarely trouble Tadger with mentions of disease or doctors or hospitals. They tend to tell him that he shouldn't be so shy, or reassure him that they love him, or thank him for the little gifts he sometimes sends. During my stay at the camp, one boy wrote, "I have to tell you that your friend the white bear went out the wrong door, and he had to shake his bushy tail." Hole in the Wall Gang campers aren't embarrassed about mentioning their illness, given the company. "All the kids there have learned to live through things," one of the authors of "I Will Sing Life" wrote about the camp. "We know we're normal people." Apparently, though, the younger children tend not to dwell on the subject—not even in what's called Cabin Chat, a quite time before bed, when the counselors and the campers talk by the light of a single candle.

I sat in on Cabin Chat one night in a cabin of older boys. Everyone was asked to write down on a piece of paper something, important or trivial, that he would have changed if he'd had the power to change it—the loaded assignment was from a robust-looking counselor who had himself had childhood cancer—and then to toss the paper into a hat. The one piece of paper pulled out said, "Cancer was both the best thing and the worst thing that ever happened to me."

Everyone seemed to agree that the worst thing about having cancer was a drug called prednisone, a steroid that makes some people terribly angry and some people depressed and everybody enormously hungry. A lot of the campers found something good to say about having had cancer, although a certain amount of that had the sound of bravura or rationalization. There was talk about the interesting people they met; a couple of boys mentioned that cancer enabled them to come to the Hole in the Wall Gang Camp.

A boy who was still undergoing treatment seemed less certain about the good things, but finally he said, "I believe I'm tougher than any other kid in my school, at least mentally."

That led to a discussion about who could make it through cancer treatment and who couldn't. There was considerable feeling that the school bullies, who thought they were so tough, could never make it through.

"No, they'd make it," the toughest boy in his school said. "What choice would they have? Die? We didn't have any choice."

[From the New York Times Magazine, Oct. 4, 1992]

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

(By Joan Kasper, New York, NY)

HUGGING LIFE

I read with a very personal interest Calvin Trillin's article "Hugging Life" (Sept. 6).

My niece, Anique, contracted AIDS through a contaminated blood transfusion she received two days after her birth, in 1980. Naturally, her life centered around doctors, drugs, treatment, etc. It wasn't until her first stay at the Hole in the Wall Gang Camp, in the summer of 1990, that she found a window of escape, albeit temporary, from her illness.

I took Anique to camp last year, and from the moment we drove into the grounds I was caught up in the atmosphere of laughter and gaiety. And yes, there are unlimited amounts of unconditional love. Paul Newman has created an extraordinary environment for these children.

My niece attended the camp for the past three summers. We were told last February that she had only weeks to live, yet the prospect of going this year loomed ahead. The session began on June 20, and even though she had to travel three days cross-country by motor home and was in a wheelchair, Anique was there. Her week at the camp was her last one, though, and she died on her way home,

just one day after leaving camp. Our family is somewhat consoled and will forever be grateful that her last days were spent as she wanted them to be—with the Hole in the Wall Gang.

[From Reader's Digest, March 1990]

THE HOLE IN THE WALL GANG SUMMER CAMP

(By Per Ola and Emily d'Aulaire)

Soon after Matthew Calone complained of intense groin pain in February 1988, physicians determined that the eight-year-old's abdominal cavity was riddled with fast-growing lymphoma tumors. Chemotherapy and surgery eliminated the growths, but Matt came down with a critical infection and spent three months in the hospital.

By the time Matt returned to school, chemotherapy had left him pale and bald. He gamely tried to explain to the other kids what had happened. But when Matt came down with hepatitis, a sever inflammation of the liver, it seemed that the spirit had been kicked out of him.

Then in June 1989, Matt had the opportunity to spend almost two weeks at a very special summer camp in the Connecticut woods. Just like a lot of sick kids who have been protected and coddled by worried parents, Matt was physically cautious at first. Carefully his counselors pushed him to be more adventurous. Soon he was camping overnight in a tent by a roaring river, even wading in the chilly water. He and his tent mates dried off around a campfire, roasted marshmallows and sang songs. Back at camp, Matt played baseball and basketball, and went horseback riding and fishing.

Today Matt's old self-confidence is back. "You wouldn't know he was once so sick," says his father. "The camp helped him get back on his feet, square off and face the world."

What is this magic place? It's the Hole in the Wall Gang Camp located on the border of Ashford and Eastford, Conn., where youngsters with life-threatening illnesses don't have to sit on the sidelines. Here, children with hemophilia and sickle-cell anemia romp with those suffering from leukemia, lymphoma and bone cancer. Some have had legs and arms amputated. Others are bound to wheelchairs and intravenous feeding pumps. But at Hole in the Wall, there's no need for a kid to explain why a tube is sticking out of his chest, why his limb is missing or his head is bald. No apologies are required if a child has to stop for a quick nap. And if it's necessary to swallow six different pills with dinner each day, no big deal. Half the other kids do it too.

INSPIRED VISION

There are many cancer camps for children, but most "borrow" existing facilities for a few weeks during or after the regular camp sessions. Hole in the Wall is the only one built expressly for these kids and their special needs.

Oddly, the saga of the camp began with salad dressing. In 1982, Paul Newman and a friend, author A. E. Hotchner, established Newman's Own Foods to market the actor's personal recipe, the profits to be earmarked for charity. The salad dressing was such a hit that the company branched into spaghetti sauce, popcorn and lemonade. Soon the profits to be given away reached millions.

Newman's Own received scores of letters asking for help from parents of kids with cancer, but tax rules prohibit the firm from making donations to individuals. Newman began pondering other ways to help these children. Then, in 1986, he had an inspiration: why not build a place for kids too sick to go to ordinary camps? He'd name it for the ragtag bandits known as the Hole in the Wall Gang from his film "Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid."

With characteristic verve, Newman kicked the plan into action. Dr. Howard Pearson, professor of pediatrics at Yale University's School of Medicine and an authority on children's cancer and blood diseases, agreed to act as medical adviser. The Newman group purchased a 300-acre farm, complete with 47-acre pond, in the northeastern corner of the state. Thomas Beeby, dean of Yale's School of Architecture, designed the camp.

Paul Newman gave over $8 million of the $17 million the camp cost to build and fund. The balance came from private contributors, large and small. Barbers staged benefit "cut-a-thons." School children held car washes. Developer Simon Konover, donating the construction-management services, put up the buildings. A consortium of swimming-pool contractors installed, for free, a $250,000 heated Olympic-sized pool. Thirty-five volunteer Seabees from the U.S. Naval Submarine Base in Groton built a footbridge, a floating dock and trails.

When the first children arrived in June 1988, they found a camp that looked like a frontier town straight out of the Old West. They hardly noticed that the walkways ended in access ramps, that forest trails were smooth enough for wheelchairs and motorized golf carts, that washrooms contained emergency buttons that could summon instant aid.

Fifteen log cabins, each designed to house eight campers and three counselors, circled a wide field where a helicopter could land in an emergency. The infirmary, in a row of false-front wooden buildings, looked more like a rural post office than a sophisticated medical facility.

THE OTHER SIDE

Some campers were timid when they arrived, more accustomed to doctors' offices than the woods. But they soon got over it.

One young girl, on crutches and wearing a baseball hat, clung to her father as he started to leave on opening day last summer. "You'll make friends here," he assured her. "These kids know what you're going through." Aquatics director Joanne Prague asked if she'd like to swim. The girl looked to her father for approval. He nodded and gave her a farewell kiss. At the pool, the girl took off the cap—to reveal a bald head—and with Prague's help was soon floating in the water. "The good thing about not having any hair," she told another swimmer as they chatted later, "is that your head dries very quickly."

Last summer 456 children, ages seven to 17, came to Hole in the Wall. This summer the hope is to handle almost 600 campers. The camp is free. Parents are only expected to pay for transportation.

Although those with active cancer or blood disease get preference, there are also campers who have been in remission long enough to be considered cured. Explains Pearson, who lives at the camp in the summer: "It's encouraging to the others to be with campers who have been through it and come out on the other side."

Some of the campers have afflictions so unusual that doctors generally encounter them only in medical textbooks—like the nine-year-old girl with a genetic blood disease who will never grow bigger than a three-year-old. Though she had to report to the infirmary for a weekly dose of intravenous gamma globulin, she was very much a part of camp, joining in raucous song in the mess hall, being zipped around in a golf cart or riding happily on a counselor's shoulders.

"These kids never complain," marvels a camp worker. "They're always smiling. They really live when they're here. It's magic and you feel it."

STUDIES IN COURAGE

The 60 staff members at Hole in the Wall are a unique breed too. Many are medical students; some are teachers on summer break. All develop close bonds with these remarkable kids.

In 1988 after Hertz Nazaire, who had sickle-cell anemia, returned home from camp, he lost his mother in an automobile accident. Hospitalized for depression, he did not respond to treatment—until counselor Shellye Jones visited him.

"I sang camp songs," says Jones. "Pretty soon he was smiling. The doctor said it was the first time since he'd been admitted." In 1989 the boy was back at camp, cheerful and full of energy.

Wherever possible, independence is encouraged, and campers often try things at Hole in the Wall that they wouldn't at home. Billy Disney, 13, from Trumbull, Conn., has thalassemia, a severe anemia, and needs medications infused all night through a needle and a battery-driven pump. At camp he learned how to insert the needle himself, an accomplishment that gave him new freedom. "I can stay overnight at friends' houses now," he says.

"They push themselves harder here," explains Pearson. "As a result, they may respond better to treatment. I have a gut feeling that camping does more for these kids than simply let them have a wonderful time."

Eric Druten, from Prairie Village, Kan., had suffered a malignant brain tumor and was not expected to live. Surgery and radiation saved his life but left him depressed and withdrawn. Then the teenager attended Hole in the Wall. "This is a place where you forget to feel sorry for yourself," he says. "You see others in worse condition than you are. I suddenly realized just how lucky I was."

When Eric returned to Kansas City, his parents held a fund-raiser that brought in enough to fly eight kids, including Eric, from the Kansas City area to camp last summer. Eric's father, an executive, was so grateful for his son's turnaround that he spent a week at the camp as a volunteer, mowing lawns and doing odd jobs.

Stephanie Bloom is one of eight counselors who are ex-cancer patients. Now a nursing-school student, Bloom has been in remission for four years and looks the picture of health. Campers are surprised to discover that she once battled the deadly disease. One camper told her, "You don't know how I feel." Bloom shot back, "Oh, yes I do. When I had chemo—" "You had chemo?" Immediately the youngster opened up and began chattering about her experiences.

The children also support each other. One camper with a brain tumor had tremendous difficulty speaking, taking minutes to utter the simplest sentence. At mealtime, when campers stood up to make announcements, a hundred other kids sat absolutely still as they waited for him to have his say. "The special fraternity these kids develop moves me," says Pearson. "These are studies in courage."

Inevitably, there are times when disease is stronger than attitude or technology. Philip Gildersleeve, 14, had neuroblastoma, a cancer

of the adrenal gland. An outgoing boy, he played the piano, was expert at cribbage; he even conned Shellye Jones into teaching him to drive the golf carts. The last night of camp, Philip talked to counselor Beth Ryan about how rare it was to find friends like those he had made at Hole in the Wall. He then drew her a picture of a sailboat setting out to sea.

"It was as if he knew he wasn't going to make it," says Bloom. Three weeks later Philip died.

GREAT HUGS

Newman continues to support Hole in the Wall, but the program depends heavily on contributors and volunteers. Meanwhile, the staff is gearing up to use the facility year-round. More sessions are planned, for children with other severe diseases, and for brothers and sisters of campers.

Yet summer camp will continue to be what Pearson calls "the jewel in the crown." And what a jewel it is, providing memories that will sustain these children for a lifetime, however brief that lifetime.

These memories culminate in the award ceremony on the final night of each camp session. There campers receive prizes for such accomplishments as the most fish caught in a single day, top attendance at the 7 a.m. polar-bear swims, best ghost stories.

Last year ten-year-old Pam Pease, who has leukemia, arrived at camp from Jacksonville, Fla., in a wheelchair after having spent much of the previous winter with her legs and feet in casts. Normally reluctant to walk on her own, on awards night she left her wheelchair outside.

She applauded vigorously when her friends' names were called and they hurried up to the stage. Then the master of ceremonies called out Pam's name. A counselor leaned forward to give her a hand, but Pam waved her aside. With a quick tug to tighten the strap of her leg braces, she pulled herself out of her seat and walked haltingly toward the stage steps. Grabbing onto the railing, she slowly pulled herself up, one step at a time, while the audience held its breath. Then she made her way, unaided, across the stage to receive her prize—a certificate commending her for "great hugs."

The crowd went wild with applause. No one seemed to notice that by the end of the evening every camper had received an award.•

TRIBUTE TO DAVID BEN-RAFAEL

• Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, as the Jewish people begin a new year in the Jewish Calendar, they approach it with a degree of optimism rarely seen in Jewish history. For too many years the Jewish people looked ahead with significant trepidation as the next year or a new decade or a new century approached. They face the questions of simple survival or freedom or when there might be a Jewish homeland so people can pray in Jerusalem or when peace will come.

Many of those questions have been answered but one that still remains is peace. The people of Israel yearn to have the assurance that their children can live their lives to the fullness of their years without fear of violence or assault.

Even though the State of Israel was established as a sovereign nation, the Jewish homeland is still not at peace. Its citizens remain subject to attack by terrorists whether on their own soil or while in other parts of the world. What the Israeli people wish for in this new year is the day when peace will come to the land of Israel and her citizens.

The peace negotiations, though far from conclusive, are supporting that wish. And while the path to peace may be arduous and tortuous, we are constantly reminded of the necessity to pursue peace. The price for instability and hostility is so dear. We need only remember the terrorist attack on the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires a mere 6 months ago when, in a moment of terrorist horror, many innocent lives were lost. On March 17, a car carrying a bomb was driven into the entrance of the Buenos Aires Israel Embassy Building where it exploded. The explosion caused two-thirds of the embassy to collapse. The bombing killed more than 30 people and injured more than 200 individuals who happened to be near the embassy at the time of the explosion.

One of those innocent victims was a member of a family with whom I have had a close and warm relationship with for more than 20 years. Helen and Ralph Goldman's son, David Ben-Rafael was one of those individuals who was tragically killed in the bombing.

David Ben-Rafael was chief deputy and second in command of the Israeli Embassy. Mr. Ben-Rafael was a vibrant, intelligent man. Born David Goldman and raised in New York and graduated with a bachelor's degree in international relations at George Washington University in Washington, DC, his love for Israel led him to emigrate to Israel in 1971 and adopt a Hebrew name. Mr. Ben-Rafael secured a law degree at Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1975.

In 1979, Mr. Ben-Rafael joined the Foreign Ministry and then served as secretary of information at the London Embassy. Later he held the position of Israel's consul in Chicago. In October, he was named to the Buenos Aires Israeli Embassy position.

Mr. President, this shocking incident and others like it must galvanize the United States and the international community to continue our resolve to combat and eradicate terrorism. Much of the world condemned this intolerable terrorist act and all should join in seeking an end to crimes of hate which only leave despair, devastation, and death in their wake.

I extend my heartfelt condolences to Mr. Ben-Rafael's wife Alisa, their children Noa and Jonathan and his father and mother. David Ben-Rafael was a special man who left a lasting mark on the people whom he touched throughout his life.

All of us wish Israel and her people a peaceful new year in which we will all see a resolution of the centuries old disputes that have plagued that region of the world.•

THE JAPAN-AMERICA STUDENT CONFERENCE

• Mr. PELL. Mr. President, this past summer marked the 58th anniversary of an exceptional cross-cultural program, the Japan-America Student Conference. Over the more than half century since its founding, the conference has proved to be an extraordinary instrument for the promotion of cultural understanding, and today I salute its founders, participants and sponsors, who have insured its survival notwithstanding the vicissitudes of history.

The conference was conceived in 1934 by a small group of Japanese students who were distressed at the deteriorating relations between the United States and Japan. An initial mission of four student emissaries visited American college campuses early in the year. They encountered similar interest on the part of American students, 77 of whom returned to Japan to begin the first conference.

Although their first efforts at peacemaking ultimately failed, they had begun a process that was to continue through 1940, and resume on an intermittent basis in 1947 after the hiatus of the Pacific War. Since 1964, the conference has convened annually.

In July of this year, 40 American students were joined by an equal number of Japanese for the 44th conference here in Washington. After 2 weeks of meetings and discussions, some of which took place on Capitol Hill, the group moved to Tennessee for a week and then spent their final week in Colorado Springs.

The participants receive an intensive introduction to the values and cultures of the two countries. Topics cover a broad range of critical and controversial issues, including bilateral trade problems, the challenge of race relations and environmental policies.

Discussions encompass ethical questions, as perceived from contrasting cultural viewpoints, in such areas as the public responsibility of the media and of the medical and legal professions.

The conference is a self-perpetuating institution. The students themselves are responsible for planning and staging the sessions. Each year, 10 American and 10 Japanese students are elected at the end of the session to plan and organize the next year's meeting. Already, the nucleus group elected at Colorado Springs is at work planning for the 45th conference which will be held in Tokyo next year.

The Japan-America Student Conference has proven over its long history to be an effective force for developing tomorrow's leaders. The roster of those who have gone on to make significant

contributions in fields of international relations, academic and business is impressive.

One of the alumni is the current Prime Minister of Japan, Kiichi Kiyazawa, who recently said:

As one whose first involvement in Japan-United States relations was under the auspices of the Japan-America Student Conference in 1939, I can tell you honestly that it was one of the formative events of my lifetime.

The Japan-America Student Conference has indeed achieved venerable standing as an institution committed to molding future generations to a tradition of peace and understanding across the Pacific. I salute the conference and commend those who are responsible for its continuing good work.●

JUSTICE FOR PERMANENTLY DISPLACED STRIKING WORKERS ACT

● Mr. DURENBERGER. Mr. President, on October 8, 1992, I introduced the Justice for Permanently Displaced Striking Workers Act of 1992, S. 3375. This important piece of legislation provides for expedited adjudication of unfair labor practice charges under the National Labor Relations Act when striking workers are permanently replaced.

When I introduced the bill, I neglected to ask that the entire bill be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Accordingly, in order to more provide my colleagues with an opportunity to study this proposal during the adjournment period, I now ask that the entire text of S. 3375 be printed in the RECORD.

The text is as follows:

S. 3375

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Justice for Permanently Displaced Striking Workers Act of 1992".

SEC. 2. FINDING.

Congress finds that the lack of timely adjudication of unfair labor practice charges in connection with labor disputes where permanent replacements have been utilized poses an obstacle to continued stable labor relations in this country.

SEC. 3. FACILITATE ADJUDICATION OF UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICE CHARGES.

(a) PRIORITY OF CASES.—Section 10(m) of the National Labor Relations Act (29 U.S.C. U.S.C. 160(m)) is amended—

(1) by striking out "(a)(3) or (b)(2)" and inserting in lieu thereof "(a)(3), (a)(5), (b)(2), or (b)(3)"; and

(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "In cases where a collective bargaining agreement has expired and a person alleges that a party to a collective bargaining agreement has failed to negotiate in good faith as required by the Act, and where permanent replacements have been hired, an expedited investigation and adjudication procedure shall be available as described in subsection (n).

(b) TIMETABLE FOR ADJUDICATION.—Section 10 of such Act (29 U.S.C. 160) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(n)(1) In cases described in the last sentence of subsection (m), administrative law judges shall have 60 days in which to hold a hearing after a complaint has been filed under this section. After such hearing has occurred and the parties have filed their briefs with respect to such, the administrative law judge involved shall have not more than 60 days to issue a decision with respect to such case.

"(2) A party in a case described in paragraph (1) shall have 30 days in which to file a brief with the Board containing exceptions to the decision of an administrative law judge under such paragraph. Other parties shall have 15 days in which to file their briefs in response to such exceptions.

"(3) The Board shall have 90 days after the date on which a brief has been filed under paragraph (1), to issue a decision in the case. Such period may be extended for an additional 30 days if an oral argument is scheduled.

"(4) By mutual agreement of the parties, the timetables contained in paragraphs (1) through (3) may be extended as agreed upon.

"(5) If the administrative law judge fails to meet any deadline contained in this subsection, the administrative law judge shall notify the parties, the National Labor Relations Board, and the Committee on Labor and Human Resources of the Senate and explain the reasons for the delay. The notification and reasons for the delay shall be submitted by the administrative law judge for publication in the Federal Register.

"(6) If the National Labor Relations Board fails to meet any deadline in this subsection, the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board shall notify the Committee on Labor and Human Resources of the Senate and explain the reasons for the delay. The notification and reasons for the delay shall be submitted by the National Labor Relations Board for publication in the Federal register.".●

A TRIBUTE TO THE SAFE STREETS CAMPAIGN OF TACOMA

● Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize the outstanding efforts of the Tacoma-Pierce County Safe Streets Campaign. I also want to congratulate the program on being named a winner in the 1992 Innovations in State and Local Government Awards Program.

Mr. President, 4 years ago, the streets of Tacoma were overrun by the plague of drugs and gang-related violence. The citizens of Tacoma sat by while drug dealers conducted sales in open-air markets, crack houses invaded their neighborhoods and the general condition and morale of the city began to erode.

During the fall of 1988, leaders of the Tacoma community gathered together and decided that they had had enough, and the safe streets campaign was born. The response from the community to the program was remarkable, as over 2,000 residents of Pierce County packed into Henry Foss High School for the first gathering of the program. What became immediately evident was that the citizens of Tacoma clearly had the willpower and the strength to take back their streets.

Mr. President, the safe streets campaign is not just another bureaucratic response to a pressing problem within our society. This program has been fueled from the start by the energy and initiative of the citizens of Tacoma who are fed up with the violence and drugs that plague the communities of our great Nation. The people of Tacoma have sent the message that they will not tolerate this type of crime and disintegration, but rather will fight it and defeat it through unity and collective action.

The foundation of safe streets is the 75,000 persons who have joined the campaign through block-by-block organizing. The war is waged on a block-by-block basis—through the establishment of phone trees, neighborhood watches, graffiti removal teams, and community development programs. The campaign organizes the people to take a common responsibility for their neighborhoods and encourages individuals to contribute to the fight against the drugs and violence on their blocks.

The program also organizes outreach activities for at-risk youth, affording them better alternatives to the temptations of the street. Midnight basketball leagues, art classes, and outdoor excursions to the Olympic Mountains offer constructive opportunities to which the children can devote their energies. In addition, the substance abuse prevention partnership educates children about the dead end life of gangs and drugs.

The accomplishments of the safe streets campaign are extraordinary. Emergency calls to 911 dropped by over 25,000 in the first year following the creation of the program. The drug house elimination effort has eradicated 250 crack houses in the past 2 years. In addition, the number of drive-by shootings has been nearly halved, wile gang-related graffiti has been virtually eliminated. Most importantly, safe streets has mobilized over 100,000 Pierce County residents to participate in the effort.

One Tacoma resident states:

We are learning to be neighbors again. A lot of people sleep better. We feel free to come and go. We had a "don't get involved, mind your own business" attitude; we thought that that would keep us out of trouble. We were wrong. If people work together, they can do anything.

Mr. President, I hope that cities throughout our Nation can benefit from the successes of the safe streets campaign. Already, communities within Baltimore, Cincinnati, Birmingham, and Oakland have sought out the assistance of the program. The war against crime can succeed only if urban communities like Tacoma stand up for themselves and take their neighbor-

hoods back from the control of drug pushers and gang members.

I extend my congratulations to the safe streets campaign, and my thanks to Lyle Quasim and Mayor Karen Vialle, whose inexhaustible energy and dedication have fueled the program from its beginning. I ask that an article on Safe Streets from Parkland magazine be entered into the RECORD.

The article follows:

STOP! DON'T TURN YOUR BACK ON PARKLAND!

(By Alice Gordon)

Lawlessness prowls the streets, seeking the next victim. Vandalism and robbery is happening in your block. The graffiti down the street is announcing a "gang war" . . . is it a joke? Guns are easy to get at the local high school. A steady stream of "customers" visit a rented home to deal for illegal drugs that were produced there, using costly, sophisticated equipment. Vacant property is cultivated for growing marijuana, and there is more inside the house next door. We're talking about New York or Los Angeles, right? Wrong! It is happening here—today—in Parkland. Sometimes with fatal results.

DRUGS, CRIME, VIOLENCE IN PARKLAND

Can you recall your reaction when you read about such things in the papers a few years ago? You probably threw your hands in the air and said, "I told ya so! The youth of this world have gone to pot. I'm sure glad I'm not a part of it." Then, satisfied you had done everything you should, you turned your back and went about your own business.

That's what we used to say, and do, but we can no longer turn our backs and walk away. Now we must pay attention to the criminal activity and violent behavior which have come into our neighborhoods. If we don't, even those of us who have not yet been affected by it, will someday be directly threatened in a public place, on the street, or even in our own home.

Although crime and other problems tend to grow as population increases, another factor is lack of concern. If a community tolerates lawlessness, it draws in others who thrive in a lawless environment. Compare today's surroundings with those of a few years ago. The people knew one another. They were aware of what was happening, who was away from home, who needed help. The neighbors were much more likely to become aware if there was a problem. Today, with a much more mobile society, there is less opportunity to get to know your neighbors; to develop a caring attitude toward the community as a whole. It is easier to ignore the problem or figure you can, as an individual, do nothing to solve the problems. And, as an individual, you might be right. These are big, difficult problems to solve.

Fortunately, there is a program designed to bring peace and responsibility back to our neighborhoods. It is called Safe Streets.

If you want to be part of the solution to the crime problem, call the Safe Streets office at 272-6824: You will be put in touch with a group of volunteers who are organizing the Safe Streets program for Parkland.

The system works on a block-by-block saturation method. Currently, there are several blocks in the Parkland area which are in the Safe Streets program. Ideally, the blocks are adjoining so each block can support the other in driving criminal activity out. As more and more blocks are added, this interaction builds a spirit of community—the strongest force in keeping crime out of the neighborhood.

Too often we think the law enforcement agencies should take care of crime prevention. However, they cannot prevent crime. And, they do not have enough staff or resources to deal quickly with every problem. They need our help.

Some problems are actually found more often in semi-rural areas, such as ours, than in the cities. Parkland has a large number of low-rent properties, some in secluded locations. These make ideal "crack houses" where drug sales can be made with less fear of observation. These locations may also be used for the manufacture of illegal drugs, since the renter can use the location for a short time and then move on. Rental properties also make good locations for both indoor and outdoor growing of marijuana. Vacant lots can be inconspicuously cultivated.

It is only when neighbors and landlords are concerned enough to observe and report suspicious activity that the police can go into action. The people in a neighborhood are the only ones familiar enough with the routine to quickly pick up on changes like increased traffic to a particular location, newly planted areas and greatly increased electrical utilization (a sign indoor growing equipment may be in use).

How do you know what to look for? Who do you talk to about suspicious activities in your area? That's where the Safe Streets program can help, but you have to be willing to get involved.

New members come to Safe Streets with a variety of problems. Some have a crack house next door. For others, someone has persuaded their child to become a grade-school pusher, a seven-year-old selling drugs to his school chums. Some are residents whose homes have been robbed.

"Unfortunately," says Cheryl Byers, Safe Streets coordinator for Parkland/Spanaway, "if you go out and invite residents to an organizational meeting, the people just won't come out. It seems it must come down to not only a tragedy, but a personal tragedy, before people decide they had better do something. The victim of crime is usually ready to join up."

At their first meeting, interested residents are shown a video tape that explains the program and gives several ideas on how they can make their own neighborhood streets safer. Safe Streets has several systems of operation, depending on the neighborhood and insight from the Pierce County Sheriffs' Department. The sheriff and police work together with Safe Streets to get the neighborhood "cleaned up."

Generally, the first step is to observe activities that take place in the neighborhood. Members of Safe Streets keep a record of suspicious events. This standard form will be helpful should police be called to enter in on a situation. The form calls for information like date and time of the observation; style, make, color, year and license number of any car involved; whether or not the suspicious-looking person is a repeat visitor; a description of the person observed; if any weapons are observed; and a description and pattern of the activity of the suspicious-looking person.

The plan is to observe and record events, especially those that are repeated and suspicious. Since the program is developed on a block-by-block basis, most of the time more than one neighbor can observe what is taking place. Just to be sure, the first observer may call others living nearby to also record what is happening. This is important, as multiple observation of the same behavior builds a much stronger case for deputies who are investigating the problem. The forms will be used to present a written record of events. As you can see, there would be several observers turning in reports, and as much as you may think "one person doesn't count," this is the time where individuals, acting together, make the system work!

After several such observations, the sheriff can seek a search warrant and advance an investigation toward closing down a crack house and eliminating other unlawful activities. "The people of Parkland can become an extension of the Pierce County Sheriffs' Department," says an officer on the video tape that introduces Safe Streets. "The best protection against crime is a good neighbor. Law enforcement officers cannot prevent crime. They can only act after crime has been committed." That is where the average citizen comes in. He or she witnesses the crime.

What else does the Safe Streets organization do? For one thing, their members assist one another, and the community as a whole, by cleaning up vacant lots and run-down buildings. This not only gives the area a better look, but also eliminates structures which would be attractive for criminal use. They paint over graffiti that gang members use to deface buildings and bridges, and that serve as the gang's "bulletin board" to make announcements of upcoming fights and threats.

Another part of the Safe Streets program is to present Rental Industry Seminars. These presentations cover such subjects as tenant screening, techniques, landlord/tenants rights and responsibilities, and proper evictions. Many people in our area rent their homes out without any training on how to be a good landlord, and learn the hard way about problems which can develop. PL&W Co. urges landlords to attend one of these seminars. Call 272-6824 for information on future Rental Industry Seminars.

Some people here in Parkland have basically become prisoners in their own homes. They are surrounded by criminal activities and fear for their lives with every move they make. Their block, as a whole, did not suddenly go "sour." It probably started with one home, an outbuilding, perhaps a vacant lot, where drug users and gangs could somehow proceed with their activities in relative comfort. Once the comfort is destroyed—police cruising the area after neighbors have reported suspicious activities—the gang will seek another place for their activities. As one drug dealer put it, "When it gets too hot, we're out of there!"

The job of Safe Streets members is to make it Hot!!!

Don't turn you back on Parkland.

PRECONTRIBUTION GAIN ON PARTNERSHIP DISTRIBUTIONS

• Mr. REID. Mr. President, it has been brought to my attention that the conference agreement on H.R. 776, the Energy Policy Act of 1992, includes a revenue-raising provision on the taxation of partnership distributions that was included at the last minute without due consideration of the retroactive impact on the current law rules.

The claim was made by some that this provision was necessary to close a so-called loophole, but the committee reports on this provision are devoid of any indication that this is anything other than a plain revenue raiser. In

fact, the provision simply substitutes a per se rule for a more than adequate regulatory rule that was confirmed under final Treasury regulations just last week—preliminary regulations having been issued nearly a year and half ago. Taxpayers would normally be entitled to transition relief where they have acted in reliance on existing tax rules, and this oversight should be corrected at the earliest opportunity next year.•

PAUL TULLY—AMERICAN POLITICS AT ITS BEST

• Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, with the untimely death of Paul Tully at 48 last month, American politics lost one of its greatest practitioners and American democracy lost one of its most tireless and committed advocates.

Paul Tully believed deeply in this country, and he dedicated his life to progress toward the great ideals that make America America. All of us who admired him and worked with him will miss him in the years ahead and the battles still to come.

His life is an inspiration to all who knew him, and America is a better land for millions of our fellow citizens because of all that Paul Tully was able to accomplish in the brief time he had on Earth.

A memorial service was held for Paul at Washington National Cathedral on September 30. I ask that the texts of the tributes at the service and other articles about his life and career may be printed in the RECORD.

The material follows:

[Memorial Service for Paul R. Tully, Washington National Cathedral, Sept. 30, 1992]

FROM "THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON," CHAPTER 3 (1-3); CHAPTER 4 (7-8; 13-15)

(Read by Carl Wagner)

But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them.
In the eyes of the foolish they seem to have died, and their departure was thought to be a disaster;
And their going from us to be their destruction; but they are at peace.

* * * * *

The righteous though they have died early, will be at rest.
For old age is not honored for length of time or measured by number of years, but understanding is gray hair for anyone.

* * * * *

Being perfected in a short time, they fulfilled long years,
For their souls were pleasing to the Lord. Therefore He took them quickly from the midst of wickedness. Yet the people saw and did not understand or take such a thing to heart,
That God's Grace and Mercy are with His elect, and He watches over His Holy Ones.

PSALM 46—RESPONSIVE READING LED BY JIMMY TULLY

God is our refuge and our strength, a very present help in trouble.
Therefore we will not fear though the earth be moved, and though the mountains be toppled into the depths of the sea.
Though its waters rage and foam, and though the mountains tremble at its tumult.
The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our stronghold.
There is a river whose streams make glad the City of God, the holy habitation of the Most High.
God is in the midst of her; she shall not be overthrown; God shall help her at the break of day.
The nations make much ado, and the kingdoms are shaken; God has spoken, and the earth shall melt away.
The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our stronghold.
Come now and look upon the words of the Lord, what awesome things he has done on earth.
It is He who makes war to cease in all the world; He breaks the bow, and shatters the spear, and burns the shields with fire.

* * * * *

I'd just like to take a moment to say goodbye to Paul. I spent forty-five years with him, and his whole family is here. Not his political family—his family. He protected me my entire life and I will miss him. But I think the right way to hold a memorial to this guy is, come November, to win this thing.

REMARKS OF GINA GLANZ

Each of us, in our own way, will mourn the death of Paul and celebrate the life of Paul. For me, I will always remember that Paul was buried on Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year. Reflections of the past year will be filled with him and of the year to come will have a certain emptiness.

I have always believed that part of Paul's large Irish heart was Jewish. In the Jewish faith, the most important person in the community is the teacher. In fact, rabbi means "my teacher." To thousands and thousands of organizers, and to all those organizers who are here today, he indeed was their rabbi.

He would go anywhere, any time, for any number of people, to share his wisdom. He would excite them; he would educate them; he would entertain them. He unselfishly shared his enormous talent with others, because he had an abiding faith that every new generation of organizers created new opportunities for progressive politics and policies.

I will read a Meditation which is part of the Rosh Hashanah Service, and I will always remember him by it.

We pause in reverence before the gift of self:
The vessel shatters, the divine spark shines through,
And our solitary self becomes a link in Israel's golden chain.
For what we are, we are by sharing. And as we share
We move toward the light.
We pause in reverence before the mystery of presence:
The near and far reality of God.
Not union, but communion is our aim.
And we approach the mystery
With Deeds. Words lead us to the edge of action.
But it is deeds that bring us closer to the God of light.
May we find our life so precious
That we cannot but share it with the other,
That light may shine brighter than a thousand suns,
With the presence among us of the God of light.

As we enter the Jewish New Year, if each of us will find time to share our knowledge of politics, of organizing, of message with others—we can carry Paul's legacy on. We can help ensure that future generations of dedicated organizers will make the world the better place Paul so wanted it to be.

REMARKS OF SENATOR EDWARD M. KENNEDY

Jessica and Miranda, members of the Tully family, friends of Paul Tully—and Fellow Lettuce-Boycotters:

Who can ever forget that night—3 a.m., Convention Hall, Miami Beach, 1972—Paul was there for George McGovern. I had met Paul briefly in 1968, but I first got to know him then.

We had a lot of 3 a.m.s in 1980 as well. Paul always had one more telephone call for me to make, to one more prospective delegate, in one more time zone.

As Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes once said of his generation's experience in the Civil War, "Through our great good fortune in our youth, our hearts were touched with fire."

So it was with Paul Tully. From the time he was touched with fire by Robert Kennedy until that sad night last week in Little Rock, Paul Tully lit up this world with an intensity and purpose that few have ever matched or exceeded.

It seems so unjust that once again, someone so full of talent and commitment should be taken so suddenly, so young, so in the prime of life. Perhaps a furious primary election campaign is taking place in heaven at this very moment, and Robert Kennedy sent out an urgent call last week: "I need Paul Tully."

I also know that up there, Paul Tully's Steamfitter grandfather and his Plumber father and George Meany are glad to see him too, for now they can organize all the celestial workers.

Those of us who are left to do Paul's work here on earth carry many warm and loving memories with us.

When I first began to plan for 1980, Steve Smith told me that he had checked around, and that Paul was everybody's choice to be part of my Presidential campaign.

After the first meeting, some said they had listened hard, but wondered if Paul was speaking a foreign language. Actually, as his friends knew, it was just Tully-talk. You had to watch him and listen to him at the same time to comprehend his full meaning.

The truth is—I always understood him. But then again—people say I speak that way too.

Paul had a unique personality that all of us came to love. My Senate colleagues thought Damon Runyon was organizing my campaign.

And what a job he did. He had played tackle at Yale, and he kept on playing tackle all his life.

He said that he always worked for the most progressive candidate in a race, and that he always started looking around for a Presidential candidate about the time of the midterm convention. I'm just glad he came to Memphis in 1978.

I was ready to sail against the wind—and so was Paul.

He did outstanding work in that campaign. No one ever did it better—or against greater odds—from Iowa to Pennsylvania, to Ohio and on to the Convention.

My father always taught us, "When the going gets tough, the tough get going." I must say, in 1980, I made the going plenty tough for Paul. And it was Paul who kept us going.

If the rest of my campaign had been as good as Paul, we would have had eight years in the White House. I wish I could have seen it—Paul Tully meets Rose Garden.

But, of course, it never would have happened. As Paul liked to say, "I work for change. That's my life. I organize. I don't do governments."

But in a very special sense, he did do America—because his fight was not just for a victory of party, but for ideals of compassion and decency that he held fiercely, despite the tides and fashions of the moment.

He did far more for great endeavors ranging from economic justice to civil rights than most Senators ever do. He kept the Democratic faith, when so many around him were doubting it.

And in his politics, he always practiced what he sought for his country.

He was years ahead of others on the role of women in campaigns and public life. If 1992 is the Year of the Woman because of Anita Hill, it is also because of Paul Tully.

Everything he touched he left better than he found it. Fritz Mondale treasured him too, the way all of us did. Paul had a reservoir of enthusiasm that overflowed any project, and brought everyone else along.

He called countless younger people to his side and to his cause. So many of you are here today—a last assembly of Tully's Legion—ready to go forth again and do the work he loved. You are his legacy, his gift to the future. Because of you, his influence will be felt across years and decades of this nation's public life—this nation, which is a very real sense, was brilliantly mapped in Paul Tully's very singular mind.

He knew America in detail and in breath—almost precinct by precinct. And yet he also had the view from the mountaintop. He knew America the way Einstein knew the cosmos.

He had an encyclopedic understanding, wise counsel, unique insight, and a rare genius.

If they gave out a Most Valuable Player Award in the Democratic Party, he would win it every four years.

Most of all, we remember the utter unselfishness of the man. He was never in anything for himself, but always for the good of others—his family, his friends, his party, his country, his planet.

As I said in the most difficult days of 1980, our work together had become a campaign of the heart. Paul Tully had a heart as big as all of politics, and now his loss has broken our hearts as well.

What grace there was in this rumpled man, what gentleness there was just beneath the toughness.

He was the loyalest of individuals—to the truth and to his friends.

Before he left us, he knew that at long last, 1992 was the year when we were going to do it right. And we are. We are going to win this battle, and now we have a new reason—we are going to win this one for Paul Tully and the newer world he sought.

And next January, when President Bill Clinton takes the oath of office, the spirit of Paul Tully will be at his side, applauding but restless, and already beginning to plan the re-election campaign.

So let me recall some words that my brothers loved, that I quoted in 1980, and that inspired Paul Tully all his life:

"I am a part of all that I have met . . .

"Though much is taken, much abides;

"That which we are, we are;

"One equal temper of heroic hearts,

"Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will

"To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield."

Perhaps Paul Tully lived with such depth of feeling that he could not also have length of years.

"Some men see things as they are and say why. I dream things that never were and say why not."

That was Robert Kennedy, but it was Paul Tully too. And we miss them both all the more.

REMARKS OF TERESA VILMAIN

When Jessica and Miranda asked me to say a few words today I found it a rather difficult task. For me to say just a few words, Paul would have been shocked.

I worked with Paul in the 1980 presidential campaign when he took one of his many trips down Grand Avenue. And we made him an honorary Iowan.

He was a complicated man. I had the unique opportunity to witness, not just his product, as he called it, but when he allowed himself that one hour of down time each week. It was remarkable.

I would like to share a conversation I had with Paul a couple of years ago. And wherever he is I think he'd approve. Most of us thought that his true passions in life were politics, general elections and the Democratic Party. Let me let you in on a little secret. It was really watching China Beach with Dana Delaney.

I asked him one week at the beginning of the show, when you leave this earth how would you like to be remembered? In typical Paul fashion it took him at least two and a half hours to answer the question. I forgot I even asked it. "How would I like to be remembered?" he said. "Two simple ways. That I did moral work and that I was loved." Jessica and Miranda, your father's two hopes have certainly been fulfilled. You were always his two favorite pizza pies. I miss you Paul.

REMARKS OF RONALD H. BROWN

This is the first time in almost four years when I have had something important to do, that I haven't been able to call Paul Tully ahead of time and ask him what he thought I should say. So I sat yesterday and wondered, what would he have suggested for today? And then it came to me, I almost heard his voice, imagined him waving his hand and turning back to his work, muttering "Say whatever you want, they're all Democrats; there aren't any persuadables in that crowd. Make sure they all vote—and tell them to get back to work, it is day 35."

Now mourning always involves telling stories and reminiscing. And with Paul there is no shortage of material. I've known Paul Tully for more than a decade, and worked very closely with him for the past four years. The decision to hire him as Political Director was probably the most important, and surely the best, that I made. Much of what we are now doing is straight out of the Tully playbook; and this election is unfolding much the way Mr. Tully said it would.

Like most of you I have been collecting and exchanging Tully stories since the day I met him. We all have our favorites.

Once, I was headed late for a formal dinner and found I had left the studs for my shirt at home. I asked Patty McHugh to go down to the political division to see if someone might have an extra set. When Paul stopped laughing at the request, he responded by rummaging through his desk until he found what he was looking for. He thrust a handful of paper clips at Patty, saying: "tell him to use those—they work for me."

I read about how the RNC had these 7:30 a.m. meetings—that idea didn't last long at the DNC. The first day was easy—Paul was still up from the night before. The next day he arrived right on schedule for his idea of an early morning meeting—1 p.m.

A great game was to watch when Paul juggled two passions. During a dinner when he was arguing politics and eating Chinese food, a well-intentioned waiter came by and started to clear away the unfinished dishes. Paul stopped his monologue just long enough to say this to the waiter: "Touch the plate, lose the arm."

Now Paul Tully was not the easiest person to get along with. Some things mattered hugely to him; other things didn't—like what he called "glue politics." And when something didn't matter to Paul, it was not easy to get his attention on it. It was as if he thought what we called stubbornness was a virtue—he called it focus.

And Paul was not always the easiest person to understand. As Carl Wagner said the other day, it was as if Paul had written a great book, but hadn't gotten around to numbering the pages yet—the ideas were all there, but sometimes it took a little reordering.

And yet, we gather today shaken to our cores by the loss of this man. What are we feeling? What is it?

First, Paul was life—he breathed, saw, laughed, growled, paced, waved, drove every moment home. Watching Paul enter an office was like watching a thunderstorm arrive. I once sat in a meeting with Pamela Harriman where, while other people were pulling up extra chairs, Paul pulled up an extra table.

It is almost impossible to think of Paul without seeing him—it was certainly impossible to talk to him on the phone without having a clear vision of what he was doing—you'd hear him waving, using his own sign language . . . always in motion.

Indeed, the word animated could have been invented for Paul Tully.

Paul understood, appreciated and loved to experience many things the way most of us learn to relish one thing. He loved movies, art, flowers, architecture, football, music, cooking, cities, civil war histories, spreadsheets, memories of Jones Beach days as a child—a public beach he liked to point out—and his daughters, his daughters.

And he loved politics. More interesting to him than fiction, more important to him than science, more beautiful to him than nature—he strove to make America live up to its promise by making democracy work better. That meant listening to the gentle conversation of voters' aspirations, mastering the technology of contemporary politics, building coalitions. That meant patiently organizing people and ideas. That meant reminding this Party that our roots are grounded in the struggles of working families, the principles of equality and justice, and the possibilities of progress for all of our people.

These past few days, so remarkable in their sadness, as we have gathered our strength and ordered our emotions and feelings, we have stood together as a family in a broken circle. What we have shared, and what has passed between us, contains enormous inspiration, reassurance and strength. But let us also be wiser as well as stronger. Let us remember that as important as elections are, we must all learn to take better care of ourselves—especially those among us who spend so much time, and so many nights, away from home. Your contributions

are precious to our country; your lives are precious to us. Take care of them. Please.

Paul Tully is gone. But, look in a hundred campaigns today, look in a thousand faces around this country—look at each other—and you will see the men and women Paul Tully trained and Paul Tully inspired. Paul often described himself as an organizer. The definition of a good organizer is someone who can leave a place and have left others to carry on the work. Paul Tully was just such an organizer, and we are the people to carry on his work. That's why, heartbroken though we are, we must go back to work. After all, it's day 35, there's message to make and a base to turn out. And we must march on.

REMARKS OF JESSICA AND MIRANDA TULLY

Friends. Our father approached parenthood like he approached a lot of things. Uniquely. We all know he was wholly and passionately dedicated to making the country a little more tolerable for the working class men and women of this country. Miranda and I cut our teeth on the journey for social justice. And I know that is the connection that binds all of us here today.

However, this has meant that we have waited, Miranda and I, have waited endlessly for him in offices, on birthdays, after school, on Father's Day, on Christmas, on New Year's, and until 2 in the morning sometimes. But we are different and stronger people because of this. He loved us as he came home from the DNC and after that, from NCEC, and cooked dinner for us, at 11:30 at night sometimes.

He loved us as he pointed out the historical significance of this building and the beauty of those flowers and that music. He loved us as he proclaimed himself Mister Wonderful. And made that fish kiss. And now he leaves us. Waiting. The order has been erupted.

Indeed, a portion of his life's work will be realized in November. But it is up to us to decide what to do with it afterwards. Or, will we know what to do with it? Our family buried our dad, a New Yorker, here in the nation's capital for a reason. Let his memory guide us toward making this country work again. And toward all of us laying down our political swords once in a while to venture out into the sunshine or the starry sky and to fully enjoy each moment we have on this great mother earth.

We love you Dad.

STATEMENT OF GOVERNOR BILL CLINTON, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

Hillary and I are deeply saddened by the loss of Paul Tully. He was a dear friend and trusted advisor.

Paul had one of the nation's greatest political minds—and one of its biggest hearts. He dedicated his life to improving the lives of others.

Our prayers are with him, his family and all of those who loved him. We're really going to miss him.

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN RICHARD A. GEPHARDT, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SEPTEMBER 25, 1992

FOR TULLY

Mr. Speaker, I rise with great sadness to inform my colleagues that a good friend of mine, and a good friend of the Democratic Party, Paul Tully, passed away yesterday.

Paul Tully was in politics for all the right reasons. Not for money, and not for power, but because he believed that politics was the vehicle for changing and lifting the lives of every American.

Nobody worked harder in the last four years to elect a Democratic President than Paul Tully. And I think this year, his work was about to pay off.

But even if it doesn't, it's hard to accept the fact that Paul won't be staying up all night on November Third, following the computers, listening for targeted precincts, shouting at the television, and waiting to see whether the voters—people Paul Tully admired and studied so well—did what he expected them to do behind the drawn curtain of democracy.

Paul leaves behind two daughters. He leaves behind a generation of Democratic activists, friends and colleagues at the Democratic National Committee, allies in Governor Clinton's campaign, partners from the civil rights and women's movements, respectful adversaries, and countless people who just enjoyed being around him.

There are a lot of people who say today, "I do politics because of Paul Tully." And now, for them—for all of us—there is a hole in our hearts. And as sorry we are to know Paul is gone, we are grateful that he passed our way.

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BILL RICHARDSON, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SEPTEMBER 28, 1992

TRIBUTE TO A MAN OF POLITICS

Mr. Speaker, at this very moment in Little Rock, Arkansas, and in Washington, DC, practitioners of politics toil away on behalf of their Presidential candidates, Bill Clinton and George Bush. The giant on the Republican side was Lee Atwater. The giant on the Democratic side was Paul Tully. Both have passed away.

Although their tactics were different, both men were campaign strategists of the utmost degree. Paul Tully cared deeply about government. He cared about people. He worked in every President campaign since 1968.

Charts, maps, demographics, polling, statistics, fundraising—every day these words emanated from Paul's lips. He was a good, decent man that cared about people, about education, about health care.

It is ironic, Mr. Speaker, that Paul Tully toiled in four losing Presidential campaigns, but regrettably, one of the greatest tragedies of his death will be that Paul Tully needed 40 more days to see his candidate, Governor Bill Clinton, win in November.

Sometimes many downgrade the practitioners of politics, those young men and women toiling away in President Bush's headquarters and in Governor Clinton's headquarters, as unimportant, but they are not. Politics is a noble art, and one of the most noble practitioners, Paul Tully, left us most regrettably last week.

STATEMENT BY DEMOCRATIC PARTY CHAIRMAN RONALD H. BROWN, SEPTEMBER 24, 1992

It is with the deepest sadness that we announce the passing of Democratic National Committee (DNC) Political Director Paul Tully last night in Little Rock, Arkansas.

It is difficult for me to express my personal loss of a dear friend and colleague of over twelve years. My first act as Party Chairman was to recruit Paul whom I consider a political genius. His work over the last four years has only reinforced that assessment.

Those of us who have had the honor, privilege and unique joy of working with Paul mourn the passing of a man whose heart and soul reflected the ideals, values and aspirations of this great country and the Democratic party.

There will only be one Paul Tully. Pacing, driven, and full of joy, Paul's commitment to our Party and more importantly, to making this great nation even greater was a fire that burned bright and long. Amidst all of our sadness, we can take some solace in knowing that Tully's fire—the Tully spirit—will live on in the hundreds upon thousands of people whom he has touched.

The bitter irony of his passing—so close to the realization of his life's work—is perhaps the hardest thing to swallow. Each day, we renew our commitment to his mission.

Our thoughts and prayers go out to his family. Paul, we know you will be watching and cheering with us come November. Thank you and God bless you.

BIOGRAPHY OF PAUL TULLY

Paul Tully was the Director of Political Operations for the Democratic National Committee (DNC) since the beginning of Chairman Brown's term in 1989. He coordinated Democratic general election strategy at the local, state and national levels, and supervised DNC political programs. In 1988, Mr. Tully served as Political Director in Senator Gary Hart's and Governor Michael Dukakis' primary campaigns.

In addition to the numerous senate and gubernatorial campaigns he managed, Mr. Tully worked on every Presidential election since 1968 as political director or part of the political staff. He was the Executive Director of Senator Kennedy's PAC, the Fund for the Democratic Majority. Mr. Tully also had served as a creative consultant with MTM television productions in Hollywood.

He was a graduate of Yale College and the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

While at the DNC, Mr. Tully led the party's presidential campaign preparation effort, and oversaw the integration of the DNC's political program with the Clinton campaign.

He was born in New York City in 1944 and grew up in Long Island. He is survived by two daughters Jessica, and Miranda Tully, one brother Jim Tully and one sister Patricia McDermott.

STATEMENT BY DEMOCRATIC PARTY VICE CHAIR CARMEN O. PEREZ

I cannot express what a grave loss this has been for the Democratic Party and the national political community. Paul Tully's political savvy and his commitment to Democratic Party politics was unmatched. His leadership was instrumental in revitalizing the Party, and in focusing our strategy back to the grass roots level.

Paul Tully practiced the politics of inclusion and empowerment. He sincerely believed in the diversity of the Democratic Party and in bringing people into the political process. His commitment and outreach to the Hispanic community has helped Latinos become politically involved at all levels, and has brought the issue of Hispanic political participation to the forefront of the national political debate.

I sincerely extend my deepest condolences to his family.

[From Hotline, Sept. 25, 1992]

PAUL TULLY: VETERAN DEM STRATEGIST DIES IN LITTLE ROCK

DNC political dir. Paul Tully, who worked in every pres. election since 1968, died in his hotel room in Little Rock yesterday. He was 48 years old. Boston Globe's Chris Black: "The unexpected death of the heavyset chain smoking strategist, who brought passionate commitment and depth of knowledge to national politics, shocked and saddened the po-

litical community. . . . Politics was his love, and he devoted his life to the cause of electing liberal Democrats to public office . . . with an unparalleled Rolodex of contacts throughout the nation and encyclopedic knowledge of Democratic constituencies" (9/25).

N.Y. Times' Robin Toner: "One of his party's pre-eminent strategists . . . among the most impassioned and intense of a generation of Democratic political professionals who devoted much of their lives to regaining the White House. . . . He was known in political circles for his blunt assessments, his fierce partisanship and his love of the game" (9/25).

W. Post's J.Y. Smith: "A rotund, curly-haired, coffee-drinking chain-smoker who could be brilliant and inarticulate at the same time. . . . One of Washington's most respected political operatives . . . He cut his teeth on the old politics of coalition. But colleagues credited him with an equal mastery of the new politics of communication: polls, issues, focus groups, regional differences in the electorate, what it takes to get people interested, how to engage them in the process" (9/25).

W. Times' Moss: "a chain-smoking former collegiate defensive tackle with a disheveled appearance who had an intense approach to modern politics" (9/25).

ABC's Schneider: "A key aide to Bill Clinton and the whole Democratic party has died—Paul Tully. He was the political director of the Democratic National Party. He was just 48 years old" ("GMA," ABC, 9/25).

DNC Chair Ron Brown: "My first act as Party Chairman was to recruit Paul whom I considered a political genius. His work over the last four years has only reinforced that assessment. . . . There will only be one Paul Tully. Pacing, driven, and full of joy . . . The bitter irony of his passing—so close to the realization of his life's work—is perhaps the hardest thing to swallow" (DNC release, 9/24).

Bill Clinton: "Paul had one of the nation's greatest political minds, and one of its biggest hearts."

Clinton Strategist James Carville: "This guy's whole life was Democratic presidential politics. He had worked for four years on this—he had every map, every target, he probably knew the name of every swing voter in the country" (N.Y. Times, 9/25).

Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-MA): "Paul Tully was a great friend of the Kennedy family and one of the Democratic Party's most valuable resources. He had an encyclopedic understanding of American politics and his wise counsel, unique insights and remarkable personality will be deeply missed."

Dem Strategist John Sasso: "All he wanted was to elect a Democratic president. He gave up everything in his life to help the Democratic Party" (Boston Globe, 9/25).

Bush-Quayle Political Dir. Mary Matalin: "Paul Tully was an outstanding professional who cared passionately about his party. He was in this business for all the right reasons. He had a soul" (W. Post, 9/25).

[From "Hotline," Sept. 29, 1992]

PAUL TULLY: MORE REMEMBRANCES

Boston Globe's Tom Oliphant writes of Tully's first presidential campaign, working as a "grunt" for RFK. After '68, "While his party appeared to go astray, Tully never did as he matured from a world-class tactician and organizer into one of political liberalism's most creative thinkers. . . . When Tully died, people wept in board rooms, newsrooms, on Capitol Hill, at a candlelight vigil on the banks of the Arkansas River and on the meaner streets of politics" (9/27).

W. Post's Dan Balz recounts his dinner with Tully the night before he died: "As always, he was provocative, enlightening—and exhausting." Tully once told Balz, "'I don't do government, I do politics.' It wasn't meant to denigrate the business of governing, but only to suggest that to him there was something equally ennobling about the art of fighting and winning elections. . . . Gruff, ebullient, bearish, upbeat, insightful, partisan" (9/26).

Mark Shields: "Since 1968, Paul Tully had practiced politics working almost non-stop to put a Democrat in the White House. But he was not really a political pro. Paul Tully was a committed, smart, tough, insightful, and passionate amateur. . . . As Peter Hart put it so well, 'In a world full of mercenaries, Paul Tully was a missionary.' In the words of his friend Mike Ford, 'Paul Tully truly did a noble politics'" ("Capital Gang," CNN, 9/26).

Newsweek's Joe Klein: "He left the way his peers fear most—alone, in a hotel room, too young. . . . He loved the game so he sometimes couldn't find words fast enough, antic scenarios dissolved into unintelligence gasps—but his friends understood, and will miss him fiercely" (10/5 issue).

L.A. Times: "In his more than 20 years as a political strategist, Paul Tully . . . repeatedly saw Democratic presidential candidates go down to defeat. The experience did not dishearten him; rather it fostered an understanding of political realities that he sought to impart to the Clinton campaign" (9/29).

Boston Herald's Helen Kennedy: "Tully once explained that his strategy was to work for the most progressive candidate who had a chance of winning. He had little choice: liberal politics ran in his blood" (9/25).

N.Y. Newsday's Myron Waldman: "One of the brightest and most popular political operatives in the business" (9/25).

House Maj. Leader Richard Gephardt: "It's hard to accept the fact that Paul won't be staying up all night on November 3rd, following the computers, listening for targeted precincts, shouting at the television . . . There are a lot of people who say today, 'I do politics because of Paul Tully.' And now, for them—for all of us—there is a hole in our hearts. And as sorry as we are to know Paul is gone, we are grateful that he passed our way" (Spoken on House floor, 9/25).

The memorial service will be held tomorrow, 9/30, at 1:00pm at the National Cathedral in DC.

[From the Associated Press, Sept. 25, 1992]

DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL OPERATIVE DIES

LITTLE ROCK, AR.—Paul Tully, political director of the Democratic National Committee, was found dead Thursday in his hotel room, authorities said. He was 48.

Pulaski County Coroner Steve Nawojczyk said Tully appeared to have died of natural causes, probably a heart attack or stroke.

Tully, who had been directing state-by-state targeting for the Clinton campaign, was a beefy, intense, chain-smoking political operative who had moved in and out of top Democratic campaigns for more than a decade.

Bill Clinton called Tully "a dear friend and trusted adviser."

In 1980, Tully was a key aide for the presidential bid of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., and was political director for Walter F. Mondale's 1984 presidential campaign.

In 1988, Tully was political director for Gary Hart's presidential bid and assumed the same post in the Dukakis campaign after Hart's effort collapsed.

Tully was one of two aides who resigned from the Dukakis campaign in the controversy over the disclosure of a videotape that showed Delaware Sen. Joseph Biden and British politician Neil Kinnock making the same speech.

Biden, who drew heavily from Kinnock's text without attribution, ultimately withdrew from the presidential race.

John Sasso, Dukakis' campaign manager, admitted passing the tape to a New York Times reporter. Tully admitted falsely telling Time magazine that the Dukakis campaign had not helped spread information about Biden's use of Kinnock's speech.

Tully moved to the Democratic National Committee after Ron Brown became chairman in 1989.

Tully was apparently stricken while getting ready for bed Wednesday night, Nawojczyk said. His body was found by a maid in his hotel room late Thursday afternoon, the coroner said.

[From the Boston Globe, Sept. 25, 1992]

PAUL TULLY, AT 48; KEY STRATEGIST FOR CLINTON, THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

(By Chris Black)

LITTLE ROCK, AR.—Paul Tully, one of the nation's top Democratic political operatives and a major figure in the Clinton-Gore presidential campaign, died yesterday of natural causes, officials said, possibly a heart attack. He was 48.

Mr. Tully was found in his hotel room in downtown Little Rock, two blocks from the Clinton-Gore national campaign headquarters, late yesterday afternoon. The unexpected death of the heavyset, chain smoking strategist, who brought passionate commitment and depth of knowledge of national politics, shocked and saddened the political community.

He was a lawyer who displayed little interest in practicing law. Politics was his love, and he devoted his life to the cause of electing liberal Democrats to public office.

"Our ideals would make us social workers except we like to score," he once said of his predilection for electoral politics.

In a statement, Sen Edward M. Kennedy said, "Paul Tully was a great friend of the Kennedy family and one of the Democratic Party's most valuable resources. He had an encyclopedic understanding of American politics and his wise counsel, unique insights and remarkable personality will be deeply missed." Mr. Tully was a highly regarded operative in national campaigns with an unparalleled Rolodex of contacts throughout the nation and encyclopedic knowledge of Democratic constituencies.

He most recently worked as the political director of the Democratic National Committee. He moved to Little Rock after the party's national convention to work full time on the Clinton campaign. He insisted that he be given no title but was a powerful presence as a kind of political guru with a depth of knowledge of politics that few could approach.

He spent the last four years piecing together the organizational structure that would enable the 1992 Democratic presidential nominee to reap the benefits of a coordinated Democratic campaign in each state.

He operated from what had been the editor-in-chief's plush office at the Clinton-Gore national campaign headquarters in the former Arkansas Gazette building, supervising the Democratic campaign effort and drawing on decades of experiences to help make decisions on targeting resources.

Mr. Tully was born in the Bronx, the grandson of a Russian immigrant. His family was among the first to move from the city to Levittown, N.Y., the massive postwar suburban community on Long Island, in 1948.

His father was a union plumber and his mother was active in school district politics on Long Island. He went to Yale University and the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

Like many in his generation, he became active in politics during the civil rights movement. During the summer of 1964, he went to Mississippi with other college volunteers to help blacks register to vote. He soon turned to electoral politics for his life's work.

In 1968, he went to work on the presidential campaign of Robert F. Kennedy. Four years later, he worked for George McGovern, in 1976 for Morris Udall, in 1980 for Edward M. Kennedy and in 1984 for Walter F. Mondale.

He began the 1988 campaign season as a top operative for Gary Hart, but when Hart withdrew from the race, longtime friend John Sasso recruited him to be the political director of the Dukakis campaign. Mr. Tully resigned from the campaign in the fall of 1987, the same day as Sasso, the Dukakis' campaign manager, after he admitted he lied to Time Magazine about the fact that Sasso was the source of a videotape that showed rival candidate Joe Biden using the speech of a British Labor Party leader without attribution.

In retrospect, analysts viewed his resignation as significant to Dukakis' eventual defeat as the loss of Sasso, Dukakis' most trusted aide.

Sasso spoke yesterday about the irony of Mr. Tully dying just 40 days before the day when he may have realized his dream to see a Democrat back in the White House.

"It's a very, very sad day," said Sasso. "All he wanted was to elect a Democratic president. He gave up everything in his life to help the Democratic Party."

[From The Boston Globe, Sept. 27, 1992]

A RIGHTER OF WRONGS

(By Thomas Oliphant)

WASHINGTON.—Like the American government, American politics has largely lost its way for the past quarter-century.

The government and politics have often forgotten their most important customers—the people who try to live off their paychecks and pensions and the people to whom life has been haphazardly cruel.

Since the late 1960s, government has been too much about deals, about marking time, about accommodating big shots, and politics has been too much about the same things, as well as about lowest-common-denominator marketing, fear and hate.

In this rough, however, there have been diamonds, and one of the most lustrous died unexpectedly in Little Rock on Thursday, just as the dream to which he literally gave his life looked as if it might finally come true.

Paul Tully—just 48 when he died—was one of the few people who, in the middle of the Reagan era, figured out that a Democratic majority nonetheless lurked. Bill Clinton's plan for this fall's general election is a direct offspring of Tully's earlier thinking. When his huge heart gave out in his hotel room, Tully was the guy in Little Rock who had done the all-important targeting strategy for the general election—the aiming of the campaign's resources at the states most likely to constitute a majority in the Electoral College.

The plumber's son from New York embodied the purpose of politics: helping ordinary people and righting wrongs. To those whose curse it is to follow this game, it was no surprise that one of the classiest expressions of sadness at his death came from Mary Mattalin of the Bush campaign, who also came up the hard way. "He was in this business for all the right reasons," she said. "He had a soul."

Did he ever. Tully was the political director of the Democratic National Committee. His first presidential campaign as a young man was in 1968, as a grunt for Robert Kennedy. What Kennedy produced in that thrilling spring was what Tully fought for in every spring and fall thereafter: a politics that tried to build a bridge of economic and social justice across the country's racial divide, that offered hope and solid opportunity to white plumbers, black schoolteachers, Hispanic farm-workers and lonely grandmothers.

While his party appeared to go astray, Tully never did as he matured from a world-class tactician and organizer into one of political liberalism's most creative thinkers.

Like many of his pals, he could have made zillions peddling influence: one of the best-kept Tully secrets was that he had degrees from Yale and the University of Pennsylvania's law school. Unlike most of his pals, his idea of off-season work was training community organizers and helping in labor union struggles. I never saw him smile more wickedly than after he had politically busted Eastern Airlines boss Frank Lorenzo in his union-busting chops.

He was in the middle of every presidential fight after 1968; his candidates are a roster of what might have been in the era of conservative ascendancy: McGovern, Udall, Kennedy, Mondale, Hart, Dukakis.

Tully was no Clinton guy originally (Mario Cuomo was more to his taste), but when Clinton came to the party for help in his dark days after the primaries ended, Tully was ready. He'd been selling his plan for more than three years to anyone who would listen. On the two coasts and in the upper Midwest, Tully saw a Democratic majority for a campaign that reached out to the economic concerns of ordinary worried Americans.

As it turned out, Clinton has been the right vehicle, but Tully personified the revived Democratic Party in a position to help him. He was never happier in his life than he was the last few weeks.

When Tully died, people wept in board rooms, newsrooms, on Capitol Hill, at a candlelight vigil on the banks of the Arkansas River and on the meaner streets of politics.

Paul Tully's life embodied that haunting challenge from Robert Kennedy in 1968: that all of us can make a difference and that each of us should try.

[From the Boston Herald, Sept. 25, 1992]

PAUL TULLY, AT 48, DNC POLITICAL DIRECTOR

(By Helen Kennedy)

Paul Tully of Washington, DC, the political director of the Democratic National Committee and a key party strategist who was working on his seventh presidential campaign, was found dead yesterday in his hotel room in Little Rock, Ark.

Mr. Tully, 48, a former aide to Sen. Edward Kennedy and Gov. Michael Dukakis, apparently died of natural causes, probably a heart attack or a stroke, officials said.

Mr. Tully, who made headlines in 1988 when he was forced to resign from Dukakis' presidential campaign because of his involvement in the infamous "attack video" that drove a rival candidate from the race, was apparently stricken while getting ready for bed Wednesday night, said Pulaski County Coroner Steve Nawojczyk.

In a statement, Bill Clinton called Tully "a dear friend and trusted adviser. Paul had one of the nation's greatest political minds and one of its biggest hearts."

Over the years, the chain-smoking ex-linebacker worked on countless campaigns for liberal candidates, including Eugene McCarthy, Robert Kennedy, Allard Lowenstein, Morris Udall, George McGovern and Edward M. Kennedy.

"Paul Tully was a great friend of the Kennedy family and one of the Democratic Party's most valuable resources," Kennedy said last night.

Mr. Tully once explained that his strategy was to work for the most progressive candidate who had a chance of winning. He had little choice: liberal politics ran in his blood.

The great-grandson of a charter member of the Steamfitters Union and the son of a union plumber, Mr. Tully was born in the Bronx. After World War II, his family was among the first to move to Levittown, a sprawling Long Island suburban community.

Mr. Tully won a scholarship to Yale University, where he played tackle on the football team quarterbacked by Brian Dowling, who was later immortalized as "B.D." in classmate Garry Trudeau's comic strip "Doonesbury."

Even before he graduated in 1968, Mr. Tully became involved in the anti-war movement, working first for McCarthy and then for Robert Kennedy. After Kennedy's assassination, Mr. Tully went to the University of Pennsylvania, where he earned a law degree and got married.

In 1980, Mr. Tully was a key aide to Sen. Edward M. Kennedy during his presidential bid and later was a top adviser to former Sen. Gary Hart before he dropped from the race.

In 1988, Mr. Tully was national political director for Dukakis' campaign, but was forced to resign after it was revealed that campaign manager John Sasso distributed the notorious "attack video" that showed Delaware Sen. Joseph Biden had plagiarized an English politician's speech.

Mr. Tully had told Time magazine that the Dukakis campaign had not helped spread the information that forced Biden from the race.

Mr. Tully is survived by two daughters, Jessica and Miranda; a brother, Jim; and one sister, Patricia McDermott.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 25, 1992]

PAUL TULLY, AIDE TO CLINTON, DNC OFFICIAL, DIES AT 48

(By J.Y. Smith)

Paul Tully, 48, director of political operations for the Democratic National Committee and a key aide in the presidential campaign of Gov. Bill Clinton, died yesterday at a hotel in Little Rock, Ark.

Pulaski County Coroner Steve Nawojczyk said the cause of death appeared to be a heart attack or a stroke.

One of Washington's most respected political operatives, Mr. Tully worked in every presidential campaign since 1968. His roots were in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, and candidates with whom he has been closely associated included some of its most prominent spokesmen: Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, former senators Gary Hart of Colorado, Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota and George McGovern of South Dakota, and former governor Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts.

He cut his teeth on the old politics of coalition. But colleagues credited him with an equal mastery of the new politics of communication: polls, issues, focus groups, regional differences in the electorate, what it takes to get people interested, how to engage them in the process.

Both traditions were evident in Mr. Tully's work since 1989, when he became political director at the DNC. With Ron Brown, the party chairman, he was credited with putting the Democratic Party in its best position in years to fight a national election. Part of the job concerned such things as focus groups, and part of it was easing the strains among coalitions that had pulled the party apart in the past.

In the Clinton campaign, Mr. Tully was responsible for coordinating strategy at the local, state and national levels. Clinton described him yesterday as "a dear friend and trusted adviser."

A resident of Washington at the time of his death, Mr. Tully was born in New York City. He graduated from Yale and received a law degree at the University of Pennsylvania.

A rotund, curly-haired, coffee-drinking chain-smoker who could be brilliant and inarticulate at the same time, he cut a traditional figure in politics. Although he seemed to know everything about the United States, he was a big-city easterner at heart.

In 1988, when he went to work for Hart and moved to Denver for a brief period, friends reminded him that he had previously described Colorado as being "so far west it's not even on the map." Mr. Tully replied with a call to action that captured the essence of his career.

"This isn't about where you live," he said. "This is about change—about taking power away from the other guy. If that's what matters to you, it doesn't matter what town you live in."

In 1988, Mr. Tully was one of two people who resigned from the Dukakis campaign in a dispute in the primary about the release of a videotape showing Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.) giving a speech, part of which was taken from Neil Kinnock, then the leader of the British Labor Party.

John Sasso, the Dukakis campaign manager, admitted giving the tape to a New York Times reporter. Mr. Tully had told Time magazine that the Dukakis campaign had nothing to do with spreading the story.

Mr. Tully's marriage ended in divorce.

On hearing of his death, Mary Matalin, deputy campaign manager for President Bush, offered this tribute across the divide of political rivalry: "Paul Tully was an outstanding professional who cared passionately about his party. He was in this business for all the right reasons. He had a soul."

Survivors include two children, Jessica and Miranda Tully, both of New York City.

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 26, 1992]

THE VORACIOUS DEMOCRAT: PAUL TULLY'S HUNGER FOR POLITICS

(By Dan Balz)

LITTLE ROCK, AR.—On the night before he died, Paul Tully was in exceptional form: a vodka and tonic, a cranberry juice, a succession of cigarettes, a platter of Mexican food, an array of maps and statistics, and two hours of nonstop analysis of the presidential campaign he was trying to win for the Democrats. As always, he was provocative, enlightening—and exhausting.

We hooked up late Wednesday after he had spent another long day in Bill Clinton's headquarters. As we settled into the restaurant booth, he announced to our waitress in typical fashion: "I have an enormous thirst and an enormous appetite."

Tully was a man of prodigious appetites, but none larger than his passion for politics. His death of a probable heart attack on Thursday cost the Democrats what party Chairman Ronald H. Brown called "the smartest political strategist I have ever known." No one in the party had worked longer or harder to give the Democrats a chance of recapturing the White House this November.

Yet even in Washington, he was hardly a household name. In this era of political operatives as public personalities, he was an insider's insider. The public never knew him. Hardly anyone in Democratic politics didn't. At the relatively young age of 48, he was a veteran of 24 years in presidential campaigns, the political director of the Democratic National Committee and a key architect of the Democrats' 1992 campaign strategy.

Friends called him an original. Tully once said, "I don't do government, I do politics." It wasn't meant to denigrate the business of governing, but only to suggest that to him there was something equally ennobling about the art of fighting and winning elections. He was serious about that business and didn't like people who weren't.

"There was no ulterior motive for him," Brown said. "It wasn't about personal glory. . . . It wasn't about a job down the line. It was about making a difference in the country."

"He didn't define his ego in terms of his notoriety," said Carl Wagner, his closest friend and a fellow political consultant. "He didn't come to politics with his wallet out. Believe it or not, he was driven by his heart."

Gruff, ebullient, bearish, upbeat, insightful, partisan, sometimes unintelligible, he was loved and remembered by those who worked with him for his belief in the cause. "In a business of mercenaries, he was a missionary," said Peter Hart, the Democratic pollster.

Tully was obsessed with politics—to the exclusion of almost everything else. He carried too much weight on his large frame, smoked too many cigarettes, slept too little, pushed himself too hard. He was a man of late nights, slow mornings and no weekends.

"He'd walk into a 7-Eleven at 11 o'clock at night and get the first edition of the morning paper and six cups of coffee to go," Wagner said.

Wagner recalls a night Tully came for dinner, late as usual. Wagner and his wife had already eaten, but Tully said not to worry. He called a pizza parlor. "The biggest," he said, "without anchovies." He called for coffee. He laid out his latest spreadsheets of political data on Wagner's table.

"Pretty soon it was 2 a.m.," Wagner said. "The pizza was gone. The coffee was gone. The spreadsheets were still there."

Tully devoured data. He could read a poll for weeks, sifting and thinking and analyzing the entrails. He would argue about it, he would order more details when something looked odd. His office walls were papered with computer-generated maps showing county-by-county voting patterns, media markets by "persuadable voters," ad buys by candidates, electoral scenarios.

He knew precincts in Pittsburgh and how the vote had changed from one election to another. He knew where Democrats lived in the Detroit suburbs and what they looked like and where they worked and how much they made and how the party could get them back.

Tully knew the players from state to state, their histories and their battles and their weaknesses. When old wounds threatened to upset the progress of Clinton's campaign this fall, others with less experience would ask him to broker a tribal dispute. A few phone calls and an hour or so later, Tully would announce with a grunt, "Done."

He was Brown's first pick in 1989 when he began to build a staff at the Democratic National Committee. The two constructed a strategy for winning in 1992; Tully was one of the most persistent voices in forcing Democrats to keep their focus on economics and the middle class and not on issues that had divided the party in other elections.

A week after the Persian Gulf War ended and President Bush was at 90 percent in the polls, Tully passed my house one Sunday afternoon heading to his office. At the time, there was hardly a political analyst in the country who gave the Democrats a shot at defeating Bush—except Tully.

"Remember Churchill," he said to me that day, recalling that the British voters had turned out their prime minister in 1945 after World War II. Then he got that impish look on his face. "Now all we've got to do is find our Clement Attlee."

In the summer of 1991, when the Democrats were having trouble finding not only their Attlee but anyone to run for president, Tully was plotting victory. "The only question is, is there an audience out there to listen to an alternative?" he asked rhetorically. Based on his own analysis of polling and economic data, he was convinced there was, and like a circuit-riding preacher, he took his spreadsheets and his maps to any party gathering that would have him to convince the doubters.

He was sent to Little Rock to help integrate the operations of the DNC with the Clinton campaign and died in the hotel room that had become his temporary home. On the night before his heart attack, for the first time in the campaign, he sounded cautiously confident the Democrats could win. But he died 40 days short of knowing whether it would happen. For that as much as anything, his Democratic friends were grieving today.

"It's not like politics was good to him," Wagner said. "He was on the downside of the curve in this town. It's not like these were the salad days for a liberal Democrat."

[From the Washington Times, Sept. 25, 1992]

DEMOCRATIC STRATEGIST PAUL TULLY DIES AT 48 IN LITTLE ROCK HOTEL ROOM

(By J. Jennings Moss)

Paul Tully, Democratic National Committee political director and architect of a strategy to make the party competitive again in presidential elections, died Wednesday.

Mr. Tully, 48, was found dead in his Little Rock, Ark., hotel room late yesterday afternoon. Authorities said Mr. Tully probably died of either a heart attack or a stroke.

The longtime political operative had been heading up the state-by-state targeting effort for Bill Clinton's presidential campaign, which is headquartered in the Arkansas capital.

DNC Chairman Ron Brown, in a statement, called Mr. Tully "a political genius . . . whose heart and soul reflected the ideals, values and aspirations of this great country and the Democratic Party."

Around Washington, Mr. Tully was an imposing figure—a chain-smoking former collegiate defensive tackle with a disheveled appearance who had an intense approach to modern politics.

"I come out of that urban, union, ethnic environment. That's what's inside me," he said in a 1984 interview with The Washington Post. "And growing up in Levittown [Long Island, N.Y.] in the McCarthy days with a bunch of conservatives running things, I was raised with a much different attitude toward authority figures than most American kids are taught."

An unabashed liberal, Mr. Tully became politically active in the anti-Vietnam War movement before his 1968 graduation from Yale University and has worked on every presidential campaign since. He later received a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania.

He rose in stature with each election and was political director for both Walter Mondale in 1984 and Michael Dukakis in 1988.

But the post with the Dukakis campaign ended in scandal. He and campaign manager John Sasso resigned after admitting to leaking a videotape that showed Delaware Sen. Joseph R. Biden, Jr., a Dukakis rival, giving a speech strikingly similar to the one from British politician Neil Kinnock without attribution. The incident helped push Mr. Biden from the Democratic race.

After Mr. Dukakis' defeat, Mr. Brown became party chairman and appointed Mr. Tully as one of his top deputies.

In the 1984 Post interview, Mr. Tully described himself as a "constituency-oriented economic Democrat" who worked for the "most progressive candidate who has a chance of winning."

When he took the job at the DNC, his goal was different—laying the groundwork so that any Democrat the party nominated would have a good chance of being elected.

Mr. Tully devised a strategy of targeting states based on their value in the Electoral College, using resources carefully, getting a nominee quickly and coordinating the presidential campaign with state and congressional races. Analysts credit such an approach to helping the Democrats this year.

[From The New York Times, Sept. 25, 1992]

PAUL TULLY IS DEAD AT 48; TOP DEMOCRATIC STRATEGIST

(By Robin Toner)

WASHINGTON.—Paul Tully, the political director of the Democratic National Committee and one of his party's pre-eminent strategists, was found dead in Little Rock Ark., today. He was 48 years old.

Coroner Steve Nawojczyk of Pulaski County said Mr. Tully's body was found about 3 P.M. today by a maid at the hotel where he was living in Little Rock. Pending results of an autopsy, the coroner said Mr. Tully appeared to have died of natural causes.

Mr. Tully was among the most impassioned and intense of a generation of Democratic political professionals who devoted much of their lives to regaining the White House. He worked in every Presidential election since 1968.

He had moved to Little Rock this fall to aid in Gov. Bill Clinton's drive for the White House. Ronald H. Brown, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee, said in a statement tonight: "There will be only one Paul Tully. Pacing, driven, and full of joy, Paul's commitment to our party and, more importantly, to making this great nation even greater was a fire that burned bright and long."

In a statement, Mr. Clinton said, "Paul had one of the nation's greatest political minds, and one of its biggest hearts."

Mr. Tully was a fixture in Democratic Presidential politics, working for Senator Edward M. Kennedy in 1980, for Walter F. Mondale in 1984, for former Senator Gary Hart's first Presidential campaign in 1987, and, briefly, as a top aide to Michael S. Dukakis. Mr. Tully resigned from that campaign along with John Sasso, the campaign manager, after Mr. Sasso acknowledged giving reporters a videotape that showed Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr. using parts of another politician's speech. The disclosure helped set off the collapse of Mr. Biden's Presidential campaign.

Mr. Tully was convinced that 1988 was a winnable election for the Democrats, and he spent much of the next four years arguing that a new Democratic majority was emerging in the country; at the Democratic National Committee, he led the party's efforts to prepare for this campaign, and oversaw the integration of those efforts with the Clinton campaign.

ECONOMY AS ISSUE

Even at the height of Mr. Bush's popularity after the Persian Gulf war in 1991, when many Democrats considered this election an almost certain defeat, Mr. Tully made the rounds of party gatherings with his slide shows and his charts, arguing that Mr. Bush had serious vulnerabilities. He was known in political circles for his blunt assessments, his fierce partisanship and his love of the game. At a time when many analysts still believed that the 1992 election would be heavily influenced by foreign policy and the ability to serve as Commander in Chief, Mr. Tully declared, "This is about money in my pocket, prices for the essentials of life, the level of fear on the block."

James Carville, the senior strategist for the Clinton campaign, said: "This guy's whole life was Democratic Presidential politics. He had worked for four years on this—he had every map, every target, he probably knew the name of every swing voter in the country."

Mr. Tully was born in New York City, grew up on Long Island, and was a graduate of Yale College and the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

He is survived by two daughters, Jessica and Miranda Tully; a brother, Jim Tully, and a sister, Patricia McDermott.

[From Newsday, Sept. 25, 1992]

PAUL TULLY, 48, CLINTON ADVISER

(By Myron S. Waldman)

WASHINGTON.—Paul Tully, who had taken a leave of absence as political director of the Democratic National Committee to work in Bill Clinton's campaign, died in Little Rock, Ark., yesterday.

Mr. Tully, a burly Long Island native who had been involved in Democratic presidential campaigns since 1968 and who was one of the brightest and most popular political operatives in the business, apparently died while he was getting ready for bed. He was 48.

The Pulaski County, Ark., coroner's office said there was no evidence of foul play.

Dee Dee Myers, a spokeswoman for the Clinton campaign, said that Mr. Tully was found yesterday afternoon in his hotel room by a maid. He had not been missed at campaign headquarters because he had been scheduled to fly back home to Washington yesterday.

Clinton issued this statement yesterday on Mr. Tully's death: "Hillary and I are deeply saddened by the loss of Paul Tully. He was a dear friend and trusted adviser. Paul had one of the nation's greatest political minds—and one of its biggest hearts. He dedicated his life to improving the lives of others. Our prayers are with him, his family and all of those who loved him."

Mr. Tully, a native of Levittown, was a Democrat who prided himself on fighting for the downtrodden and battling for liberal causes. He worked for Eugene McCarthy, the late Allard Lowenstein, former Rep. Morris Udall, Sen. Edward Kennedy, Walter Mondale, former Sen. Gary Hart and Michael Dukakis.

He worked all hours and all days, chain-smoked, drank coffee constantly and ignored all theories of nutrition.

Mr. Tully's ability to plot presidential campaign strategy, to interpret polling data and at the Democratic National Committee to fashion a strategy for victory in 1992 was widely admired.

"Paul did targeting [of individual states]," Myers said. "That was his genius. He knew more about it than any person in this country."

Mr. Tully went to Yale University, where he played defensive tackle on the football team.

Later, Mr. Tully received a law degree, married and moved to Philadelphia. He never left politics.

His marriage ended in divorce. He is survived by two grown daughters, Jessica and Miranda.

"He died 40 days before he was about to achieve what he worked so hard for, of what he was such a large part of," Myers said—what she believes will be a Democratic presidential victory. Funeral plans were incomplete.

[From the Baltimore Sun, Sept. 26, 1992]

THE LATE PAUL TULLY PLAYED BIG-LEAGUE POLITICS

(By Jack Germond and Juks Witcover)

WASHINGTON.—Mothers don't raise their sons to be political operatives. Running campaigns is considered sort of a grubby business.

But it doesn't have to be, as Paul Tully, who died in Little Rock the other night, demonstrated with such zest and gusto in campaign after campaign.

Mr. Tully was indeed one of a kind, a big man with large appetites for food and drink and conversation into the wee hours, usually but not always about politics.

He would swap stories by the hour, gesturing expansively, using extravagant language, punctuating his conversation by asking repeatedly and rhetorically, "Awright," to be certain his listeners were still with him. His syntax, or lack of same, was notorious and could be baffling to those who met him for the first time and hadn't learned to decipher the waves of the arms.

But he was capable of making insightful points in clear terms. This, for example, is Mr. Tully talking after the 1988 campaign about the growing role of the press as a moral arbiter in American politics:

"Quantity change quality. There are now so many outlets, so much coverage and so much inquiry . . . you are doing your work around the beast. The problem used to be how to feed it and feed it in a way that's conveying information that you want—your message, right?

"It's a delivery mechanism, got a big mouth and power, but how to feed it? . . . Well, now it's developed taste and standards and spits stuff back at you.

"It's not just the size of the thing. It's a new layer that's got a very specific kind of appetite. It's got even more demands. And it's got its new, evolved self-defined role.

'We've got standards and [if] that little [bleep] Quayle don't make the standards, we're going to rip his head off.'"

For more than 20 years, he steadfastly pursued the same goal: He wanted to elect a Democratic president who could do the things he thought needed to be done to establish some equity in our society.

His preference was for the most liberal Democrat in the field—a predilection that meant he worked at various times for Robert F. Kennedy, Eugene McCarthy, George McGovern, Morris Udall, Edward M. Kennedy, Walter F. Mondale, Gary Hart and Michael S. Dukakis.

In a sense, Bill Clinton, for whom Mr. Tully was working when he died at 48, was an odd fit because the Arkansas governor was so determined not to be seen as the most liberal candidate in the field.

At the outset, he was wary about the governor. But he can remember standing in the back of the room in Chicago late in 1991 listening to Mr. Clinton deliver the speech to Democratic state party chairmen that made him the early favorite of the insiders.

When Mr. Clinton finished and the audience erupted into applause, Mr. Tully turned to a reporter friend, grinning broadly and said: "Now that was a general election message. That was big-league politics."

If he had any personal agenda, it was a secret well-kept from his friends. Mr. Tully, the son of working-class parents who went to Yale and University of Pennsylvania law school, then chose politics over the law, was not a man you could see taking some cushy spot in a Democratic administration. It was the business of getting a Democrat there that obsessed him.

Mr. Tully was intrigued by the process and how it could be refined. Over the past four years, as political director for the Democratic National Committee, he had focused on building "the coordinated campaign"—one in which presidential and state candidates performed many functions jointly—in as many states as possible to make the DNC a serious player in electing a Democratic president.

He had also become fascinated by computers. Returning to Washington late one night this spring after seeing his favorite Red Sox defeat the Orioles, he headed for the office to "run some numbers"—meaning to test his theories on where the votes might be in this campaign, depending on how it played out.

Mr. Tully was not a one-dimensional political fanatic. He made a point of getting the Tuesday editions of the *New York Times* so he could read the science section.

He listened to classical music while cooking for himself at his apartment on Capitol Hill. He loved to talk about sports and movies. But mostly Paul Tully played big league politics.

[From The Los Angeles Times, Sept. 29, 1992]

TULLY'S LEGACY

In his more than 20 years as a political strategist. Paul Tully, the Democratic Party national political director who died last week at age 48, repeatedly saw Democratic presidential candidates go down to defeat. The experience did not dishearten him; rather it fostered an understanding of political realities that he sought to impart to the Clinton campaign. . . . As the national party's chief liaison to Clinton's Little Rock operation, Tully stressed that the Arkansas governor's big lead in the polls should not be taken for granted. "Remember, it was not so long ago that [Clinton had] high negatives and low support levels," he noted in an interview shortly before his death from a probable heart attack. . . . Tully, whom Democratic National Committee Chairman Ronald H. Brown called "the smartest political strategist I have ever known," saw Clinton's main challenge as providing recent converts to his banner with "confirming evidence" to support him. Only such efforts, he believed, could turn "newer and weaker Clinton voters into firm Clinton voters" and assure the Democratic victory Tully had long awaited.

[From the National Journal, Oct. 3, 1992]

A DEMOCRAT WHO NEVER SAID NEVER

(By James A. Barnes)

Only a few weeks after he had settled into the political director's office at the Democratic National Committee (DNC) in April 1989, Paul R. Tully was already focused on winning back the White House. Although he didn't underestimate the difficulty of that task, he steadfastly insisted that the goal was attainable.

"The metaphor for all this is getting the rock up the hill," Tully said in an interview at the time. "There were 4.3 million new Democratic voters in 1988 from 1984. That was for real—real voters!" Tully always liked to punctuate his thoughts, leaving little room for doubt about his convictions.

When he died of a heart attack on Sept. 24, Tully, 48, as much as any Democrat, had devoted the past three and a half years to getting that rock up to the top of the hill in 1992. He has left behind a sophisticated analysis of how and where swing voters could be won over by a Democratic candidate, a network of skilled state campaign operatives to harvest those votes in the closing stages of the 1992 campaign and a deep sense of loss within his party and the Washington political community.

A Brooklyn native and son of working-class Irish parents, Tully was a fixture on the Democratic presidential campaign circuit ever since he volunteered for Robert F. Kennedy in 1968. In George McGovern's 1972 campaign, Tully was an advance man, a good fit for a former offensive lineman on Yale University's football team who also had a law degree from the University of Pennsylvania.

"He didn't work in politics indiscriminately," said Carl R. Wagner, a Democratic strategist (and veteran of the McGovern effort) who was one of Tully's closest friends. "Politics was a means to pursue a set of values—it wasn't a business to Paul. His interest was seizing control of government and bringing it to bear on the needs of people who were otherwise unspoken for."

Tully's résumé of presidential candidates reflected his liberal sensitivities: Robert Kennedy, McGovern, Eugene J. McCarthy, Morris K. Udall, Edward M. Kennedy, Walter F. Mondale, Gary Hart and Michael S. Dukakis. At the time of his death, Tully was in Little Rock, Ark., advising Bill Clinton's campaign and helping to integrate its functions with those of the DNC.

By the latter stage of his career, Tully had earned a reputation as a first-rate political operative. "I remember conversations of how pleased people were," recalled Washington lawyer Jonathan Sallet, a former adviser to Hart, of the reaction when Tully joined the Coloradan's brief 1987 campaign. "People said, 'This is for real—we have Paul Tully.'"

Perhaps Tully's most difficult campaign was the one he waged against a tidal wave of skepticism in Washington among reporters, and more than a few Democrats, to persuade them—in the wake of America's success in the Persian Gulf war—that President Bush could still be defeated. Undeterred, Tully would dissect Bush's potential vulnerabilities from the entrails of public opinion polls and 0precinct returns for anyone who cared to listen. At the time, it seemed as though Tully was operating on little more than blind faith and the coffee and cigarettes that were his constant companions.

"In the beginning of 1991, I stopped in to see him," recalled Ted Devine, a Democratic strategist who worked with Tully in the Mondale and Dukakis campaigns and managed Nebraska Sen. Robert Kerrey's presidential campaign this year. "He spent an hour on the charts from 1988, about what had happened, the polls. . . . Listening to him talk, all I can think of to describe it is evangelical."

There was no higher calling, as far as Tully was concerned. Even though his contacts and skills could have afforded him a much more comfortable life as a professional political consultant, he chose to deal with the headaches of a party apparatus that had lost three consecutive presidential races.

"In a profession filled with many mercenaries, Paul Tully was a true missionary," said Democratic pollster Peter D. Hart, who worked with Tully in the Ted Kennedy and Mondale campaigns. "We earn money for what we do; he didn't. He did the hard work, the inside work for which you get less glory and less pay."

One enduring and selfless aspect of Tully's career was his willingness to travel anywhere to run training sessions for would-be Democratic political organizers. No group was too small.

"I would get phone calls—'Well, don't you want to go to Bozeman?'" recalled Gina Glantz, who worked with Tully on the Ted Kennedy and Mondale campaigns and in between elections often accompanied him to his hands-on political seminars.

"He was always someone who reminded us that we had a moral responsibility to train others," added Glantz, who's a partner in Martin & Glantz, a public affairs firm in Mill Valley, Calif. "It was important to him because it is the lifeblood of progressive politics—people who want to be involved because they care about something."

"There is probably not a state in this country that you could go to and not find somebody who was trained by Paul Tully or who called Paul on a regular basis," Wendy R. Sherman, a partner in the Democratic political consulting firm of Doak, Shrum, Harris, Sherman & Donilon, said.

Reporters also depended on Tully's insights and encyclopedic recall of recent election statistics. Political reporter Jack W. Germond, for example, learned of Tully's death from Pennsylvania, where he was working on a story about the presidential campaign. He had telephoned Tully for information about the 1988 returns from Philadelphia's black wards. "I'll bet there were a lot of reporters who were planning to talk to Tully in the next few days to get their facts straight," Germond said.

Despite Tully's gruff exterior, his friends recalled a complex and private man with cultivated tastes in classical music and literature. And though his most striking characteristic may have been a pol's cynical sense of humor, that's not what Stephen Robbins, his boss in the McGovern campaign and a lawyer in the Sacramento (Calif.) firm of Robbins & Livingston, remembers most. "He had a very, very vulnerable commitment to a better society," Robbins said. "In fact, his heart was made of mush."

His heart, maybe, but not his will. That was indomitable.

[From Time, Oct. 5, 1992]

MILESTONES

Died. Paul Tully, 48, director of political operations for the Democratic National Committee; in Little Rock, Arkansas. A top party strategist, Tully was working with the Clinton campaign. He previously served on the primary election bids of Gary Hart and Michael Dukakis, D.N.C. chairman Ron Brown called Tully a "political genius."

[From Newsweek, Oct. 5, 1992]

(By Joe Klein)

Died: Paul Tully was a lovely pol. He ate too much, smoked too much, barreled about like a madman in a lather. He left the way his peers fear most—alone, in a hotel room, too young. It was in Little Rock, where Tully—who had done this with vast enthusiasm but no luck since 1968—was giving Bill Clinton his almost phrenological sense of the electorate. "He probably knew the name of every swing voter in the country," said James Carville. In Iowa once, legend has it, Tully denied an activist a lawn sign, "because his neighbors think he's a jerk." He loved the game so he sometimes couldn't find words fast enough, antic scenarios dissolving into unintelligible gasps—but his friends understood, and will miss him fiercely. He was 48.

[From the Washington Post, June 21, 1984]

PRINCE OF PLANKS; PAUL TULLY, MONDALE'S PLATFORM BUILDER

(By T.R. Reid)

The drafting of the Democratic Party's 1984 platform is essentially a function of Paul Tully's thumb.

Tully, 40, a rotund, curly-haired, chain-smoking, coffee-swilling political veteran—a Central Casting archetype of the harried campaign operative—is Walter F. Mondale's main man this week as the Democrats put together their platform.

Hour after hour, the 15-member drafting committee wades through amendments and amended amendments from Gary Hart's five delegates and Jesse Jackson's two delegates. With each new proposal, the delegates debate perfunctorily while Tully and his staff, sitting on the sidelines, figure out what's up. Then Tully gives the signal—thumbs up, thumbs down, or sometimes just a discreet nod of the head.

The eight Mondale delegates cast their votes, and the issue is settled.

It's June and it's a leap year, after all, and under those circumstances a Democratic Platform Committee is Tully's natural habitat. He worked the platform for the antiwar campaign in 1968, for Morris Udall in 1976, for Edward M. Kennedy in 1980.

But this year things are different, which accounts for the leprechaun smile gracing Tully's large face. "It's nice like this when you have the votes," he says happily.

Those eight delegates include members of Congress and other important party poohbahs; but this week, their votes are all firmly in Tully's hand.

Just once has a Mondalite tried to ignore the signal. When Hart's people proposed language endorsing a particular tax bill, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), a Mondale delegate, noted that he was a cosponsor of that bill. Moynihan voted for Hart's proposal.

Tully, who once was—and is still built like—a defensive tackle, came blitzing up from the staff table for an earnest chat with the senator. After a moment, Moynihan sheepishly looked down his glasses and asked permission to reverse his vote. Mondale won again.

Over the years Tully has worked on countless campaigns for liberal causes and candidates, including Gene McCarthy, Robert Kennedy, Allard Lowenstein, Udall, George McGovern and Edward Kennedy.

"The way it works is, about the time of the midterm election, I start looking around for the candidate I'm going to work for for the president," Tully explained yesterday, casually flicking the ashes from his Marlboro into the nearest styrofoam cup.

"Literally, the way it works, I will always work for the most progressive candidate who has a chance of winning. . . . Like in '76 I worked for Udall and not Fred Harris because that was a choice between some small shot at winning and no shot all all."

The notion of not working in a liberal's campaign has never occurred to Tully. Liberal politics, trade unions, organizing the downtrodden—they are all in his blood.

Born in 1944 in Long Island's Levittown, Tully was the grandson of a charter member of the Steamfitters Union and the son of a plumber. "My father was an officer in George Meany's own local of the Plumbers Union," he says with pride.

"I come out of that urban, union, ethnic environment. That's what's inside me," he said. "And growing up in Levittown in the McCarthy days with a bunch of conservatives running things, I was raised with a much different attitude toward authority figures than most American kids are taught."

The drafting of a platform may sound like an excursion into deepest ennui, but in fact, like all Washington dramas, the platform committee is rich with intriguing scenes and characters.

There is Rep. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.), a Mondale man, who first served on a platform committee 44 years ago and is still at it today at the age of 83.

During a debate on foreign policy, Pepper politely pointed out that one of Gary Hart's vaunted "new ideas" sounded exactly like a proposal set forth by Secretary of State Cordell Hull in 1936.

The platform committee is also the only place in town where one can hear the "Rainbow Coalition" rhetoric of Jesse Jackson delivered in an easy, lilting Irish brogue—by Paul O'Dwyer, the New York liberal who is one of Jackson's two delegates on the drafting unit.

But Tully—as the Mondale campaign's political director—has been the leading player. He is a perfect specimen of a classic Washington genus: the dedicated political pro.

As an undergraduate at Yale, Tully played tackle on the football team quarterbacked by "B.D.," Brian Dowling, and rendered immortal by classmate Garry Trudeau in his comic strip "Doonesbury."

Even before he had graduated in 1968, Tully was at work in the antiwar movement. Unlike some others of his generation, he directed his considerable energies through the established political process, trying to make first McCarthy and then Robert Kennedy the Democratic presidential nominee.

After that fateful year, Tully took a law degree at Penn and settled down, sort of, in Philadelphia, where he lives with his wife and 3-year-old daughter in the respites between campaigns.

The respites have been growing shorter as presidential campaigns get longer and as more and more people come around pleading for the kind of polished professional campaign direction that Tully and his ilk can provide.

When the 1984 campaign was starting to take shape two years ago, most Democrats, figured, correctly, that Tully would be a Kennedy man again. When Kennedy withdrew, a half-dozen other Democrats stopped in Philadelphia—where Tully was running political training programs for citizen action coalitions from around the country—to recruit him.

"Basically, my problem with Hart was that I figured out he's not my kind of Democrat," Tully says.

"The process guys, they're worried about whether the system is fair, whether everybody had the right to be involved, all that stuff.

"I'm much more a constituency-oriented economic Democrat. Who benefits from the policies? Who loses? That's always my test. And that's what Mondale is."

By February 1983, Mondale's people had corralled Tully into part-time work. Within a month, he was the full time political director of the campaign, and he's been there ever since, winning broad respect from reporters and his fellow politicos for telling the truth whether Mondale was winning or losing.

But now, for the first time since the McGovern drive in 1972, Tully has (apparently) won a Democratic nomination. And there is on the horizon the prospect of snagging the White House in November.

The Mondale people are already making lists of which campaign aide will get what government job. But Tully is having none of that.

"I work for change. That's my life," he says. "I organize. I don't do governments."•

MSUSA'S 25TH ANNIVERSARY

• Mr. DURENBERGER. Mr. President, on November 6, 1992, the Minnesota State University Student Association [MSUSA] will celebrate its 25th anniversary of representing Minnesota State university students.

MSUSA is an advocate organization which was formed in 1967 as an informal coalition of student leaders. Today, it represents more than 66,000 students at Minnesota's State universities in Bemidji, Mankato, Minneapolis/St. Paul, Moorhead, St. Cloud, Marshall, and Winona.

MSUSA is an independent, nonprofit corporation funded and operated by students. In order to fulfill its main objectives—affordable, quality, and accessible State university education—students have taken an activist approach to establish affordable tuition, child care facilities, increase the minimum and student work study wages, simplify transfer between institutions, improve cultural diversity, advocate fair State and Federal financial aid programs including the Higher Education Reauthorization Act.

In assisting State university students achieve their goals and voicing their concerns, MSUSA provides liaisons to the Governor's office, the legislature, the State University Board, the Minnesota Higher Education Board, the Minnesota Higher Education Co-

ordinating Board, the Inter-Faculty Organization, Congress, and the Federal Department of Education.

But perhaps one of MSUSA's most outstanding accomplishments, among many, is the Penny fellowship, which encourages students take a leadership role in serving their communities. Other noteworthy programs include the MSUSA newspaper, the Monitor, which has the largest circulation of any State system student organization; the MSUSA cultural diversity project; and the MSUSA Federal Credit Union, which is the only systemwide student credit union in the country.

Finally, Mr. President, I would like to recognize and congratulate the current officers of MSUSA, who are: Steven B. Carswell, State chair from Winona State University; Leroy L. McClelland, State vice chair from Mankato State University; Jill F. Peterson, State treasurer from St. Cloud State University; and Frank X. Viggiano, executive director from Metropolitan State University. Their hard work on behalf of Minnesota students has led them to many successes, and I am sure their continuing effort will mean a better-educated and a more productive Minnesota.•

REPORT ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HUMANITARIAN AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM TO THE NEW INDEPENDENT STATES OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

• Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, last April, when the Senate passed House Joint Resolution 456—Public Law 102-266—the continuing resolution for the Foreign Aid Program for fiscal 1992, I requested a report from the administration which summarized the U.S. Government efforts to provide humanitarian and technical assistance to the new Independent States of the former Soviet Union. I have received that report from the Department of State, and I feel that the information contained in the report would be very helpful to all Senators, their staffs, businesses, nongovernmental organizations, academic institutions, and other interested parties.

This report can serve as an information resource to help us work with the executive branch to meet the challenges presented by the breakup of the Soviet Union. The report was compiled from written documentation provided to the State Department by the various agencies involved in the assistance program.

The report consists of three parts. Part I outlines progress to date in providing humanitarian assistance during operation provide hope phases I and II. Part II describes the sources of funding for the aid program through fiscal 1992. Part III identifies the specific activities of each Government agency involved in the assistance program including AID, USDA, Commerce Department, DOD, EPA, Exim Bank, OPIC, Peace Corps, TDP, Transportation Department, and USIA. This section identifies contact points in each agency for programs in the NIS.

It is my hope that Members and others interested in this program will use this report as a tool to review our assistance program as it was implemented through fiscal 1992. Also, it is useful for examining the structure that is in place to implement the program which we funded with $417 million for fiscal 1993.

Mr. President, I ask that the report be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in its entirely.

The material follows:

SUMMARY OF EFFORTS IN THE ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR THE NEW INDEPENDENT STATES (NIS)

Information available as of September 24 was used in this report.

I. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE EFFORTS

Overview

The United States government's humanitarian assistance program links the efforts of the Departments of State, Defense, and Agriculture and the Agency for International Development, with various national and international private voluntary organizations, to meet the emergency needs of the people of the New Independent States. The U.S. humanitarian assistance program, run by the State Department's Deputy Coordinator, Commonwealth of Independent States Assistance (D/CISA), accomplishes two goals: it provides needed help to millions of people (our childhood innoculation program in Central Asia alone is reaching 520,000 people); and it confirms for the peoples of the NIS the fact that Americans are not their enemy. Throughout 1992, the humanitarian assistance program has provided both privately collected and excess U.S. government food and medical supplies to all 12 states of the NIS. Efforts are already underway to organize the next big push for provision of assistance during the upcoming winter of 1992-93.

Specific humanitarian efforts

In addition to transportation assistance provided to the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) to support its $165 million grant food aid program, D/CISA has worked with U.S. private voluntary organizations and utilized excess defense stocks in order to leverage an additional $165 million in emergency assistance. USDA has delivered, or is in the final stages of delivering, approximately 138,910 tons of humanitarian food assistance via private voluntary organizations and agencies of the Russian and Belarus governments. Independent of the USDA program, D/CISA has delivered some 53,000 metric tons of food valued conservatively at $40 million. D/CISA has also delivered some 2,400 tons of medicines and medical consumables worth about $125 million, and has another 500 tons in the pipeline.

Operation Provide Hope began with the winter 1992 airlift of emergency food and medical supplies to cities in 11 of the 12 NIS (the exception was Georgia). Operation Provide Hope II involved the surface delivery of excess DoD medical and food stocks from Western Europe to all 12 NIS. This operation is virtually complete. Provide Hope II began in June with the airlift of 100 metric tons of high-value medicines and medical supplies to four very needy locations: Yerevan, Baku, Tbilisi, and Minsk. Having delivered these items by air, Provide Hope II then shifted to surface deliveries. Over 19,000 tons of bulk rations (valued at about $34 million) were moved from military depots in Western Europe to 21 locations in the NIS, as well as 1,600 tons of medicines and medical consumables valued at $30.6 million. These supplies have gone into institutions (i.e., orphanages, hospitals, etc.) and storage facilities for subsequent distribution. Officers and enlisted personnel from the On-Site Inspection Agency, assisted by CARE representatives, handled distribution and monitoring.

Specific USDA contributions to food assistance for the NIS include:

Agreements for Food for Progress donations of $20 million to Georgia, $15 million to Armenia, and $10 million to Kyrgyzstan. After freight costs have been deducted, these expenditures will provide 90,000 tons of wheat for Armenia and 56,000 tons of wheat for Kyrgyzstan.

Under Public Law 480 Title I, USDA has also negotiated concessional sales of feed grains and oilseed meal worth $24 million to Belarus and feed grains worth $10 million to Moldova. Belarus will receive 90,000 tons of feed grains and 50,000 tons of oilseed meal; Moldova will receive 70,000 tons of feed grains.

In fiscal 1992, under Section 416(b) USDA donated 21,000 tons of butter to the Government of Russia, and 5,000 tons of butter oil to the Government of Belarus.

Commercial agricultural commodity registrations to the NIS facilitated by the Export Credit Guarantee Program (GSM-102) in fiscal 1992 had, as of mid-September, totaled $2.46 billion, including $1.82 billion under the allocation to the USSR made prior to its collapse in December 1991. An additional $100 million out of fiscal 1992 authority was extended to Russia on September 14. In addition, a direct sale of 35,000 tons of CCC-owned butter was negotated with Russia.

Because of civil unrest in Georgia during Operation Provide Hope I, U.S. military transport planes were unable to land in Georgia's capital, Tbilisi. Because of improvements in the situation there, the U.S. has been able to provide the following types of humanitarian assistance to Georgia:

500 tons of DoD bulk rations during Provide Hope II;

20 tons (valued at over $5.8 million) of medicines, medical supplies, and insulin by air;

133 tons of medical consumables were sent by rail during Provide Hope II;

Medical equipment for two Georgian hospitals, drawn from a deactivated U.S. Army hospital in Europe.

The U.S. also is sending Georgia 100,000 tons of wheat through a transfer of funds from the PL-480 program to the Food for Progress program. DoD transportation funds are being used to ship the grain.

Planning has begun for Operation Provide HOPE III, and participants are in the process of identifying additional DoD bulk rations which are being declared excess. The plan is to move the material this fall before the onset of winter, and a team is in Moscow working jointly with the Russian government, the European Community, the Japanese Government, and CARE to create a rational targeting plan.

In September 1992, USDA announced its specific programs for FY 1993 humanitarian assistance programs for Russia. These in-

clude $800 million in the Export Credit Guarantee Program—of which $500 million will be operational October 1 with the remainder available on January 1, 1993. Russia will also receive $250 million in humanitarian food assistance.

II. SOURCES OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FUNDING

In addition to its multilateral assistance efforts with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, the U.S. government is financing bilateral technical assistance through a variety of funding mechanisms. These include:

$85 million in Economic Support Funds.—Currently several U.S. government agencies are in the process of implementing this first funding allocation for NIS assistance with Economic Support Funds (ESF) reprogrammed from other countries. AID serves as the principal implementing agency for this funding—with policy and program guidance from the Coordinator's office. These funds are being used primarily to develop and administer programs to provide business assistance; training for managers; energy, housing, financial, and conversion advisors; and improvements in the healthcare and food industries. AID has transferred funding to agencies such as Commerce, Agriculture, Treasury, and USIA to finance their NIS assistance programs.

$150 million in Reprogrammed Economic Support Funds.—In its FY 1992 Foreign Operation Appropriations, the Congress provided certain authorities for technical assistance for the NIS but did not appropriate new money. D/CISA has worked with the Coordinator for NIS Assistance, Acting Secretary Lawrence Eagleburger and the Deputy Coordinators to identify sources for funding and to identify programs to be implemented with $150 million FY92 reprogrammed economic support funds.

Nunn-Lugar Funding.—Legislation passed during 1992 authorized the use of $400 million of DoD monies to facilitate weapons destruction in the NIS and to prevent weapons proliferation. The first approved program plan for this funding obligates $170 million to provide fissile material storage containers, nuclear weapons accident response equipment, assistance in improving material control and accountability systems for fissile materials and to assist with destruction of chemical weapons and to finance the international science centers in Russia and Ukraine. In addition, $100 million has been authorized to finance transportation costs of humanitarian assistance to the NIS, and approximately 50 percent of this funding has already been used to finance food and medical assistance.

Other Agency Funding.—Various government agencies are providing assistance to the NIS from their own departmental budgets. For example, the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, Commerce, and Energy, and the Environmental Protection Agency have implemented projects using funds from their own budgets.

Credit and Credit Guarantee Programs.—U.S. government credit and credit guarantee programs aim to promote involvement of private U.S. companies in trade and investment with the emerging market economies of the NIS. The Export-Import Bank offers short and medium-term trade credit insurance and working capital guarantees. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) has three programs to encourage US private investment in the NIS—these include financing investment projects through loans and/or loan guarantees; investment insurance; the investor services. In addition, U.S. credit guarantee programs can be used to help maintain commercial sales previously financed by cash transactions, as has been done with the USDA's Commodity Credit Guarantee Program (GSM-102).

III. SPECIFIC USG AGENCY ACTIVITIES

The Agency for International Development (AID)

AID serves as the primary implementing agency for the initial $85 million in assistance to the NIS. Working with policy and program guidance from the State Department and in coordination with other government agencies, AID is using these funds to develop and implement programs to promote democratic institution building, market economic reform, provide business assistance; training for managers and scientists; energy, housing, defense conversion, and financial advisors; and improvements in the healthcare and food industries. In some of the cases listed below, AID's role has been to tranfer funds to other agencies for project implementation. The following programs are being implemented with the first $85 million in FY92 Economic Support Funds:

Democratic Initiatives ($14.9m).—includes training for scientists, managers, and government officials; business assistance from retired U.S. executives; support for networking between private U.S. companies and volunteer organizations with NIS groups.

Participants: Participating organizations include the Department of Commerce, the United States Information Agency (USIA), the International Executive Service Corps (a private AID contractor), the Citizens Democracy Corps, and selected private volunteer organizations and non-governmental organizations.

Status: Primary components of this program are the Special American Business Internship Training Program (SABIT), the USIA Public Administration Program, the Citizens Democracy Corps, and the Private Volunteer Organization (PVO) Development Program. The SABIT program—which aims to link NIS business managers and scientists with private U.S. firms—has completed two selection rounds for managers and one for scientists. The first 300 interns, financed with AID-transferred funds, are due in the U.S. in September. USIA is sponsoring a number of programs to assist both high level and local NIS governmental officials in establishing executive organizations and understanding executive operations. USIA is also subsidizing publication of books and pamphlets on democractic governments, market economies, and public policy analysis on the reform process. IESC and the Citizens Democracy Corps have established offices in the NIS and are advising on economic reforms, democratic institution building, and defense conversion. The Experiment in International Living (EIL) has been designated the lead institution for coordinating all U.S.-based PVO activities in the NIS. To date, we have received grant proposals from 62 US PVOs. Funding for this program also supported an Emergency Immunization Program begun in selected states of the NIS in summer 1992.

Energy Efficiency and Market Reform ($15.6m).—includes programs for energy efficiency; nuclear power safety; coal, oil, and gas production and delivery systems; energy pricing policy; and energy related environmental problems.

Status: Regional surveys/assessments have been completed for energy heating systems in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, and Kyrgyzstan. Pilot projects with U.S. technical advisors are underway in these six states; these advisors have identified and are installing low-cost equipment and instrumentation to improve energy efficiency this winter. Senior energy officials from Kazakhstan and Kyrgystan came to the U.S. during June and July to visit energy facilities and meet with private US energy companies. Partners in Economic Reform (PIER) has received a grant for coal mining management/safety and sent a team to Ukraine and Russia this summer. DOE and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission will receive money from AID to support the nuclear reactor safety initiative that was announced at the May 1992 Lisbon Conference.

Health Care Improvements ($15m).—includes programs to promote trade and investment in the health sector and alternative health care financing systems, establish partnerships between U.S. hospitals and NIS groups to improve hospital administration, and improvements in pharmaceutical production.

Status: The first hospital partnership is underway between Norfolk, VA and the Moscow Children's Hospital with a grant of $1.5 million. The American International Health Alliance has been selected to manage the remainder of the program, and ten other partnerships have been or are being initiated this fall. After completing an initial audit, U.S. pharmaceutical manufacturers will be working with plants in Russia to improve pharmaceutical production. The Department of Commerce, the Trade and Development Program (TDP) and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) have received AID funds to support increased trade and investment in the NIS pharmaceutical and medical industries. Commerce is sponsoring the first medical equipment, supplies, and pharmaceutical trade mission to the NIS during October 11-19, 1992, and TDP and OPIC have completed their initial visits.

Private Sector/Defense Conversion ($12.5m)—provides support for privatization efforts, creation of an NIS Business Information Center in the U.S. Department of Commerce, placement of defense conversion advisors, and funding for OPIC investment missions and TDP feasibility studies.

Status: This project supports general privatization efforts such as providing funds to equip the Russian Ministry of Privatization with computers and other office equipment, and to expand the International Finance Corporation's demonstration auctions of state-controlled shops in three cities in Russia and Ukraine. Advisors are also helping to facilitate development of privatization laws, to support business investment and to develop investment support facilities in selected cities. Two teams of defense conversion advisors are currently assisting defense firms in Nizhniy Novgorod, Russia and Kharkov, Ukraine. To develop private sector programs, AID has transferred funds to the Department of Commerce to support the Business Information Service for the NIS (BISNIS) and a program to assist consortia of U.S. businesses to establish offices in the NIS and to encourage US exports. TDP is using AID funding to support feasibility studies in infrastructure industrial sectors such as energy and transportation. OPIC is organizing trade and investment missions and providing funding for feasibility studies.

Food System Restructuring ($6m)—finances USDA programs for improving food storage and distribution and developing food policies.

Status: We are designing a completed project that will break down the initial $6 million as follows: $1.25 million transferred to USDA to fund the Armenian Extension

Service Activity; $3 million to fund unsolicited proposals in the area of storage; $1 million for an additional unsolicited proposal; and approximately $650,000 for two storage teams that visited Russia and Ukraine in July and August.

Democratic Pluralism ($8m)—This project focuses on four areas—political and social processes, development of an independent media, rule of law activities, and public administration assistance. The key participants in the project are the International Republican Institute, the National Democratic Institute, the American Bar Association (ABA), the AFL-CIO, and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems. The ABA is responding to requests from Armenian, Belarus, and Uzbekistan for technical assistance on constitutional reform and drafting new legislation. The National Democratic Institute has provided advisors for political party development and civil education in Russia and is sending field staff to Ukraine and Central Asia this fall. An election monitoring team organized by the International Republican Institute provided assistance to the Azerbaijan elections in May. In addition, grants are pending for media development, labor union development, and election reform.

Housing Sector Reform ($5m)—funds long- and short-term advisors for housing and land ownership policies.

Status: Survey teams have completed assessments of housing and urban development conditions in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, and Kazakhstan as well as in the seven cities targetted in this program. Short-term consultant assignments addressing housing law, private management of public housing, land registration and taxation, housing privatization, and general housing and land development have been completed. Temporary housing advisors are working in three republics, and seven of twelve long term resident advisors for housing issues were in place by the end of August.

Economic Restructuring/Financial Sector ($4m)—provides funding for the Department of the Treasury for financial sector resident advisors in central banks and Ministries of Finance in four former Soviet republics. The next tranche of funds under this project will be used for assistance in bank training, financial sector reform, and additional advisory and restructuring projects.

Status: Short-term Treasury advisors have provided assistance to the Russian Ministry of Finance and the National Bank of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Ministry of Finance. Treasury is recruiting long term advisors for Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. Additional assistance will be designed in areas mentioned above.

Eurasia Foundation ($4m)—provides assistance for private sector development. The Foundation is intended to be an independent, grant-giving foundation which will use public and private resources to foster the process of economic and political reform in the NIS.

Status: The project to establish the foundation—which is dedicated to providing technical assistance to private organizations in the areas of management training, private sector development, and democratization—is on hold by the Congress pending naming of the Board of Directors for the Foundation.

Other AID programs that do not involve ESF money include:

The Farmer-to-Farmer Program: This three year, $30 million program is administered with money from PL 480. It engages US farmers and agricultural experts as volunteers who can transfer their technologies, knowledge, and skills to farmers and agribusinesses in the NIS. It focuses on meat, dairy, vegetable oil, wheat, feed grains, and fruit and vegetable sectors with emphasis on distribution, processing, marketing and the general promotion of agribusiness development. Under the first phase, AID committed $4 million to Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance (VOCA) for a two year program focusing on Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Armenia. VOCA intends to place 238 advisors in these republics by end of 1993. The remaining $26 million, the second phase, was dedicated to grants to be awarded on a competitive basis. The selected grantees are Agricultural Cooperative Development International, VOCA, Land O' Lakes, Tri-Valley Growers, Citizens Network, and Winrock International. This second phase will place approximately 1500 volunteers in agribusiness, credit, and processing areas at sites in all 12 states of the NIS.

Disaster Assistance: $19.7 million in funding is being used to provide medical supplies, an emergency immunization program, and to finance Project HOPE's child immunization and pharmaceutical project. This program is referred to in the President's Medical Initiative. Vaccines and supplies from U.S. manufacturers will be obtained to immunize 225,000 children in the NIS. The project targets Russia and Ukraine, but Armenia is also expected to participate. (AID also is working to assure that 520,000 children in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan receive immunization against measles, polio, DPT, and tuberculosis by the end of calendar year 1992.)

CAST: AID has also committed $2 million in development assistance funds to the Cooperation in Applied Science and Technology (CAST) program. This project—administered by the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences—aims to link defense-related scientists with U.S. firms to conduct joint research in the US, and the emphasis is on helping NIS scientists apply their skills to activities benefiting the civil sector.

POC—Malcolm Butler, chief AID/NIS Task Force, (202) 647-0269.

The Department of Agriculture (USDA)

USDA is involved in several technical assistance programs—all with a private sector focus—designed to address the range of problems affecting food supply in the NIS. For the distribution and marketing of food aid deliveries to the NIS, it has relied primarily on private voluntary organizations. USDA is providing the following programs:

USDA's Agricultural Marketing Service is working to promote the development and expansion of modern wholesale markets in the NIS, particularly in Moscow and Kiev.

USDA is planning to set a "model farm" community near St. Petersburg pursuant to a personal request to Secretary Madigan from Mayor Sobchak and then-President Gorbachev. This will link American farming families with Russian farmers to teach farm management and farmgate marketing techniques.

USDA has placed a senior expansion advisor and a public policy specialist in Yerevan, Armenia for three years to assist in creating a legal framework for Armenia's agricultural policy reforms. AID is providing funding for this program.

Executives from American agribusiness firms will work with counterpart organizations in the former Soviet Union under the Loaned Executive Program. Site selection teams have visited Novosibirsk, Russia; Minsk, Belarus; and Alma Ata, Kazakhstan to identify potential NIS agribusiness firms, and selection of US executive participants is underway.

So far in 1992, USDA has selected candidates for the Cochran Fellowship Program in the states of Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. The Fellowship provides short-term training in areas such as agricultural development, trade, agribusiness, management, and marketing. Agriculturalists and administrators from the public and private sectors will visit the U.S. to participate in field observations and industry visits and to receive on-the-job training and attend university courses. This program is open to all twelve of the NIS and will be implemented in Kyrgyzstan and Armenia in 1992 with the others to follow in calendar 1993 at the latest.

On August 3, USDA published a formal announcement soliciting proposals for the Russian Far East Assessment project, which will evaluate the agribusiness potential in that region. Contracts will be awarded by September 30, and assessment teams should go out in November.

USDA is providing short-term credit for purchases of agricultural commodities through its Commodity Credit Guarantee Program. In the future, USDA plans to provide credit guarantees for agricultural facilities. In fiscal years 1991 and 1992, $4.85 billion has been announced to purchase agricultural commodities, and an additional $800 million has already been announced for fiscal 1993.

USDA is implementing a pilot Credit Guarantees for Facilities Program (GSM-104) as authorized under Section 1542 of the Farm Bill.

USDA, pursuant to requests from the Ministries of Agriculture in Russia and Kazakhstan, is recruiting agricultural policy specialists to be detailed to Moscow and Alma Ata as advisors to the respective Ministers of Agriculture.

USDA has been unable to meet requests for assistance in establishing agricultural extension services from Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Russia because of unavailability of funding. The requests from Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan date back to September 1991, and the U.S. Government announced its intention to meet those requests at the January 1992 Washington Conference on Aid to the NIS.

USDA has expanded its Moscow embassy staff from three to four agricultural officers and has received approval to place agricultural officers in Alma Ata and Kiev. Constraints in the Foreign Agricultural Service's budget for field operations has delayed placement of the two officers in Alma Ata and Kiev indefinitely.

POC—Thomas Pomeroy, Coordinator of Eastern Europe and Former Soviet Secretariat, (202) 720-0368.

The Department of Commerce

Commerce is engaged in a number of programs designed to foster development of private sector trade and investment in the NIS and to educate NIS business managers on how to operate in a market-oriented economy.

Commerce established the Business Development Committee with Russia to promote U.S. exports and investment in the NIS and to facilitate contacts between U.S. and Russian business organizations. The Committee has several working groups and, after the U.S.-Russia Summit in June 1992, established a defense conversion sub-group to assist in conversion efforts.

Commerce organized the U.S.-Russian Business Summit during June 1992, which co-

incided with Russian President Boris Yeltsin's state visit to Washington.

The Consortia of American Business in the NIS (CABNIS) has been established to provide financial assistance to American companies interested in opening offices in the NIS. Commerce is also working to develop small business centers in the NIS.

On June 16, 1992 Commerce opened the Business Information Service for the NIS (BISNIS). BISNIS serves as an information center for U.S. and NIS firms looking for new business relationships.

At the request of the Secretary of State, Commerce published the Study of Barriers to Trade and Investment in the NIS. Based on discussions with the U.S. business community, the study is used to devise policies to facilitate U.S. private investment in the NIS.

Commerce is trying to organize business and investment missions to the NIS by emphasizing missions targeting specific industrial sectors.

Commerce's International Trade Administration is administering the Special American Business Internship Training Program (SABIT). SABIT is directed at NIS business managers and scientific workers: to date, over 300 internships have been awarded, and less than 10 percent of the program's original $2 million in funding for FY92 remains. The first interns, who will work with their host firms in the U.S. for three to six months, began arriving in late August with the bulk arriving during September and October.

Commerce is expanding its foreign commercial service staffs and offices in the NIS. A full service post is available in Moscow with two other posts in Kiev and St. Petersburg.

POC—Franklin Vargo, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Europe, (202) 377-5638.

The Department of Defense (DoD)

DoD has participated in programs aimed at reducing the large military-industrial complex in the NIS and at providing humanitarian assistance. Legislation passed during 1992 authorized the use of $400 million in DoD funding to facilitate weapons destruction in the NIS and to prevent weapons proliferation. To date, $170 million has been obligated to provide storage containers for nuclear weapons materials, nuclear weapons accident response equipment, assistance in improving material control and accountability systems for fissile materials and to assist with the destruction of chemical weapons and to finance the international science centers in Moscow and Ukraine. In addition $100 million has been authorized to provide transportation for humanitarian assistance to the NIS. To date, approximately half of that funding has been used to finance transportation for Operations Provide HOPE I and II, which provided excess DoD food and medicine, USDA grant commodities, and privately donated humanitarian assistance.

DoD is also engaged in the following initiatives:

International Military Education and Training: During FY 92, funding levels for Russia and Ukraine are $160,000 and $75,000 respectively.

Submarine Dismantlement/Port Modernization: DoD officers have met with CIS naval officials and US and Russian businessmen who want US support in dismantling formerly Soviet nuclear submarines. OSD and the US Navy are trying to determine if the US could help in this effort.

Civil-Military Relations: In its exchanges with NIS military officials, DoD has emphasized the importance of civilian control over the military. The Defense Policy Board Task Force is developing a book on the military in a democracy.

Bilateral and Multilateral (through NATO) military-to-military contacts: Through bilateral and multilateral defense and direct military-to-military meetings, U.S. officers are discussing the role of the military in democratic societies, military justice, military budgeting, disaster assistance, and military medicine.

POC—Eric Edelman, Assistant Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Russian, Eurasian and East European Affairs, (703) 697-7202.

The Department of Energy (DoE)

DoE is engaged in projects with the NIS on nuclear weapons destruction, environmental restoration and waste management, nuclear reactor safety, fusion research, and energy efficiency. DoE also participates in the international review of the Soviet RBMK nuclear reactor. It is involved in the creation of the international science and technology centers in Russia and Ukraine. Victor Alessi, Director of DoE's Office of Arms Control and Nonproliferation, will serve on the Board of Directors of the Moscow Center. DoE's Lawrence Livermore Laboratories currently is working on a project examining the potential for commercialization of dual use technologies: Livermore teams have visited 16 research organizations doing optical and laser research and DoE has provided grants to 10 of these organizations to do technical evaluation projects.

DoE's intra-agency coordinating group is considering several future projects such as studies on energy use in the NIS, establishment of a center in Moscow to find superior technologies of interest to the U.S., development of investment and trade regimes with the West, cooperative fusion research, and training programs in conventional fuels for scientists.

POC—John J. Easton, Assistant Secretary, Office of Domestic and International Energy Policy, (202) 586-5800.

The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA)

EPA has no separate technical assistance program but is carrying out the following programs in the NIS, which are covered under 30 EPA cooperative programs developed under the auspices of existing environmental agreements with the states of the former USSR:

Environmental Education and Information Center: EPA and the Ukrainian Ministry of Environmental Protection (MEP) are establishing an environmental education and information center in Kiev in the Ivan Mohyla Academy, a new private university. The Center will be open to the public free of charge, and the MEP will provide office premises, staff, and other resources. EPA will assist the Center with advice on provision of expertise and training, toxic release inventory and community right-to-know programs, technology information clearinghouses, computer-based teaching programs and other educational software, and publications and library materials.

Methane Recovery: Recovery of methane gas from leaking gas pipelines and coal mines with potential for U.S. private investment.

The Moscow Energy Efficiency Center: This office will provide policy analysis and recommendations and identify investment opportunities in the energy sector;

Integrated Resources Planning (IRP) for electric utilities: This project would bring Russian officials to the U.S. to discuss development of an IRP for Moscow and create IRP teaching capabilities in a Moscow university.

Air emissions control technology: EPA is conducting demonstrations in Russia and Ukraine of low-cost retrofit technology for power plants that would reduce nitrogen oxide and sulfur dioxide emissions by 50-90 percent.

POC—Sandy Vogelgesang, Principal Deputy Asst Administrator for the Office of International Activities, (202) 260-4870.

Export-Import Bank of the United States (Eximbank)

Eximbank currently is able to provide varying forms of financing for U.S. exports to Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Belarus. In Russia, Eximbank now offers short- and medium-term insurance, loans, and guarantee support when the Russian Bank of Foreign Trade commits the full faith and credit of the Russian government. Eximbank offers short-term insurance for projects with Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine, when backed up by the full faith and credit of the respective national governments. Particular areas of interest for project financial support include the automotive, energy, and housing industries. For FY 1992, Eximbank support for U.S. export projects totals over $197 million.

POC: Thomas Moran, Vice President for Europe and Canada Division, (202) 566-8813.

The Department of the Interior

Several of the Department's subordinate agencies currently are engaged in NIS assistance/research projects totaling over $1 million. The Department has financed these projects from its own funding, but hopes to obtain AID or other outside funding to expand its projects for FY 1993. The Department of Interior's current programs with the NIS include:

U.S. Geological Survey: USGS is engaged in several joint research projects with various states NIS, some of which date back to projects initiated with the government of the Former Soviet Union. These projects include mineral resource studies, energy resource studies, scientific cooperation in geodesy and cartography, water resources research, and earthquake studies were carried.

U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service: USFWS is conducting joint research in the NIS on animal and bird populations and is providing training to NIS specialists and veterinarians in environmental education and wildlife disease diagnosis and treatment.

Bureau of Land Management: BLM is conducting a Paired Ecosystem Project with five Russian laboratories to measure global climate change at five paired monitoring sites in different climate zones in Eurasia and North America.

Minerals Management Service: MMS is engaged in two studies with the Far East Division of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The first is an exchange of Arctic scientific information and is being led in the US by MMS offices in the State of Alaska. MMS and the State of Hawaii are jointly funding the second project, which involves undersea investigations offshore of Johnson Island and the Northern Mariana Islands.

National Park Service: NPS is working with Russian officials in technical exchanges which deal with shared cultural themes in US and Russian history and in developing the Beringia International Heritage Park.

Bureau of Mines: USBM has expanded its Minerals Availability System database to include those of the Former Soviet Union. The Department hopes to use this information to stimulate interest in mineral trade with the NIS.

POC—Suzanne Rooney, Special Assistant to the Secretary, (202) 208-3181.

The Department of Labor

Labor is funding a project with Comprehensive Personnel Services of Sacramento, California to conduct human resource surveys at two or three defense-industrial facilities in St. Petersburg. These surveys will subsequently be used to promote business opportunities to potential US investors who may be interested in the St. Petersburg region.

In late 1992 or early 1993, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and Eurostat will co-sponsor a seminar for statistical agencies from the NIS on the development and use of statistics to measure economic performance. Resources for this project will be provided to BLS under the Foreign Assistance Act for Statistics Training in Czechoslovakia and the former Soviet Union.

Labor is also developing plans for a possible exchange of information between its Veterans Employment and Training Service (VETS) and Russian counterpart agencies on transition of military officers to civilian occupations.

POC—Shellyn Gae McCaffrey, Deputy Undersecretary for International Labor Affairs, (202) 523-6043.

The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC)

OPIC has signed bilateral agreements—required to facilitate insurance and financing—with ten of the NIS, and the remaining republics, Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan, are expected to sign agreements shortly. Specific OPIC programs include:

Loans and Loan Guarantees: During FY93, OPIC expects to provide loan financing to 3-5 projects sponsored by US firms.

Investor Financing: OPIC currently is evaluating proposals for 55 projects valued at over $2 billion.

Investment Insurance: For FY92, OPIC is considering political risk coverage for 9 private investment projects with potential total investment substantially higher.

Insurance Registrations: More than 325 private investment projects have registered for OPIC insurance.

Feasibility Studies: OPIC is involved in feasibility studies, project profiles, and investment missions in health and private sector development programs.

Mission to Russia: In June 1992, OPIC sponsored a visit to Russia by 53 US business leaders to discuss potential joint venture partners.

POC—Howard L. Hills, General Counsel, (202) 457-7200.

The Peace Corps

The Peace Corps is meeting the needs of the NIS for technical assistance and plans to place 250 Volunteers in the NIS by the end of 1992. Peace Corps has established two posts in Russia (in Saratov and Vladivostok), and posts in Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Armenia have staff on site and programming underway in anticipation of the arrival of Volunteers in mid-November and December. Assessment visits are planned for Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan in October, Byelarus in November, and Turkmenistan and Tajikistan in December. Volunteers will work primarily in Small Enterprise Development (SED) to assist in the transition to a market economy. There also may be English language programs. Specific Peace Corps activities in the NIS include:

Russia: 100 SED volunteers will be placed in Russia, about evenly divided between the Volga River region (Saratov) and the Far East (Vladivostok). The Volunteers will create small business centers (SBCs) which will support Volunteer advisors assigned to communities within each region. Each SBC will be located in an oblast capital or economic center and will have up to four volunteers. Volunteers are scheduled to arrive November 20. A central support office to coordinate field programs will be located in Moscow.

Ukraine: 60 SED volunteers will be placed in Ukraine. Thirty volunteers will be divided into three man teams which will be assigned to municipal governments in ten oblast capitals, while 28 volunteers will be assigned individually to other towns. Two volunteers will be assigned to Ukraine's State Committee for the Promotion of Small Business Entrepreneurship. The Volunteers are scheduled to arrive in early December.

Armenia: Armenia's program will have both SED (15) and Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) (25) Volunteers. Volunteers are expected to begin arriving in early December.

Uzbekistan: Staff in Uzbekistan currently is developing both SED and TEFL projects. Programming specifics should be completed by October 15. Fifty Volunteers are scheduled to arrive in late December.

The Peace Corps will place an initial 175 Volunteers in five more former Soviet republics during 1993: Kyrgyzstan, Kazahstan, Belarus, Turkmenistan, and Tajikistan. A second cycle of 250 Volunteers will be placed in the first five posts in the latter part of 1993.

POC—Jerry W. Leach, Eurasia Regional Director, (202) 606-3862.

Trade and Development Program (TDP)

TDP has committed approximately $6 million to finance projects in the NIS during FY92. To date, approximately $3 million have been obligated to finance studies in energy, aviation (air traffic control and cargo management), and housing. TDP is also providing partial funding for the establishment of agribusiness centers in Russia and Ukraine to provide training on US agricultural equipment and technologies.

Proposals for future NIS programs, valued at over $10 million, that are currently under review include studies on pharmaceutical plant modernization, defense conversion, information processing systems, energy and customs operations modernization.

POC—Daniel Stein, Regional Director for the NIS, (703) 875-4357.

The Department of Transportation (DoT)

DoT is developing strategies to address specific needs in transportation management, creating a regulatory framework and training to build infrastructure within the transportation sector. It is also maintaining close contact with US transport industry representatives, AID, the World Bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). DoT's various components are working on the following areas:

Civil Aviation: FAA is cooperating with Russia to implement the Global Navigation System, which will use the US Global Positioning System and the Russian military system. Implementation of this program will provide safety and efficiency benefits for all users. The FAA is working to expand air routes to the Russian Far East and open better routes throughout Russia. The FAA is also helping to integrate air traffic control procedures for civil and military aviation and to modernize the air traffic management system. FAA is negotiating a bilateral airworthiness agreement for aircraft certification to allow for import/export of aircraft and aviation products. FAA is also developing a security training program for international participation and has discussed potential involvement with NIS representatives.

Highways and Roads: The Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) is cooperating with the IBRD and the EBRD on transportation policies for the NIS. FHWA is also participating in a World Bank road rehabilitation and maintenance project in Russia. This project will tap into resources and assistance from federal and state transportation agencies and departments, trade associations, and academic and professional institutions.

Maritime Projects: The Coast Guard is continuing various cooperative arrangements with NIS organizations regarding search and rescue (SAR), pollution control, and radionavigation efforts in the Bering Sea. The Coast Guard is helping providing assistance to Russia to help it become an active participant in the automated mutual assistance vessel rescue system. In addition, the Coast Guard has offered slots at the Coast Guard Academy to NIS candidates.

Railroads: The Administrator of the Federal Railroad Administration (FRA) and his Russian counterpart have agreed on eight areas for S&T cooperation. FRA has also submitted proposals for training programs for senior railway managers emphasizing privatization, free market concepts, and railroad management.

Institution Building: DoT proposes to establish a Transportation Planning Unit (TPU) within the Russian Ministry of Transportation to improve transportation policymaking. DoT's Federal Transit Administration will provide technical assistance to NIS cities to measure the environmental impacts of various transportation projects. DoT aims to identify NIS transportation sector officials who plan to visit the US and offer them the opportunity to observe the US transportation sector at the federal, state, and private sector levels.

POC—Jeffrey N. Shane, Assistant Secretary for Policy and International Affairs, (202) 366-4450

The Department of the Treasury

Treasury has led U.S. participation in the G-7 effort to fashion a $24 billion bilateral and multilateral assistance program for the NIS states and has been the lead agency in developing approaches to restructure the external debt of the former Soviet Union. Treasury has urged early and effective action in the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development to assure an effective assistance effort from the international financial institutions.

Treasury has financed discussions with NIS officials to identify specific assistance requirements and sent a short-term advisor to Moscow to discuss tax policies. It is also planning to send longer term financial advisors to Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. These advisors would be located in the respective capitals and would advise government officials on budgeting, tax, and banking policies.

POC—John R. Hauge, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union Policy, (202) 622-0153

The United States Information Agency (USIA)

USIA is emphasizing democracy building and economic reform, financing its programs from its own budget and through monies transferred from AID. Its FY92 budget for activities to the NIS was $39 million, and USIA plans to increase that figure during FY93.

USIA currently has 27 employees serving at three posts (Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Kiev) and hopes to open posts in Yerevan, Armenia; Minsk, Belarus; Alma Ata, Kazakhstan; and Tashkent, Uzbekistan by the end of the fiscal year. Its major activities include visitor exchanges; American professionals in residence; Voice of America broadcasts in Russian, Ukrainian, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Georgian, and Uzbek; media programs; book translations in history, economics, literature, and law; and student/faculty exchanges between American and NIS universities. USIA is also commissioning several pamphlets to discuss the nature of democracies and market economies. To date, USIA's Sister Cities Program has linked 51 Russian cities and 93 cities throughout the NIS with American cities.

POC—Peter J. Antico, Coordinator for USIA Assistance for EE and NIS, (202) 619-6096

Organizations Engaged in Discussions With NIS Officials

Several agencies have engaged in informal discussions with visiting NIS delegations or have participated in formal conferences that have led to information exchanges or proposals for potential assistance programs. These include:

Small Business Administration.—has briefed on its activities to visit officials who make such requests and provides referrals to other government organizations such as Commerce and OPIC.

POC—Mary Brennan Lukens, (202) 205-6657

Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC).—has participated in discussions with the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development on technical assistance issues. Officials from the Russian government and representatives from St. Petersburg's stock exchange have attended SEC's International Institute for Securities Market Development.

POC—James R. Doty, (202) 272-3171

Federal Reserve.—Several Federal Reserve officials, including Chairman Alan Greenspan, have visited the NIS to identify potential areas for technical assistance programs. The Federal Reserve also has participated in IMF missions to discuss monetary policy, money markets, debt management, banking supervision, and payment clearing systems.

POC—Charles J. Siegman, (202) 452-3308.

Federal Communications Commission.—expects to participate in US government-sponsored seminars on telecommunications, broadcasting, and spectrum management.

POC—Walda W. Roseman, (202) 632-0935

Office of Personnel Management.—is discussing a project with USIA to finance a number of senior NIS officials' attendance at the Federal Executive Institute in Virginia.

POC—Dinah Lin Cheng, (202) 606-0961

Congressional Research Service (CRS).—The Joint Committee on the Library approved a program for Russia in January 1992 which would involve an exchange of legislative documents and cooperation between the staffs of CRS and the Russian Supreme Soviet. The program, which resulted from a request by current First Deputy Chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Sergey Filatov back in September 1991, will be financed by private funds from the Ford Foundation and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

Since the initial request by Filatov, CRS and the Russian Supreme Soviet have exchanged delegations twice. A CRS-Russian Federation Conference on the Separation of Powers occurred in Moscow in June 1992. Most recently, the CRS and the Parliamentary Center of the Russian Supreme Soviet signed a cooperation agreement in June 1992: the agreement currently is awaiting approval by the Joint Committee of the Library and the Russian Supreme Soviet.

POC—William H. Robinson, Deputy Director of the Congressional Research Service, (202) 707-5776.•

BASHING AMERICA'S LAWYERS

• Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, in recent days it has become somewhat fashionable to bash America's lawyers and our legal system. For example, President Bush stated that he was prepared to "get in the ring" with the trial lawyers. In the Senate's recent debate on whether to consider Federal product liability legislation, many allegations were made about how greedy lawyers were running around clogging up the courts.

I have come across two articles by Howard Nations which appeared recently in the Trial and Trial Lawyers Forum magazines. In these articles, Mr. Nations cites a long string of distinguished service to America by the legal profession, and the benefits we now enjoy because America's lawyers have been willing to step forward and fight for individual rights and liberties, for equal justice under the law, for health and safety, for those catastrophically injured, and the like. As he points out, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln were lawyers, as were those great defenders of our individual rights and liberties, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Patrick Henry were lawyers, and so is Barbara Jordan. The list of lawyers and their contributions to our American society goes on and on, and continues to this day.

In addition, Mr. Nations discusses a number of the recent claims made in the current effort to federalize our tort law. For the information of the Senate, I ask Mr. Nations' articles be printed in the RECORD. I urge my colleagues to take a moment to review these thoughts, for they surely help to bring some context to the current onslaught on our legal profession.

The articles follow:

TRIBUTE TO LAWYERS—"THE FIRST THING WE DO, LET'S KILL ALL THE LAWYERS."

(By Howard Nations)

The great trial lawyer Daniel Webster said, "Justice is the greatest concern of man on earth." There is no greater professional calling than to stand as a lawyer at the bar of justice and define and defend the rights of citizens. Lawyers play many vital roles in the world, but none is more important than preserving and protecting citizens' rights. Since lawyers play such a critical role in our democracy, why is lawyer bashing so prevalent, and how should we respond to it?

The nature of the judicial system and our adversarial role in it explain why we will never be loved by the public. If enduring lawyer bashing is the price we must pay for protecting individual freedoms, so be it. But we must not allow the demeaning of lawyers to interfere with our professional obligations by reducing our zeal in representing clients.

One danger of lawyer bashing is the effect it can have on us as individual lawyers and on the profession as a whole. If we lose our professional self-respect, the entire country loses because our effectiveness in the democratic process is damaged.

For us to maintain our self-respect, it is critical that we understand the role our lawyer ancestors played in establishing and defending democracy. As lawyers, we are the beneficiaries of a rich and unceasing heritage of championing citizens' rights. Reducing that effectiveness is a major goal of our detractors since the power of the people has always been tied inextricably to the influence of lawyers. As Alexis de Tocqueville said in Democracy in America in 1835, "I cannot believe that a republic could subsist at the present time if the influence of lawyers in public business did not increase in proportion to the power of the people."

Today we are engaged in a major struggle over whether power in America will remain with the people or continue to shift to corporations and the government. Individual freedoms can be taken from the people only by reducing the power of lawyers.

As part of this struggle, we are confronting in America today a well-orchestrated campaign of lawyer bashing designed to silence us and limit our ability to stand between the abuses of government power and corporate power inflicted upon ordinary citizens. The effects of this corrosive campaign resound in the legislative halls, the voting booth, and the jury box.

Since, as Shakespeare said, "What's past is prologue," every trial lawyer should understand our past and present roles in society to better meet our obligations to the citizens of tomorrow. When we think of those who preceded us in this noble profession, we become imbued with the spirit, the virtues, and the values we are called upon to preserve.

As to our predecessors' accomplishments, greatness was their hallmark. The mantle we have inherited from them should be passed to our successors draped in greater dignity than when we received it. Even a cursory review of America's history reveals a common thread: Our legal predecessors have steadfastly refused to stand silent when individual liberties were imperiled, regardless of the source or the enormity of the threat.

Who are some of these exemplary lawyers?

We see them occupying the presidency. They are leading America through the formative years of our Republic: nearly all of our first 16 presidents—from Washington through Lincoln—were lawyers. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison were lawyers. So too John Adams, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, and Martin Van Buren. As George Bush, the 41st president, occupies the White House today, 26 of his predecessors were lawyers.

We see him addressing the delegates of the Second Virginia Convention, with the battle cry, "Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God. I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!" His name is Patrick Henry and he is a lawyer.

We see him with quill in hand at Monticello and in Philadelphia and Washington as he painstakingly crafts the rights of America's citizens in the Declaration of Independence. His name is Thomas Jefferson and he is a lawyer.

We see him at his desk drafting "The Federalist Papers" to guide the land he loves to-

ward constitutional law. We also see him helping to frame the Bill of Rights—the credo of American freedom. His name is James Madison and he is a lawyer.

We see him leading the country in its moment of gravest internal peril and despair. And we see him signing the Emancipation Proclamation, moving America closer to giving real meaning to the Jeffersonian ideal of "equal justice for all." His name is Abraham Lincoln and he is a lawyer.

We see him shepherding the country through the Great Depression, impervious to his own physical disability. Boldly he lifts our spirits and girds our strength, all the while reminding us that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself." His name is Franklin Delano Roosevelt and he is a lawyer.

We see her mesmerizing the 1976 Democratic National Convention as its keynote speaker. She captures the hearts and minds of those who hear her extolling the virtues of democracy and individual freedom in the corridors of Congress. Her name is Barbara Jordan and she is a lawyer.

We see him both as advocate and distinguished jurist passionately reminding us all that justice is color-blind and that all citizens, regardless of race, creed, or color, are equal under the law. His name is Thurgood Marshall and his is a lawyer.

We see him, the son of tenant farmers, as he emerges from rural Alabama to become one of the country's great and courageous civil rights lawyers. Undaunted by death threats to himself and his family, he persists in bringing the Ku Klux Klan, skinheads, and other hate groups to the bar of justice. His name is Morris Dees and he is a lawyer.

We see him testifying on Capitol Hill, demanding that the safety and health of U.S. citizens not be jeopardized in the name of corporate profit and greed, or political expediency. Committed to making government officials and institutions truly serve the people, and railing against actions and decisions arrived at in secret, he is the consummate consumer advocate. His name is Ralph Nader and he is a lawyer.

We see them representing the widow and the orphan and the catastrophically injured, whose future quality of life rests on their lawyers' unstinting dedication to justice. We listen as these lawyers teach us how justice can best be achieved in the face of overwhelming odds, doing battle with corporate America. We watch in awe as they show us how a modern-day David, armed only with a stone of justice, can bring down today's Goliaths, manufacturers of defective and dangerous products. Their names are Scott Baldwin; Robert Cartwright, Sr.; Roxanne Barton Conlin; Bob Gibbins; Joe Jamail; Ted Koskoff; Joe Tonahill—among others across the nation. Their names are legion and they are lawyers.

Where would America be today if these lawyers had been successfully silenced?

They are our inspiration, our leaders, and role models * * * and our friends. By their actions and their deeds, by the example of their lifelong mission and accomplishments, they remind us of the mantle of responsibility we ourselves carry as lawyers.

Lawyers are the linchpin of the democratic process and the front-line defenders of democracy. The question inevitably arises, then, Why has lawyer bashing become something of a national pastime? Try "politics."

The centerpiece of the power struggle to subjugate individual freedoms is the Bush administration's "Agenda for Civil Justice in America." It is a thinly disguised effort to continue the shift of power from individual citizens to government and corporations. The stakes are huge.

To win this power struggle, President Bush and Vice President Quayle must squelch the power of lawyers to defend individual rights. They proceed by discrediting, defaming, and demeaning lawyers. Easy access to the mass media certainly helps.

A year ago, Bush's official spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, at a White House press conference pointed the way. "We should blast lawyers at every opportunity," he bluntly stated. Quayle chairs Bush's Council on Competitiveness, whose very purpose is to blame lawyers for the alleged inability of U.S. companies to successfully compete with foreign firms. Over the next few months, we will hear Bush and Quayle continue to blame lawyers for most of society's ills. Their reelection strategy makes lawyers the Willie Hortons of the 1992 presidential campaign.

DEMAGOGUES AND TYRANTS

In the face of this onslaught, it has never been more important for us to maintain our self-esteem—both individually and as a profession. We must remember that our predecessors essentially fought the same battles. The discrediting, defaming, and demeaning of lawyers has been the method of choice for charlatans and demagogues and tyrants over the years.

In 17th-century England, Oliver Cromwell, set on thwarting individual freedoms, decreed that no more than three barristers could congregate outside of court. Cromwell recognized that the greatest threat to his autocratic rule was the collective commitment of the London Society of Barristers to the universal principles of freedom established in 1215 with the signing of the Magna Charta.

In 20th-century Europe, Adolf Hitler, probably the most heinous and destructive dictator in all of world history, let his views on lawyers be known. "I shall not rest until every German sees that it is a shameful thing to be a lawyer," he proclaimed. Hitler saw the need to destroy lawyers as a predicate to destroying the rights of other individuals.

Silencing lawyers to subjugate human freedom has been attempted for centuries, but it has been successfully resisted in America by strong-willed citizens aided by lawyers who sought to protect them through the Constitution and Bill of Rights. With each attack, our predecessors at law emerged—like the phoenix from the ashes—to redefine individual rights and freedoms.

Today, we need to be wary of mass-media campaigns that threaten lawyers and therefore the rights of citizens. We must prevail like those who prevailed before us because we are right, because our mission is just, and because the freedom that we protect is synonymous with individual rights for every citizen.

As a society, what alternatives do we face if lawyers can no longer protect citizens' rights?

What a travesty if those who would undo our civil justice system were to prevail now at the very moment when many nations of the world are consciously choosing to emulate the United States and its democratic institutions! In the name of a distorted view of "international business competitiveness," Americans would lose the very protections and symbols that make our great nation the exemplar of freedom for the world. This must not occur, and it will not occur as long as the legal profession vigilantly stands guard at the gates of democracy to uphold the rights of our citizens.

Apart from remembering our predecessors at law, we must do more. We must bring our individual and concerted talents to bear to defend freedom with pro bono efforts on behalf of the disadvantaged. We must fight with indignant advocacy for those harmed by defective products as with renewed commitment for every citizen and every tort victim whose civil rights or civil liberties are threatened.

In the name of "reform," today's demagogues seek to defile our civil justice system by deforming established tort law and attacking lawyers, judges, and jurors. Their ultimate goal is to abrogate individual rights and liberties of ordinary citizens, consumers, and tort victims. The rights they seek to abolish through such attacks are the bedrock of our democracy. As Newsweek magazine stated, "The war against the lawyers is at bottom a camouflaged aggression against the [American] jury system."

ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE

The detractors of our distinguished profession quote with glee Shakespeare's famous phrase from Henry VI, "The first thing we do, let's kill all the lawyers." As has often been demonstrated over the centuries, Shakespeare was right. If tyranny is to prevail, tyrants must first kill all the lawyers. Equally relevant today, if demagoguery is to prevail, those who would abolish the rights of citizens through attacks on the justice system must discredit, defame, and demean lawyers.

Our detractors who attempt to use Shakespeare's quote pejoratively against our profession either don't understand the context or deliberately distort it. The famous quote is spoken by Dick the Butcher, a follower of anarchist Jack Cade—"the head of an army of rabble and demagogues, pandering to the ignorant"—seeking to overthrow the government. The admonition that the first thing any demagogue must do to despoil individual freedom is to "kill all the lawyers" is nothing less than a supreme compliment to our profession.

Accept the compliment as a challenge. Let us conduct ourselves to ensure that, as long as juries and the bench and trial bar continue to breathe life into the common law and Constitution, the principles upon which our democracy is based will be safely preserved. They will continue to carry the indelible imprimatur of a legal system proven to be open and just and fair, and will be guarded by the true sentinels of freedom, our nation's trial lawyers.

TRIAL LAWYERS FORUM

The President of the United States is the world's most important decision maker. Since it is not possible for him to be an expert on every topic for which he makes crucial decisions, it is incumbent upon those who advise the President to do so wisely and with accurate information. This is an obligation that the advisers owe both to the President and to the American public whose lives are greatly influenced by the President's decisions.

In that regard, the President and Vice President of the United States owe an obligation to the American public to be certain that the information they disseminate, particularly through speeches and press releases, accurately reflects the truth. This is especially important when speeches are given by the President and Vice President to mold public opinion and affect the passage of legislation. Considering this premise, it is relevant to review the information being disseminated by the White House in an effort to

pass federal preemptive legislation and to reform the civil justice system in America.

The President is currently placing the power of the Executive Office behind the implementation of the Agenda for Civil Justice Reform in America, which is predicated on A Report from the President's Council on Competitiveness. This report, upon which the President bases his call for federal reform of America's product liability laws, deserves careful scrutiny by those of us who represent the victims of defective products.

Additionally, the report is the frequently cited cornerstone of the Bush/Quayle policy of lawyer bashing. Bush's proposed federal tort reform legislation will combine with the Agenda for Civil Justice Reform in America to further shift power away from individual citizens and toward America's corporations and their insurance companies. As the 1992 presidential campaign heats up, we will witness the further implementation of a well-devised scheme designed to undermine the lawyers who represent individuals against the power establishment by destroying the image of lawyers with the public, the press, and legislators. The success of this diabolical scheme requires us to examine closely the data that underlie the premises of the Council's report and the Bush/Quayle policy of lawyer bashing.

The report is replete with gross misinformation based on totally fallacious data. Not surprisingly, the Council that issued the report is chaired by Dan Quayle, the point man of the Bush/Quayle attack on the rights of individual citizens under the guise of salvaging America's competitive business position in the world. Perusal of the data demonstrates the incompetence of their research, the malicious nature of their campaign against lawyers, or both.

Quayle Fiction No. 1: A Report from the President's Council on Competitiveness states:

Businesses and governments spend more than 80 billion dollars a year on direct litigation costs.[1]

In the accompanying "Memorandum for the President," Quayle advises the President of the United States that:

Each year the United States spends an estimated 300 billion dollars as an indirect cost of the civil justice system.[1]

Fact: The most authoritative scientific study, by the RAND Institute for Civil Justice, estimates the cost of the entire civil justice system to be between 29 and 36 billion dollars a year, with total tort compensation estimated at 14 to 16 billion.[2]

Of all the Quayle rhetoric and misinformation, this point is the most egregious and unsupported but also the most enlightening about the extent to which the Council will go to fallaciously support their preordained agenda.

The first inquiry is: How was the 80-billion-dollar-a-year direct cost of litigation determined? The best available research indicates that empirical data supporting this figure is without terrestrial origin. In fact, the article in Forbes magazine, that great unbiased pinnacle of journalistic integrity, relies on data from Peter Huber, a hired gun for the manufacturing and insurance interests. Huber adopted the figure from an unsubstantiated statement by Robert Malott, a prominent Republican fundraiser and the Business Roundtable's point man on product liability.[3] Malott made his statement at a 1986 Business Roundtable discussion of product liability among business executives. He stated without source or citation; "It's estimated that insurance liability costs industry about 80 billion dollars a year, roughly the equivalent of the profitability of the top 200 corporations in the United States."[4]

It appears that Malott was addressing the cost of product liability, but when Huber adopted Malott's 80-billion-dollar figure, he applied it as an estimate of the direct cost of all tort litigation. When the Council on Competitiveness and the Vice President adopted these figures from Huber through Forbes magazine, they applied the 80 billion dollars as the cost to the United States of all civil litigation.

If this appears to be a slipshod method upon which to determine America's product liability laws and the rights of American citizens injured by defective products, consider how Huber made the astounding conversion from the malleable 80-billion-dollar direct cost figure to calculate the 300-billion-dollar indirect cost to the American economy of tort litigation.

Huber multiplies Malott's unsubstantiated 80-billion-dollar estimate by three and a half and rounds off to 300 billion to arrive at the indirect cost of the tort system.[5] Astonishingly, Huber arrives at the three-and-a-half multiplier from an editorial in the Journal of the American Medical Association that refers to the cost of defensive medicine expenditures by physicians surveyed in 1984. The study found that physicians who reported an average increase of $1,300 in the cost of their malpractice insurance also reported changes in their medical practices that were worth an additional $4,600 per physician per year. From this finding, the authors of the study calculated that each $1.00 of malpractice risk, as gauged by insurance premiums, induces $3.50 in defensive medicine expenditures.

In a quantum leap into the abyss of nonsequiturs, Huber uses this figure from a 1984 study of physicians' defensive medicine expenditures to justify multiplying Malott's fictional 80-billion-dollar figure by three and a half to arrive at the indirect cost of all tort litigation to America.[6] The fact that 3.5 times 80 billion is 280 billion does not deter Huber from rounding the number up to 300 billion. After all, what's an additional 20 billion dollars a year when every figure in the calculation is equally without relevant basis? Nowhere in the *Report from the President's Council on Competitiveness* is there a discussion of the accuracy of Malott's 80-billion-dollar guess, Huber's three-and-a-half multiplier, or any other aspect of the 300-billion-dollar sham estimate. Even Huber, when confronted with the fallacious nature of his 300-billion-dollar calculation, backed away, stating: "Nobody knows what the indirect cost is. What I said was that if the same multiplier operates in other areas, it's 300 billion. If they don't, it's not."[7]

Thus, despite the fact that both the 80-billion and the 300-billion-dollar calculations are totally unsubstantiated and wholly lacking in credibility, the Vice President of the United States and the President's Council on Competitiveness cite both figures as authoritative in the report as a basis upon which they plan to reform the civil justice system in America. The fact that these figures are much higher than the figures obtained in carefully conducted systematic studies does not appear to bother Huber, Quayle, or the Council.

Has the Council accepted these mythical figures because of an absence of a more accurate analysis of the cost of America's tort system? The fact is that accurate reports and studies are available but were willfully ignored by Quayle and the Council. In analyzing the intent and accuracy of the *Report from the President's Council on Competitiveness*, we must realize that rather than accepting the estimates of the RAND Institute for Civil Justice, which were determined in a careful, systematic, and scientific study, the Council chose to dignify Huber's absurd and disavowed 300-billion-dollar figure by publishing it in an executive branch document under the imprimatur of the Vice President of the United States. The RAND Institute, which conducted a survey that included court costs, legal fees, the value of lost work, insurance claims processing, and total tort compensation payments, has estimated the cost of the civil justice system to be between 29 and 36 billion dollars a year, with total tort compensation estimated at 14 to 16 billion.[8]

Quayle Fiction No. 2: Quayle and other lawyer bashers in government, industry, and the media frequently support their allegation that America has too many lawyers by stating that America has 70 percent of the world's lawyers.

Fact: America has 25–32 percent of the world's lawyers, a figure roughly proportional to America's percentage of the world's gross national product.[9]

Once again, the 70-percent figure that is bantered about so freely is without empirical origin. There is no study by any group anywhere that supplies data to support the claim that America has 70 percent of the world's lawyers. Two separate studies emerge from college campuses. The penultimate lawyer bashing report, emanating from the University of Texas and appearing in a book published by Cambridge University Press, contains a seriously flawed listing of lawyers in 34 countries as of 1983.[10] Even this heavily skewed anti-lawyer report shows America to have 45 percent of the total number of lawyers in the 34 countries surveyed.

A more recent study in 1992 by Professor Marc Galanter of the University of Wisconsin, which omits much of Latin America, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, South Asia, and Africa, where data are simply unavailable, shows 1,969,876 lawyers in the countries counted with 31.41 percent in the United States.[11] This figure is roughly proportional to America's percentage of the world's gross national product.

Quayle Fiction No. 3: Japan operates an efficient, business-oriented economy with only 5 percent as many lawyers per capita as America.

Fact: Approximately one million Japanese possess law degrees, but only 200,000 are actually involved in jobs that relate directly to the courts. This amounts to one legal practitioner for every 700 people, a ratio identical to that for the United States.[12]

Quayle and his loyal following of lawyer bashers, having the advantage of being unabused by the facts, use one of their most egregious distortions to arrive at this conclusion.

This blatant misrepresentation counts only those lawyers who are conducting trials, i.e., barristers in Japan, England, and Wales, while comparing them to the total number of persons admitted to practice law in the United States. As a result, the United States inaccurately appears to have far more lawyers per capita than the other countries. In reality, the per capita number of lawyers in Japan, England, Wales, and the United States is similar. The per capita number of legally educated Japanese, British, and Welsh who perform legal work is identical to the number for the United States: one per 700 population.[13]

An examination of the facts with respect to legal practitioners in Japan is one of the best indicators of the misinformation that Quayle is disseminating. There are 16,341 trial lawyers, public prosecutors, and judges in Japan, However, Japan also has 70,000 law graduates formally performing work that in America would be performed by lawyers, i.e., 50,000 tax attorneys who prepare tax returns, give legal advice and represent people in tax matters; 3,000 patent attorneys; and 15,800 judicial scriveners who take care of the registration and cash deposit matters before legal affairs bureaus as well as preparation of documents to be filed with courts and public prosecutors offices. In addition, several thousand Japanese law graduates work within corporations in the capacity of in-house counsel. The only lawyers counted in Quayle's calculation of "lawyers" in Japan are the 16,341 who actually participate in the trial of cases.[14]

Quayle Fiction No. 4: One of the most egregiously misleading of Quayle's statements before the American Bar Association was his claim regarding punitive damages:

Even a casual observer knows that in the last several decades punitive damages have grown dramatically in both frequency and size. What began as a sanction for the most reprehensible conduct has now become almost routine. In California, estimates are that one in every ten jury awards now includes punitive damages, in amounts averaging more than three million dollars. As these awards become more common, so do the instances of other arbitrary, even freakish, application.[13]

Fact: Blatantly absurd. Quayle's figures come from one California county where plaintiffs in business cases were awarded punitive damages on proof of intentional misconduct of the defendants. The median award in those cases was $630,000. Quayle translates this into all of California and every California jury award.

Several recent nonpartisan studies flatly contradict these statements. In 1990, an American Bar Foundation study found that punitive damages were awarded in only 4.9 percent of more than 25,000 verdicts examined. A 1989 U.S. General Accounting Office report found only 23 such verdicts out of 305 product liability cases studied, and only five survived appeals intact.[15]

The 1991 Rustad/Koenig study, the most comprehensive study ever conducted on punitive damages in product liability cases, found only 355 punitive damages verdicts in the period 1965-1990. The researchers found that the number of nonasbestos cases that include these awards is actually decreasing. Significantly, following punitive damages litigation, 82 percent of the corporations that had punitive damages awarded against them later implemented such safety related improvements as product recalls or improved warnings and instructions.[17]

A 1987 study by the RAND Institute for Civil Justice found that the average punitive damage verdict in several California jurisdictions studies was $743,000, but that figure was seriously skewed by larger awards that may or may not have actually been paid. The researchers found that the statewide median award (a far more representative number, with half the verdicts above it and half below it), was only $78,000.[18] The three-million-dollar figure cited by Quayle was an average from one California county in business cases in which plaintiffs proved intentional misconduct. The median award in those cases was $630,000.

Even a cursory examination indicates that Quayle has taken punitive damages awards in business litigation out of one California county and concluded that: "In California, estimates are that one in every ten jury awards now include punitive damages, in amounts averaging more than three million dollars." The total absurdity that one in every ten California awards carries a three-million-dollar, punitive-damages verdict is so grossly misleading to be laughable, were it not being used as a tool to decimate the individual rights of American citizens to fair compensation from America's corporate tortfessors.

Quayle Fiction No. 5: America's competitive position in international trade is hampered by the large number of tort claims filed against American manufacturers. To support this claim, Quayle states: "In 1989 nearly eighteen million new civil suits were filed in the state and federal courts."[19]

Fact: Tort cases, other than those filed in small claims, make up less than one-half of 1 percent of the total caseload in state courts and only 2.5 percent of the civil caseload.[20]

In 1989, 17,321,125 noncriminal cases were filed in the United States. This number includes every small claims complaint, divorce, debt collection, traffic violation case, contract suit, real estate case, juvenile case, and tort case. Of that number only 2.5 percent, or 447,374, represent tort cases filed in state courts, which handle 98 percent of tort litigation in America. In the same year there were 469,494 contract cases and 436,148 real estate cases. When combined with the hundreds of thousands of debt collection cases involved in the 18 million, it is obvious that litigation between businesses and litigation by businesses against individuals represent far more of the civil suits filed annually than do tort claims.[21]

Accurate records compiled by the National Center for State Courts indicate that traffic, criminal, and juvenile cases are responsible for 82 percent of the total state court caseload. Of the remaining 18 percent, the vast majority are small claims, domestic relations, estate, and contract matters. Tort cases, other than those filed in small claims, make up less than one-half of 1 percent of the total caseload in state courts and only 2.3 percent of the civil caseload.[22]

These records also reflect that business litigation is increasing at a far faster rate than Quayle's target: personal injury and wrongful death litigation. This increase obviously is a direct result of U.S. economic strife, which can be laid more accurately at the doorstep of the White House rather than on the plaintiff's bar.

Quayle Fiction No. 6: The federal courts are being overrun by product liability cases.

Fact: There were 217,879 civil suits filed in federal courts in 1990; product liability case filings accounted for less than 6 percent of the total—hardly an indication that these cases are overrunning the federal courts.[23]

Product liability filings in the federal courts, with the exception of asbestos cases, declined by more than 36 percent between 1985 and 1991. Even including asbestos cases, the total number of product liability cases filed in 1991 in federal court is the lowest annual total since 1986.[24] Tort filings in the federal courts, with the exception of asbestos, declined 13 percent between 1984 and 1991, and nearly 20 percent between 1985 and 1991. Even if asbestos cases are included, total tort filings decreased nearly 20 percent from their high in 1988 to the current low.[25]

While total civil filings increased from 15.7 million in 1986 to 17.3 million in 1989, only 34,577, or 2.16 percent of that increase, were tort cases.[26]

How serious is the effect of the distortions of the President's Council on Competitiveness in influencing legislative votes on the federal product liability bill? In May 1992 the United States Senate was called upon to vote on a procedural issue involving the President's product liability bill and the general aviation bill, both of which are designed to destroy rights of victims while protecting manufacturers of defective products from prosecution. The vote on the floor of the United States Senate was 53 to 45 to table the bills. However, since the rate was not on the merits of the bills, even some of the bills' proponents voted to table. Both U.S. senators from Texas voted with the White House position.

If we are to preserve the rights of our clients, tort victims, and consumers, we must attack these fallacious arguments that are being promulgated by the manufacturers of defective products and their liability insurance carriers and that are being afforded the dignity of the executive branch of the United States government through the office of the Vice President.

This column is offered as information to aid each of us in attempting to set the record straight while our clients' rights to seek redress in a court of law against manufacturers of defective products and other tortfessors still exist. Both the product liability bill and the aviation bill will reach the floor of the Senate for a vote on the merits during the summer of 1992. Thirty-nine U.S. senators have signed on as sponsors of the product liability bill, thirty-one Republicans and eight Democrats. Thus, the White House needs to obtain the votes of only eleven nonsponsors in order to pass this preemptive legislation.

The professional prognosticator and seer, Jeanne Dixon, included in her predictions for 1992 that "anti-lawyer riots will shake the legal profession and force drastic changes in the way attorneys do business."[27] This may prove to be true if the legal profession continues to allow Bush, Quayle, Huber, and others funded by the insurance industry and manufacturers to distort the truth in an effort to pass legislation that would decimate the rights of tort victims and consumers who seek just compensation for the wrongs done to them by America's tortfessors.

It is incumbent upon us to confront these distortions directly. We have research materials available at TTLA headquarters for the use of anyone who wishes to participate actively in fighting this battle against misinformation emanating from the White House. Please contact TTLA's communications director, Willie Chapman, at 512-476-3852 to discuss how you can help in this ongoing battle.

NOTES

[1] A REPORT FROM THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON COMPETITIVENESS: AGENDA FOR CIVIL JUSTICE REFORM IN AMERICA, 1 (Aug. 1991).

[2] Hager, Mark M., *Civil Compensation and Its Discontents: A Response to Huber*, 42 STAN. L. REV. 539 (1990).

[3] Merrion, Paul, "Fresh Faces Animate GOP Fund-Raising," Crain's Chicago Business, Aug. 15, 1988; McClenahen, "Whatever Happened to the Corporate Statesman?" Industry Week (Nov. 6, 1989).

[4] Malott, Robert, "How do You Cope When Coverage is Unaffordable or Unavailable?" Chief Executive (Summer 1988).

[5] Galanter, Marc, "Talk on Civil Justice Issues to the National Conference of Bar Presidents," Attachment 1 (Feb. 1992).

[6] Hager, supra at 549-550.

[7] Jost, Kenneth, *Tampering With Evidence*, A.B.A.J. (April 1992).

[8] Hager, Mark M., *Civil Compensation and Its Discontents: A Response to Huber*, 42 STAN. L. REV. 539 (1990).

[9] Galantar, Marc, "Talk on Civil Justice Issues to the National Conference of Bar Presidents," attachment 1 (Feb. 1992).

[10] McGee, Stephen P., BLACK HOLE TARIFFS AND ENDOGENOUS POLICY THEORY, Chp. 8, (Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[11] Galanter, Marc, "Talk on Civil Justice Issues to the National Conference of Bar Presidents," Attachment 1 (Feb. 1992).

[12] Kitawaki, Toshikazu, Associate Professor of Law, Nihon University, Tokyo, Japan, "The Myth of Japan as a Land Without Lawyers," International bar News, pp. 13-14 (March 1987).

[13] *Id.*, Japan Federation of Bar Associations (brochure, May 1989); Miller, Richard S., *Apples vs. Persimmons—Let's Stop Drawing Inappropriate Comparison Between the Legal Professions in Japan and the United States*, 17 V.U.W.L.R. 205 (1987).

[14] *Id.*

[15] Quayle, J. Danforth, Prepared remarks delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Bar Association, Atlanta (Aug. 13, 1991).

[16] U.S. GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE, PRODUCT LIABILITY: VERDICTS AND CASE RESOLUTION IN FIVE STATES (GAO/HRD-89-99)(1989).

[17] Rusted, Michael and Koenig, Thomas, "Setting the Record Straight About Skyrocketing Punitive Damage Awards in Products Liability; An Empirical Study of the Last Quarter Century of Verdicts" (Unpublished paper, prepared for the annual meeting of the Law and Society Association, Amsterdam, June 1991).

[18] *Id.*

[19] A REPORT FROM THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON COMPETITIVENESS: AGENDA FOR CIVIL JUSTICE REFORM IN AMERICA, p. 1 (Aug. 1991).

[20] NATIONAL CENTER FOR STATE COURTS, STATE COURT CASELOAD STATISTICS: ANNUAL REPORT 1989.

[21] *Id.*

[22] *Id.*

[23] ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICE OF THE U.S. COURTS, ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE DIRECTOR.

[24] *Id.*

[25] *Id.*

[26] NATIONAL CENTER FOR STATE COURTS, STATE COURT CASELOAD STATISTICS: ANNUAL REPORT 1989.

[27] Dixon, Jeanne, "Dixon Predictions: What 1992 Holds for Celebs, Politicians, The Economy, The Nation, and the World," The Capital Times, Jan. 11-12, 1992, p.1D, at 3D.●

VOICES ON THE MALL

● Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, earlier this month the National Congress of American Indians [NCAI] sponsored an event called Voices on the Mall to call attention to the native-American perspective on the quincentennial observance of the voyage of Christopher Columbus. One particularly noteworthy speech was delivered by J.T. Goombi, a member of the Kiowa Tribe, who also serves as first vice president of NCAI. I ask that the text of that speech be made part of the RECORD at this point.

The speech follows:

VOICES ON THE MALL

(By J.T. Goombi)

Your Spanish Sails and Old World Honor
Led me on a Trail of Tears
The Travail Continued with My Children
Who Searched for Hope,
Five Hundred Years

I hear the sound of the distant drums. They beat slow and steadily across this land. They speak to our people on reservations, to our people in native villages, to those who have been lost and to those seeking their way back home.

My name is J.T. Goombi, the First Vice President of the National Congress of American Indians, of the Kiowa Tribe, a Nation within the State of Oklahoma.

I hear the drum. It is the heartbeat of the creator. It speaks to hearts and to our souls. If you close your eyes, you can hear it. It is our eternal pulse and it beats on and on. It beats the story of the American Indian—

It beats the story of an old land and an ancient people,

Of conquering Europeans with swords that rattle and horses that stomp on sacred ground,

Of missionaries speaking Spanish, French and Latin,

Of wagons rumbling across prairies,

Of train whistles and iron horses thundering through the great plain,

Of gun shots and screams at Sand Creek and Wounded Knee,

We are the National Congress of American Indians and we are a Congress of Nations. Each tribe is politically unique but we share a common history. We sometimes argue among ourselves, but our strength is in the diversity of the tribes, our common goals and our common heritage,

We are the people who survived. I am a small part of this Nation of Nations but I will speak as a representative of our history—

I am the first Indian to see a man with skin as pale as the sand and I stand and wonder if I should welcome or destroy,

I am the old woman who died on the Trail of Tears,

I am the Seminole who hid in the Everglades,

I am the Cherokee who learned to read and write,

I am the Nez Perce the army never caught,

I am the little girl killed at the Washita River,

I am the Marine at Iwo Jima,

I am the single Chippewa mother in Minneapolis,

I am the Lakota that defeated Custer,

I am the first Indian to go to college,

I am the Makah who lived his whole life before the white man came—with my fish camp in the summer and my deer camp in the winter with my family and my tribe—and it was a kind of paradise,

I hear the drum. We stand today, no longer the only governments on this continent, but certainly the oldest sovereignties. We have retained little from what we once had. But now our enemies seek to take away the only thing of value we have always had and never lost—our tribal sovereignty itself.

Our non-Indian friends don't fully understand tribal sovereignty but it is not a hard thing to know. Nothing is more endemic to a society. Only one sovereign has ever held true and pure in the history of this world—the sovereignty of the Creator, and it is to be obeyed. Our sovereignty, the sovereignty of our tribal governments, we only ask you to respect. My American friends, hear your own drums—

The sound of your own anthems and the roar of your crowds,

The quiet prayers of honest men seeking to preserve a way of life for their young,

The willingness of young men to fight a war or wage a peace,

The quest for democracy and good will,

The desire to reward acts of courage or kindness,

The search for truth and equal justice,

The civic pride of doing the right thing for your community,

The empowerment to the shadows of society that the franchise brings.

Hear the drum, America. This is what makes you great. Your noble goals, your tolerance of others and the diversity within your shores. You seek truth, self-governance, justice and democracy. Above all, you seek the right and ability to control your own destiny. And that is what sovereignty is.

We tribes endeavor to protect sovereignty as you do, not only because it is about the only thing we have left, but also because sovereignty enables us to preserve a way of life. We as Indian tribes define our sovereignty in many ways—there is no one definition of its limitations, nor its potential. But for the grace and protection of the Creator, our sovereignty is the definition of our shield—

To protect our religious and sacred sites,

To protect our burial grounds from grave-robbers,

To preserve our traditions and our culture,

To care for our elders and our young,

To provide jobs and opportunities for our people,

To make our own laws and regulate our lands,

To give pride back to our people,

And to preserve governments that pre-existed the United States by thousands of years.

Hear the drum, America. We are not so different in our goals. But you must see that the true glory of your nation lies in encouraging these magnificent differences that distinguish our people from your people. Let us determine what our sovereignty is, and respect it.

Hear the drum, America. It is our fondest wish that five hundred years from this day, we will stand on this place together, sovereign Indian nations and the United States of America.

I believe that we tribes have survived the darkest hour of our history. We have nothing to fear, for the worst has happened, we lost everything, but we survived. Our creator deemed that it be so.

And so the drum beats with a thunderous resonance, and we face the morning sunlight of the next millennium as sovereigns with strength, with unity, and with hope. We have survived the last 500 years, and we look today toward the future. As we, as Nations within the United States, define our sovereignty. We ask that you respect our definition, and support our right to control our own destinies.●

GSE LEGISLATION

● Mr. GARN. Mr. President, I want to compliment Senator RIEGLE on the development of important legislation on Government-sponsored enterprises. Under his guidance and leadership, the Banking Committee formulated a landmark bill that will ensure the safety and soundness of the housing Government-sponsored enterprises. Also, Mr. President, this legislation will serve as the catalyst for the financing of considerably more housing for those households with low- to moderate-income levels. For this the chairman should be congratulated.

I am pleased that this legislation requires a thorough investigative study into the role, structure, governance, and stockholder interests of the Federal Home Loan Banks. I am sorry, though, that we were unable to include in this bill substantive language that would address much needed reforms to the Federal Home Loan Bank System, such as those undertaken for Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.

One set of studies of the FHLB System called for in this legislation by the

Federal Housing Finance Board, the Comptroller General of the United States, the Director of the Congressional Budget Office, and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development will be most helpful in determining proper governance and capital standards. Also, the studies will focus on products and services, the proper relationship between the System and other government-sponsored enterprises, financial obligations, the impact that consolidation of the System would have on availability of housing credit, and the interests and investments of the System's stockholders. I am also pleased that provided in this bill is a study of the System by a study committee composed of individuals whose institutions own stock in the 12 Federal Home Loan Banks.

I would ask the Senator if I am correct in saying that it is the purpose of these studies to assist Congress in the development of legislation next year that will preserve and enhance the Federal Home Loan Bank's role as an important source of credit for housing, and to protect the financial investment of the System's member institutions?

Mr. RIEGLE. Yes, Senator GARN, if after reviewing the studies, it becomes apparent that legislation is appropriate, it would be my hope that the Congress would consider addressing these issues.•

ORANGE HAT POLITICS

• Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, the Metro Orange Coalition is an umbrella organization for citizen volunteers working in Washington, DC, area neighborhoods to eradicate crime and make their streets safe. The coalition organizes neighborhood residents into "Orange Hat Patrols," so-called because of the clothing they wear to make sure they are noticed while doing their work. The presence of these citizens out on the streets, observing who is there, jotting down license plate numbers, and video taping suspicious activity, effectively deters elements of the criminal drug trade from operating in patrolled neighborhoods.

According to information supplied by Mr. James Foreman, coordinator of the Metro Orange Coalition, approximately 100 patrols are operating in the Washington metropolitan area. They have not sought funding from any level of government. Instead, they have relied on the contributions of their own members and the goodwill of a few small businesses. The organizers felt it was important for neighborhood residents to provide the necessary investment to establish the patrols. It was felt, and rightly so I believe, that if neighborhood residents gave of their own resources, they would have more of a stake in the organization and a greater commitment to making sure it worked.

On Friday, October 2, 1992, I had the opportunity to go on patrol with the Orange Hats. Accompanying me were my wife, Harriet, and two members of my staff. We met Mr. Foreman in the Anacostia neighborhood of the District at about 9 p.m.

It was heartening to me to go to Anacostia and meet with citizen-members of the Orange Hat patrols. Among those we met were Joe Kersene, Ed Johnson, and a man called Papa Smurf. Seeing these citizens and their neighbors out on the streets, trying to do something to stem the flow of violence and crime in their neighborhoods, was truly inspirational. It is a sad commentary when, in our society—in this modern age with all its technology—citizens of the District feel compelled to spend their evenings patrolling their neighborhoods to keep them safe.

At one very memorable moment at the end of our neighborhood walk, the assembled group joined hands and sought the guidance of Our Heavenly Creator in carrying out their work. This was truly an inspiring moment.

Now that the Orange Hat Patrols are established as extensively as they are, a need has developed for additional assistance. Funding is needed to supply the trademark orange clothing—caps, jackets, T-shirts—walkie talkies, binoculars, video cameras, and office equipment required to carry out the coalition's mission.

During the 102d Congress, I asked the Senate Appropriations Committee and its Subcommittees on the District of Columbia and Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary, the Department of Justice, and the Mayor of the District of Columbia to find $25,000 that could be granted to the Metro Coalition. That small amount would go a long way toward obtaining the equipment they need to carry out their good work. This seemed to me to be a modest amount—indeed, by Washington budgetary standards, an insignificant amount—that would be routinely approved. But you would have thought I was asking for a king's ransom by the responses I received. To read them, you might conclude this meager amount was threatening the fiscal integrity of our great republic.

What we have is an example of politics at its worst. The "Iron Triangle" was at work again—a congressional committee, a District government concerned with protecting turf, and program constitutents—all had an interest in seeing that no nongovernment entity got a single crumb of the District appropriation pie. At first I though that was the problem—that I asked for only a crumb, when I should have demanded a great big slice. Maybe they concluded my request was not made seriously. Perhaps they did not think I would use my privileges under the Senate rules to threaten or actually tie up the business of the Senate over such an insignificant amount of money—and for a disenfranchised group of citizens at that.

But I do not believe that was the reason. The real reason may be that too many people in the political/governmental system refused to believe that a group of concerned citizens, who never sought nor received Government funding, and operate on a minuscule amount of money, could possibly be successful at reducing neighborhood crime—something that the District government has been incapable of doing in the last decade with millions of dollars at its disposal. Were the Orange Hats perceived as a threat to the Iron Triangle's established order?

Mr. President, I am not giving up. I will revisit this issue in the 103d Congress. I strongly believe in the work the Orange Hats are doing. My challenge will be to find the amount and type of support for the Orange Hats that will be sufficient to advance their mission throughout the District of Columbia yet not enable some jealous governmental bureaucracy to smother or co-opt them. We do not want to take a good, effective group and kill it with governmental kindness.

So, Orange Hats, until the convening of the 103d Congress, keep up the good work. Be strong and keep the faith. You are doing all of us a world of good.•

CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR RECIPIENTS

• Mr. COHEN. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to express my support for S. 32, sponsored by Senator DOLE. Earlier this year, I requested that I be added as a cosponsor of this bill but due to a clerical error my name was never added.

S. 32 increases the rate of special pension for persons on the Congressional Medal of Honor roll, the Nation's highest military decoration awarded to Americans who have served with valiant distinction in the armed services. There are 210 living recipients of the Medal of Honor and some 60 of them are living below the poverty line.

Under title 38 of the United States Code, all living holders of the Medal of Honor receive a monthly pension. However, this pension is quite small and has not been adjusted in 12 years.

Increasing the monthly pension paid to medal recipients is a fitting gesture for those Americans who have so honorably served the United States. I believe that it is important that they should not be forgotten. These are difficult economic times for us all, but for recipients living in poverty, it must be even more difficult to feel as if their service is no longer appreciated. By increasing this pension, we say that our Nation will not let time erode the memory of true courage. We say that we understand times are tough and that the pension will go a little bit farther in helping recipients care for themselves.

We have the responsibility to make sure that those who have so valiantly served our country will not be forgotten. I believe that this is a small price to pay to see that medal recipients know service of the highest order will always be honored.●

S. 492, THE LIVE PERFORMING ARTS LABOR RELATIONS AMENDMENTS OF 1991

● Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I am pleased that S. 492, the Live Performing Arts Labor Relations Amendments of 1991, was reported out of the Labor and Human Relations Committee this year. It is unfortunate that the actions of some Members made it difficult to bring the bill before the full Senate for debate this year. Since this bill has already cleared the Labor Committee, it is my hope that the Senate will be able to act on the bill in the 103d Congress.

S. 492 corrects several inequities in the application of Federal labor laws to performing artists. Currently, live performing artists do not have the right to organize and bargain collectively over their working conditions and wages, a right the National Labor Relations Act was designed to guarantee. Congress has already recognized that in the case of the construction and garment industries, which provide short-term, sporadic employment, additional legislation was necessary to ensure that workers received the full protection of Federal labor laws. Congress had, however, failed to act to provide live musicians and entertainers, who have similar employment patterns, with the right to choose their own representation and the right to bargain with their employers.

The Live Performing Arts Labor Relations Amendments of 1991 will enable live performers to exercise their rights to organize and participate in collective bargaining. It extends to them the same rights already provided to those in other industries characterized by short-term, transient employment, such as construction and the garment industry. I sincerely hope Congress will act on this legislation early next year.●

SENATOR JOCELYN BURDICK

● Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, in her short time in the Senate, JOCELYN BURDICK has inspired us all. She continued the traditions of her late husband, Senator Quentin Burdick, with honor and courage. I admire her dedication to North Dakota and all the Plains States. The determination she showed in representing North Dakota during the last few weeks of the 102d Congress reflected an uncommon ability and grace. I admire her and her late husband's work, and I wish her happiness in whatever paths she takes in the years to come.●

FIFTY YEARS OF SERVICE, SOUTH DAKOTA RURAL ELECTRIC ASSOCIATION

● Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, this year marks the 50th anniversary of the South Dakota Rural Electric Association. The South Dakota Rural Electric Association has made numerous contributions to South Dakota over that half century. It is difficult to commemorate the accomplishments of the SDREA in one speech, but I will try.

Without the SDREA, my family farm in Humboldt, SD, would not yet have electricity. I still remember when the rural areas of Minnehaha County where my family farm is located first got electricity. It was a remarkable occasion. Many people in urban areas take for granted amenities such as electricity and abundant, clean and safe drinking water, yet today there still are some rural Americans without these necessary services.

Mr. President, during the 1930's there was no electricity in most of rural South Dakota. Nearly 90 percent of rural South Dakotans had no access to the wonders of electricity. In 1934, only 3 percent of my State's farms were electrified. With the creation of the Rural Electrification Administration [REA], the mechanism to help provide electricity to all of South Dakota was created.

Over 50 years ago, the first rural electric cooperative in South Dakota was formed at a meeting in a general store in Burbank, SD. It was known as the Fairview Rural Electric System. Today, the cooperative is known as the Clay-Union Electric Corp., headquartered in Vermillion, SD.

In 1942, South Dakota's six existing electric cooperatives met to develop a strategy to provide electricity across rural South Dakota. At that meeting, representatives of these cooperatives decided that one unified voice was needed if they were going to achieve their goal. In December 1942, the State's electric cooperatives, then numbering eight, formed the South Dakota Rural Electric Association.

Within 3 years, the number of electric cooperatives in the State would reach 20. These cooperatives were in the process of building 26,300 miles of lines to serve 40,725 South Dakota farms. Today, 33 rural electric distribution systems serve over 250,000 people across 90 percent of South Dakota. Rural electrics serve over 80,000 farms, homes, schools, churches, irrigation systems, businesses, and other establishments across the State. These cooperatives own and maintain about 90 percent of the State's power lines.

The story of the South Dakota Rural Electric Association is truly remarkable. One speech simply cannot reflect the organization's accomplishments over the last 50 years. Mr. President, I will ask that a factsheet on South Dakota rural electric facts and several articles outlining the history of the South Dakota Rural Electric Association be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

Mr. President, there is one other point I would like to reference. Last year, the television show "60 Minutes" ran a segment that was highly critical of the Rural Electrification Administration. The title of the segment—"REA—Welfare for the Wealthy"—clearly indicates the misleading tone of the segment. I was outraged by what I heard on the show and wrote to "60 Minutes" to respond to several issues raised in the segment. I will ask that my letter to "60 Minutes" also be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

Mr. President, I raise this point, because as we celebrate 50 years of achievement by the SDREA, we must begin to focus on the next 50 years. Clearly, modern telecommunications service is vital to the future quality of rural life. We need strong rural electrics if rural Americans are to have access to the services urban Americans receive. The SDREA is committed to bringing quality telecommunications services to rural South Dakota in the same efficient, high quality manner in which it has delivered electricity over the past half century. I will continue working with the SDREA to help achieve this goal.

Mr. President, the South Dakota Rural Electric Association is committed to the goal of improving the quality of rural and small town life in South Dakota. I congratulate the South Dakota Rural Electric Association on its 50th anniversary. Their story is remarkable.

Mr. President, I ask that the documents previously referred to be printed in the RECORD.

The documents follow:

SDREA: A UNIFIED RURAL ELECTRIC VOICE

Fifty years ago, leaders of the rural electrification movement in South Dakota met to have a "Statewide Cooperative Meeting." As U.S. servicemen were fighting the Axis powers, the coops too realized they had to do their patriotic duty and sacrifice materials for building new line and developing their cooperatives. Those original six rural electric cooperatives also knew they had a war of their own to fight. Not a war of life and death, instead a war of light versus darkness. They knew that if the lights were to be turned on all across rural South Dakota, a new force would have to lead the fight.

Early in their development, South Dakota's rural electric cooperatives realized that they were going to have to work together and speak with one, unified voice if they hoped to accomplish their goals. The obvious first step for achieving this vision was to form a statewide association.

At a meeting on August 27, 1942, it was agreed that one member from each "project" (cooperative) would have one vote to represent his project. A motion was made not to incorporate at that time but five men were elected directors of the new statewide group. Those elected at the meeting were Alfred J. Pew (Whetstone), E.R. Pike (Union), K.C.

Strong (Clay-Union), R. Wennblom (Lincoln-Union), and L.W. Ellefson (Sioux Valley Empire Electric Association). At this meeting Ellefson was named the first president of SDREA. Also, the minutes of this meeting refer to the name V.T. Hanlon. He was, at the time, project manager for Lincoln-Union and active in the formation of SDREA.

In December those distribution cooperatives, now numbering eight, together formed the South Dakota Rural Electric Association (SDREA). Their hope was that by working together through their new statewide association, REC's would be able to exercise more political influence than they could muster individually.

The first statewide strategy session was held December 7, 1942. The directors were fearful that at the coming legislative session, there might be legislation that could adversely affect rural electrification in South Dakota and that a program of education should be sponsored for the members of the legislature. This was the beginning of the SDREA legislative program that continues today. The minutes of that meeting said the "legislature of South Dakota would open new problems in the form of adverse legislation to the interests of rural electrification in South Dakota and that a program of education should be sponsored for the members of the legislature."

At a meeting the next spring on March 1, 1943, a resolution was adopted, offering Governor M. Q. Sharp assistance and support in a program to develop the natural resources of the Missouri River.

By January 9, 1945, the first of many meetings was being held at the Marvin Hughit Hotel in Huron. There were now 20 rural electric cooperatives that were members of SDREA.

These 20 co-ops were in the process of building 26,300 miles of line to serve 40,725 farms. At this meeting it was agreed and voted that each electric co-cop contribute $100 to the SDREA legislative program. Also, the first legislative committee was formed and delegated to go to Pierre and get the "Model R.E.A. Bill" introduced. They also adopted a resolution in favor of "* * * the development of the Missouri River for electric power and other purposes and we direct that the delegate from this association to the next annual meeting of the NRECA request such association to go on record as favoring said project." The SDREA board knew that the Missouri River would have to play a significant role in power generation if South Dakota's electric cooperatives were to be successful in the future.

On January 10, 1946, Richard Haeder, Beadle Electric, was elected President of SDREA and in October of 1946, Richard Haeder was selected as South Dakota's first representative on the National Board.

In November of 1947, Al Hauffe, F.E.M. Electric, was elected President and served in that position until his retirement in 1970.

For nearly 10 years, SDREA was little more than a paper association without a headquarters or full-time staff. But, as the years passed and the number of member cooperatives increased the need for a more permanent organization became apparent.

SDREA BOARD OF DIRECTORS HIRED FIRST EMPLOYEES IN 1952

By 1951, SDREA had grown from a loose alliance of eight struggling, young rural electric cooperatives into a federation of 33 professionally operated electric distribution systems. In addition, the cooperatives in the eastern half of the state had formed their own generation and transmission cooperative (East River) and a second was in the works west of the Missouri (Rushmore).

As the number of cooperatives grew and increased in sophistication, so did the technical and legal problems they faced. In order to deal more effectively with the ever increasing complexities of running an REC the SDREA Board of Directors decided, at the associations ninth annual meeting in 1951, it was time to establish a permanent headquarters and hire a manager.

On April 16, 1952, the Board's decision became a reality. Huron was selected as the site of the headquarters, and Walter L. Lassen was hired as the Association's first executive manager. Mr. Lassen hired Eunice Jones as his secretary. Lassen's salary was $500 a month; Eunice's $200, and with no fringe benefits.

Together Lassen and Jones began work to form an organization which would eventually grow to a staff of 11 full-time employees and offer a wide array of services to its member systems. Through the years, the Association's activities expanded from primarily handling legislation and government relations into communications, member education and employee job, training and safety.

The idea was to provide the state's REC's with services that could be done more efficiently and economically through the statewide association than if each cooperative attempted to do it on their own.

It wasn't until 1956 that the Articles of Incorporation were officially adopted and signed by A. C. Hauffe, Harry Anderson, Carl Weerts, William Raabe, Sam Ulrikson, John Lux and William Jeremiason.

"In 1962, SDREA went to the 'Big Board'. I recall, at that time, many felt that a board this size would never operate efficiently, that unity would be impossible. Having served on this board for a number of years, and now as President, I can assure you that this board does function efficiently. Yes, we have had arguments, we have had disagreements, but because of these arguments and disagreements we have had much discussion, and because of this discussion, we have reached sound decisions," said then President Maurice Bergh at the 40th annual meeting of SDREA.

For 17 years, SDREA remained headquartered in Huron. But as time passed it was noted that the executive manager was spending a considerable amount of time commuting to Pierre to work with the state legislature and government officials. It became clear to the SDREA board that the statewide association should be headquartered closer to the states seat of government.

SDREA HEADQUARTERS MOVED TO PIERRE IN 1969

Finally, in 1968, after much deliberation, the board decided it was time to move the SDREA headquarters to Pierre. A new headquarters building was constructed at the corner of West Pleasant and Central. In May, 1969, the move was completed.

Once in its new headquarters, the SDREA staff was able to continue working on new ways of improving service to its member systems. Through SDREA, South Dakota's RECs were able to provide themselves with many advantages previously enjoyed only by much larger, privately-owned utilities.

"It may sound like I'm bragging, but as we talk about SDREA and the rural electric program in South Dakota, I think we have the right to brag a little. Those of you who remember the 'gas house gang' of the St. Louis Cardinals will recall how "Ol' Dizzy Dean" used to brag. Someone once accused him of bragging and he said "it ain't braggin' if you can produce the goods," said Bergh.

"That's how I feel abut the rural electric program in South Dakota, because we have 'produced the goods.' Tom Fennell told me a short time ago that there are seven statewide managers who got their start in South Dakota. We have South Dakota people in REA, NRECA, Basin Electric and so many other places. We also have managers, staff people and directors who have received national recognition for their work in the rural electric program. Our attorney, Mr. Flynn, is considered "Mr. REA" even in national circle," said Bergh at SDREA's 40th annual meeting.

FARMERS FOUGHT FOR CREATION OF REA

Saturday, May 11, 1935—Just another spring day to millions of Americans. The send-a-dime chain letter craze was at its height. Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd returned from another trip to Antarctica. The Cleveland Indians and New York Giants led the major baseball leagues.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in a hurry to leave the White House, was headed for a weekend of fishing with political cronies at the Woodmont Rod and Gun Club near Hancock, MD. He rushed to complete some last-minute paperwork. One task was particularly pleasurable to the President. He signed Executive Order 7037, creating the Rural Electrification Administration (REA). By so doing, Roosevelt set about to right a wrong he had resented since the mid-1920s. He related a few years later that the electricity bill at his rural Warm Springs cottage in Georgia "was about four times what I paid at Hyde Park, New York."

That bill, he recalled, "started my long study of public utility charges for electric current and the whole subject of getting electricity into farm homes. So it can be said that a little cottage at Warm Springs, Georgia, was the birthplace of the Rural Electrification Administration.

"The REA"—as it affectionately became known in rural America—is now 57 years old and one of the most successful federal agencies in the federal government. And along the way it has been the catalyst for near-miraculous changes in the lifestyle and economic status of millions of Americans, changes which eventually benefited those even outside rural America. Roosevelt's hopes of bringing power to rural areas were fulfilled beyond his wildest dreams.

A DARK COUNTRYSIDE

When he created REA under authorities of the Emergency Relief Appropriations Act of 1935, only one out of every 10 farms had electric service and existing power suppliers showed little interest in providing such service, seeing it as an unprofitable venture.

Living and working conditions in most rural areas then were primitive. Farmers milked cows by hand in the dim light of lanterns. Kerosene lamps and their hated sooty chimneys provided the only light in most farm homes. Farm women were slaves to the wood range and the washboard. Children pumped water by hand and carried it by the bucketful into the house. "Bathrooms" consisted of outdoor privies—often a health hazard. All farm work had to be done by manpower, animal power and gasoline tractors. There were few industries in rural America, few occupations outside farming.

The coming of REA changed all that—gradually at first, but radically as the years went on.

CO-OPS TO THE FOREFRONT

In the early months of development of the fledgling REA, it became clear that power

companies were not interested in REA's plan to construct electric lines with loan funds that were to be used on an area-wide basis. REA field personnel and the agency's engineers and planners in Washington found instead that it was nonprofit cooperatives, a familiar form of rural business enterprise, which were coming to the forefront, many of them newly organized for the REA loans.

Morris Llewellyn Cooke, a progressive Philadelphia engineer, named by Roosevelt as REA's first administrator, gradually became convinced that rural people could be educated to plan and oversee construction of electric lines and then govern and manage the operations of these new cooperative enterprises.

Out on the land, meanwhile, REA field personnel met night and day with local people, outlining procedures and principles which would become a successful pattern. Leaders of local farm organizations and county agents also helped, as rural Americans organized to obtain the long-sought power.

Rural farmers and their wives went up and down country roads, petitioning for the needed signatures of new members and to get the hard-to-come-by $5 "sign up" fee from their neighbors. Then came the long hours of mapping in the lines, acquiring needed right-of-way easements and, finally, preparing the loan application for REA.

Soon, all across the land, electric poles began to dot the landscape. Contractors' line crews, often aided by eager co-op members, cleared rights-of-way and dug holes, while others, following newly developed REA methods of streamlined construction, came behind, assembling and erecting the hardware, and stringing the lines.

How the rural people, in partnership with their government, electrified the rural areas is one of the greatest achievements of cooperative and economic democracy this nation has ever known. The patterns of this economic and social "miracle"—an intensely human story that was repeated in hundreds and hundreds of rural regions—always began with the yearnings to "get the REA." After those first hopes and stirrings, there was the cooperative commitment by these determined men and women to bring the power into their lives. The entire process, organizationally and technically, was a test of the ingenuity, resolve and skills of these rural citizens and their leaders. Most met these tests and more.

The coming of the light and power to rural areas, the first magic glow of the naked bulb in the farm home, was witnessed by farm families with awe. Even today, the recounting of that high and moving moment imparts a sense of wonder. Countless stories are still told of that night: of children, and parents too, running through their homes, turning lights on and off, of women quietly weeping to see new appliances—their electric servants—really working. Rural life and work, rural society itself, was transformed forever.

CONGRESS ASSURES PROGRESS

Bills to put REA on a more solid basis were introduced early in 1936 by Sen. George W. Norris (R-NE) and Rep. Sam Rayburn (D-TX). The Rural Electrification Act was signed into law May 21, 1936, by Roosevelt.

By 1938, hundreds of systems were under development. The typical rural electric system had built and was operating 250 miles of line with $230,000 it had borrowed from REA and then had about 800 member-consumers who had elected directors to govern the affairs of the cooperative. Its staff consisted of a manager, a bookkeeper, a line foreman and crew.

By December, 1941, just before the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the outbreak of World War II, there were nearly 775 rural electric systems operating or building in the countryside. The war effort slowed the advance of rural electrification, but at its close, new legislation was enacted by Congress to complete the job. This legislation liberalized interest rates and payback periods for REA loans, making electrification possible for even the most remote rural regions. By 1947, there were still 2.5 million farm families without light and power, but the period of rural electrification's greatest advances was about to begin. As 1948 closed, more than 40,000 consumers a month were being connected to co-op lines, and in 1949, 184,000 miles of electric lines—more than 15,000 miles a month, or 700 miles a working day—were energized. The popular success of the rural electrification program also resulted that year in Congress passing legislation to extend REA loans for telephone service. Soon, rural isolation and the old "whoop-and-holler" telephone exchange would go the way of the kerosene latern.

On rural electrification's 25th anniversary in May, 1960, electric light and power had come to virtually all of rural America; nearly 1.5 million miles of co-op electric lines were singing along America's rural roads and highways. During these early years, the REA and the rural electric systems' leaders had been preoccupied with feverish activity—building their systems, extending lines to America's most remote regions and keeping pace with new consumer "hook ups" and mounting kilowatt-hour growth for agriculture and rural industries.

NEW CHALLENGES

Throughout those first 25 years there had been a critical need for sources of wholesale power that were reliable on a long term basis for the rural electric cooperatives. Without the federal resources of hydroelectric power and the 1906 antimonopoly provision of "preference" to public bodies and nonprofit entities in the sale of this federal hydropower, rural electrification's progress would have been considerably less dramatic.

In the decades that followed, rural electric leaders brought into being generation and transmission cooperatives—power plants and networks of extra-high-voltage lines, which today reach over vast regions to meet the electric needs of the individual systems and their member-consumers, assuring a foundation for continued growth and vitality for rural America's farms, ranches, businesses and industries. America's rural electric systems continue to face challenging work—meeting the special needs of a rural America undergoing great change.

Today, these systems reach fewer than five consumers along a mile of line, all the while striving to overcome the difficult economics of vast distances and slim revenues, requiring, still, the old cooperative spirit, working in concert with REA.

As the early struggles of the rural electric co-ops stand many decades distant, the first organizing adversities and triumphs of rural electrification's pioneers are told and celebrated today against an aura of folk legend and lore.

But the old power and magic persists in present-day rural electrification—those first moving experiences enlivening and enriching an inspiring legacy which rural electric people seek to continue in meeting contemporary challenges of today and tomorrow.

RURAL ELECTRIC PROGRESS IN SOUTH DAKOTA

Over 50 years ago, the first rural electric cooperative in the state was formally organized at a meeting in this general store in Burbank, a small town near Vermillion. Known, as the Fairview Rural Electric System, first plans for this cooperative were later changed to include more farmers to make the loan from REA "feasible". This cooperative then became named Clay-Union Electric Corporation, the first in the state to get a loan from REA. Today, its head-quarters are now in Vermillion.

From a humble beginning * * *

For many years, South Dakota farmers tried to get electric service from commercial power companies. Except for a very few, they were unsuccessful in their attempts.

In 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed an executive order creating "REA"—The Rural Electrification Administration. The next year Congress passed the REA act which made a federal agency out of REA.

This was a wonderful thing for South Dakota farmers. It meant that they could do cooperatively what they could not get done by any other means.

Farmers in the southeastern corner of the state were the first to organize into cooperatives to take advantage of loans made by REA.

The first meeting to formally organize a rural electric cooperative was held in a small country general store in Burbank, near Vermillion, 50 years ago. The original charter was granted to a small group of farmers for the first rural electric system in the state on November 29, 1935.

This first attempt to electrify just a few of the farmers failed. REA would not grant a loan because too few signed for the service to make the loan possible. The predecessor of the first cooperative, Fairview Rural Electric System, was organized in 1935, but was not able to secure enough members to obtain a loan from the Rural Electrification Administration.

In 1936, this group of rural electric pioneers obtained a new corporate charter permitting a longer power line, and incorporated as the Clay-Union Electric Corporation.

Leaders of this cooperative did not give up. They recruited more members—they got a loan and lines were built.

After REA authorized a loan to Clay-Union Electric, construction of a 67 mile line began and was completed in 1937. The Clay-Union system was expanded to 136 miles by 1939, and consumers increased from 130 in 1937 to 280 in 1939.

Groups of farmers in other areas of the state did the same thing. Some, however, met more severe obstacles. Private power companies often tried to block the local cooperatives from starting and during World War II, shortages of materials often caused delays in construction.

Before the advent of REA (as afterward), South Dakota lagged behind most states in farm electrification. Long distances between farms retarded the extension of service by central station electric distribution systems. The usual situation in South Dakota before the advent of the Rural Electrification Administration in 1935 was that only a few farms surrounding a town would be electrified.

One of the things that held up rural electric cooperatives from being formed in South Dakota was the need for low-cost power to assure the banker, REA, that they could repay their loans.

During the late 1930s, slow progress in farm electrification was made in South Dakota compared with that in the United States. In fact, the number of South Dakota farms served from power lines decreased from 2939

in December, 1934, to 2500 in June, 1939. The percentage of state farms electrified, however, rose from 3 percent at the close of 1934 to 4 percent by 1936 and 5 percent at the close of 1939. This two percentage point gain in the state during the five year period contrasts with the 17 percentage point gain in the nation. The slow progress of REA projects in South Dakota during this period also contrasts with the situation in several adjacent states, and all of the state's projects were concentrated in the southeastern portion of the state. Since one of the purposes of REA was to increase quickly and greatly the number of the nation's farms receiving central station electricity, it would appear that REA was not achieving the desired results in South Dakota during the first few years of its operations. The pioneers of the rural electric cooperative movement knew they needed help to promote the cause of rural electrification in South Dakota.

In 1942, eight electric cooperatives banned together to form the South Dakota Rural Electric Association (SDREA). Those few pioneers thought they would have more political influence through their new statewide association than they would each have alone. And they were right.

Agricultural prosperity brought a burst of farm electrification in SD during the early 1940s and there was almost an explosion of electrification in the postwar era.

The 1944 Flood Control Act and authorization of Missouri River dams assured rural electric cooperatives a supply of low cost power, thereby making more rural electric cooperatives in the state possible.

From 1938–44 the following 10 cooperatives (listed in order of loan applications) were organized and received allotments from REA: Union County Electric Cooperative Lincoln Union Electric Co.; West River Electric Assn.; Sioux Valley Empire Electric Assn.; Black Hills Electric Assn., Inc.; Butte Electric Assn., Inc.; Whetstone Valley Electric Assn., Inc.; Hamlin Electric Assn., Inc. (later changed to H-D Electric Co-op); Codington Clark Electric Assn., Inc.; and James River Valley Electric Assn., (later changed to Northern Electric Cooperative, Inc.).

In addition, the Traverse Electric Cooperative of Wheaton, Minnesota, which serves South Dakota consumers was organized in this period.

From 1945–1948 the following 17 newly-organized cooperatives received their first allotments from REA: Turner-Hutchinson Electric Cooperative, Inc.; Lake Region Electric Assn., Inc.; Intercounty Electric Assn., Inc.; Tri-County Electric Assn., Inc.; Rosebud Electric Assn., Inc.; Bon Homme-Yankton Electric Assn., Inc.; McCook Electric Assn., Inc.; Ree Electric Assn., Inc.; Kingsbury Electric Cooperative, Inc.; Cam Wal Electric Cooperative, Inc.; Charles Mix Electric Assn., Inc.; Beadle Electric Assn.; Inc.; Spink Electric Assn., Inc.; Lacreek Electric Assn., Inc.; FEM Electric Assn., Inc.; Moreau-Grand Electric Assn., Inc.; and Douglas Electric Assn., Inc.

From 1949–1952 the following four newly organized cooperatives received their first allotments from REA: Central Electric Cooperative Assn., Inc. (Oahe); Grand Electric Cooperative, Inc.; Cherry-Todd Electric Cooperative, Inc. and West Central Electric Cooperative.

This completes the group of cooperatives which had received allotments up to the close of 1960. It is apparent that the period of greatest farm electrification in South Dakota, the years 1945–52, was also the period during which most REA cooperatives were organized and received initial allotments.

Electrification of farms in South Dakota has necessarily conformed to the broad procedural principles laid down for the nation by the Rural Electrification Administration.

Farm electrification moved forward in the state roughly in step with electrification in the nation after 1935. The relatively great distances between farms in South Dakota slowed electrification in the state, however, and by 1960 only 88 percent of South Dakota farms were connected with power lines, whereas 96 percent of the U.S. farms were receiving central station power.

Today almost all of South Dakota's farms are receiving central station electricity from a rural electric cooperative.

GROWTH IN THE PROGRAM

A remarkable growth in the number of rural electric members has occurred over the last 50 years in South Dakota.

In 1940, there were only 2,933 members.
In 1944, 4,612.
In 1948, 21,207.
In 1952, 60,431.
In 1956, 68,304.
In 1960, 72,826.

Today, over 80,000 members are served by South Dakota's electric cooperatives.

The tremendous growth in the number of consumers between 1939 and 1963 caused large increases in the average size of the state's rural electric cooperatives. The three projects in 1939 served about 1,000 consumers, or slightly over 300 per cooperative. The 36 borrowers in 1992 serve 82,470 members or an average of 2,356 members per cooperative.

Measured by number of members served, rural electric cooperatives in South Dakota changed from small ones in 1939 to ones of substantial size over 50 years later.

Another measure of the size of an electric cooperative is its miles of line. Total cooperative is its miles of line. Total mileage increased tremendously between 1939 and 1992. In 1939, there were 617 miles of line energized on three cooperatives with 202 miles per cooperative. This figure rose to 30,734 miles energized on the 31 co-ops representing 990 miles per project in 1950. In 1959, the number of miles energized had risen to 49,429 on 34 co-ops representing 1,450 per cooperative. Today there are over 62,000 miles of line representing 1,767 per co-op.

The great increase in number of consumers served by rural electric systems in South Dakota for the period of 1944 to today has been accompanied by a great increase in electric energy sold by the cooperatives in the state.

Although South Dakota lagged in its rural electric program during the early years, the state's rate of growth in rural electric power consumption after 1944 it exceeded the rate of growth in the nation for most periods.

WHAT RURAL ELECTRIFICATION HAS MEANT TO THE ECONOMY OF SOUTH DAKOTA

It has been estimated that for every dollar spent by rural electric cooperatives, the South Dakota farmer has spent $10 or more for wiring his farm and farm home and for electric appliances and devices.

Rural electric systems are proud to contribute to the general economy of the state by making new businesses possible by supplying them with an adequate supply of power at the lowest possible cost.

Rural electric cooperatives of the state employ 800 people. These employees live in the communities throughout the entire state.

Rural electric systems of the state are owned by those they serve. Each member-owner of a rural electric cooperative in South Dakota is therefore quite naturally a resident of the state.

The rural electric systems in South Dakota have invested more than $390 million in plants and facilities in the state. The rural electric cooperative members have spent an estimated $700 million on electric equipment and appliances since receiving electric service from their cooperative. Members are continuing to invest in more appliances and equipment each and every year—an annual shot in the arm for the state's economy.

Rural electrification represents one of the state's largest industries and supplies electricity to nearly one-third of the states residents and almost all of the state's farms and ranches.

SOUTH DAKOTA'S RURAL ELECTRIC COOPERATIVES PAY TAXES

By state law, rural electrics are required to pay two percent of their gross revenue to the state. This is allocated back to the school districts from which it was collected, thus benefiting these districts on the same basis on which the farmers in this area spent money for electricity.

This tax alone provides over $5 million for schools in the state each year.

This two percent gross revenue tax is levied rather than a real estate tax on the line equipment. Regular real estate tax decreases as the equipment depreciates. The gross revenue tax will increase thus meaning more and more income for the state's schools.

This gross revenue tax should not be confused with the regular four percent sales tax paid by the members of the cooperatives when they pay their monthly bills. This, too, is a vast source of revenue for the state.

The cooperatives also pay regular sales tax on all their equipment just as any business would.

Besides these there are the regular real estate taxes on buildings, employer taxes and licenses and use taxes on transportation equipment. Yes, rural electric cooperatives pay taxes!

ELECTRIC COOPERATIVES REPAY LOANS

To build lines and the other facilities necessary to get electricity to rural South Dakota, REA, the federal agency, loans money to rural electric cooperatives.

This money is paid back, over a fixed period, with interest, similar to a home mortgage.

No South Dakota cooperative is delinquent on the payments to REA. Many are ahead of schedule on their payments.

The relationship of REA to rural electric cooperatives has sometimes been confused.

REA is simply a "banker" for the cooperatives. Money for these loans is requested by the agency, appropriated by the Congress.

None of the employees of rural electric cooperatives are federal employees.

Directors are elected by local cooperative members at their annual meetings.

A rural electric cooperative is as much a local business as the corner grocery store. The one and only difference is that it borrows money from the government as well as private sources such as the National Utilities Cooperative Finance Corporation and CoBank.

Financial data also reflects physical growth of rural electric properties in South Dakota. The pattern of growth in loans in South Dakota is similar to that of the nation. But the upsurge of the late 1940s was greater in the state and the stabilization after 1952 was also more rapid. After 1944, loan repayments by South Dakota's electric cooperatives increased as a faster pace than in the nation.

Present status of the program: