

Now, we have the analogy of politics as war without blood. In every war monumental mistakes are made. The nature of war is such that it is going to grind down and eat up, chew up, and abuse large numbers of people because it is an emergency and we cannot set our own scenarios. We have to react to the enemy. There are a number of things in the nature of war. That is why the analogy that politics is war without blood is a bad analogy.

We should not have to move in an atmosphere of war. We should not have to rally to meet a crisis that does not need to be created. Health care could be kept at some kind of rationale level. Health care should be kept off the table.

Yes, eventually, HMO's, profit making HMO's, may make money in health care. Eventually Wall Street may have stocks in the health care industry do very well. But let us try to do that and make capitalism and the profit motive work for the benefit of the people. Let us not allow the situation to get totally out of hand and a scorched earth policy to leave us with ruins in our health care system.

Once we close a hospital, reopening it is almost impossible. Once we close down certain kinds of facilities, we cannot bring them back. And we must force those who are in place of decision-making and power to stop, listen, and negotiate.

Our demands in New York City are three basic demands. Freeze the situation. Do not go any further. Disclose your plans. Let us see what is happening. And they negotiate. And this is a pattern that I offer to the rest of the country.

□ 1845

It is your health care. This invasion plan will roll right over you unless you rally and guarantee that you are respecting and that your health care does not become cannon fodder in this so-called war to remake America.

#### TRIBUTE TO ADMIRAL BULKELEY AND ADMIRAL BOORDA

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SKEEN). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from California [Mr. DORNAN] is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, those that were watching the proceedings in this Chamber earlier saw some brief 5-minute or shorter tributes to the Chief of Naval Operations, the highest ranking naval officer in the world up until a few hours ago this afternoon when the early reports are telling us he took his own life in the Chief of Naval Operations traditional officer's home, just a few blocks from here in the Navy Yard on the Anacostia River.

Mr. Speaker, I had been intending to come to the floor tonight to finish a tribute to Admiral John Duncan Bulkeley, who had served 55 years on

active duty, retired just a few years ago in 1988, and was the squadron commander of the PT boats that took General MacArthur off Corregidor. I pointed out that in an otherwise beautiful funeral ceremony on Patriots' Day, April 19, the only sad note was that there were no Cabinet officers, no Vice President. Bill Clinton had held the wreath with Admiral Bulkeley at the 50th anniversary of D-day, the Normandy invasions to begin the day at dawn.

Together they held a wreath honoring all those who died at sea, the Coast Guardsmen driving the landing craft up to the beach, the few naval craft as they secured the waters of the English Channel for the Allied forces that died, those that died leading up to it, those that died in secret operations in the months leading up to it where we lost hundreds of sailors and soldiers, and it was kept secret for 25 years.

That wreath was to commemorate all who were lost at sea, including those landing barges that were blown up by shore artillery and mortar fire sent out by the Germans. At the funeral, which I talked about here 6 days ago, I said that the first eulogy for Admiral Bulkeley, this Medal of Honor winner, holder of two Distinguished Service Crosses, Navy Cross, two Purple Hearts, two Silver Stars, French Croix de Guerre. The first speaker was the CNO, the Chief of Naval Operations, Jeremy Michael Boorda, Mike to his friends.

Mr. Speaker, I have in front of me the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. How could I or anyone have known that, while praising Admiral Boorda here at this very lectern on the leadership desk, that 6 days later he would be joining Admiral Bulkeley in heaven? This is phenomenal that our country is getting hit with so many hammer blows of people dying. It must be tied into something to do with what the Holy Father in Rome calls the culture of death.

I got through most of Admiral Boorda's eulogy for Vice Admiral Bulkeley, and I had the son of the actual PT boat, signal boat commander, PT 41, George Cox Jr., a late-in-life child is, I guess, the way they say it, not the grandson but the direct of son of George Cox, Ensign George Cox, who was actually at the helm of the PT boat when Admiral Bulkeley with the last of his two boats out of only six to begin with, when Manila, the Pearl Harbor of Manila was December 8, across the date line, when George Cox was watching Junior, he is an LA of CLAY SHAW of Florida, legislative assistant.

I opened with words of Ronald Reagan that I used the next day when I was the graduation speaker at a beautiful traditional Catholic Christian college in Front Royal out in the beautiful Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. I talked about what Ronald Reagan had told us all to do in his goodbye words on January 11, 1989, 9 days before com-

bat Navy hero, 58-mission George Bush was sworn in. And that is what I titled this piece, or our wonderful recorders that took the title from my words. It says President Reagan commands us, remember our heroes, remember our past.

Mr. Speaker, I read beautiful moving passages of President Reagan's words, then told some history about Admiral Bulkeley that was my tribute to him and to George Cox, Sr. with George, Jr. watching. Then I got into Admiral Boorda's remarks. And then I read the stunningly beautiful tribute to Admiral Bulkeley from his second son, an active duty Navy captain, Peter Bulkeley, and my time ran out. So I was going to come back at some point this week and finish reading, because I promised Admiral Bulkeley's son and his three daughters, beautiful daughter-in-law, that I would read it word for word, it was that good.

That is what I thought Ronald Reagan wanted us to do, as RON KLING on the other side performed a moving historical tribute to the people of Crete and how it might have been the key battle that, although lost, delayed Hitler's invasion of Russia and thereby turned the course of history in World War II.

So I was going to come back tonight and finish Peter Bulkeley, Captain Peter Bulkeley's tribute to his dad. And now I have to do that and a tribute to Mike Boorda. I have Mike's biography in front of me. What a life. Just on two pages. Bulkeley served 55 years. Boorda served 40. Fibbed about his age. The one time you can talk about fibbing, downgrade the word from lie. When you are trying to wear the uniform of your country and say you are older than you are, God must smile. That is certainly not a venial sin. That is a fib to serve your fellow man. He fibbed on his age in November 1938. He is my brother's age, 2 years older, younger brother, and he joined in November 1938. Was an enlisted man for 8 years, excuse me, 6 years, and was a Navy petty officer first class. Attack squadron 144, carrier airborne early warning squadron 11.

My older brother's son, a Navy lieutenant commander who has served in the gulf 30 or some combat missions in one of these squadrons, he had all this enlisted experience and was selected for commissioning under the integration program in 1962, 34 years ago. I will get to Mike Boorda's tribute in a minute, but let me tell you again what Mike Boorda said about Admiral Bulkeley. Quoting myself, I finished talking about SONNY MONTGOMERY, SAM GIBBONS, World War II veterans in this House that had the only tribute to World War II other than about 10 or 15 that I did, was a month after the war had passed its 50th anniversary.

I finished talking about them and I said: Mr. Speaker, I just do not understand why people are not listening to what Ronald Reagan said about talking about history. So Admiral Boorda begins his remarks. Mr. Speaker, this is

his title of his tribute to Bulkeley on April 19, but I am saying it 6 days ago. Admiral Boorda says: You may cast off when ready, Johnny. Those were MacArthur's words to Squadron Commander Bulkeley. I am sure Bulkeley, as I discussed with George, Jr., turned to Ensign Cox and said—I am sorry, those are my words.

I am sure that when Bulkeley heard those words from MacArthur he turned to his PT boat skipper Ensign Cox and said: George, let's move it out of here, anchors aweigh. Those were my remarks. Admiral Boorda began, I say, this is Boorda. Will Rogers said that we cannot all be heroes. Then another aside of mine: Mr. Speaker, I say, by the way, Admiral Boorda beautifully delivered this, Mr. Speaker. Back to Mike: Some of us have to stand on the curb and clap as those heroes go by. When he made that statement, Will Rogers could only have had one type of person in mind, John Bulkeley.

We gather here today—this is the new chapel at Fort Myer, in this place meant for heroes and applaud a true American hero as he passes by. And we come together here as the rest of America stands up and cheers for a man who symbolizes the very best about our Nation. While we are saddened to no longer have the great John Bulkeley with us, Boorda continues, it is not a day of sorrow. He would not have liked or allowed that. Today is a day meant to remember, to give thanks.

Then I point out that Admiral Boorda goes on page after page telling about his early years. I put it all in the RECORD later. He tells about the film, "They Were Expendable," America's leading man John Wayne, America's sweetheart, Donna Reed. And Boorda talked about Admiral Bulkeley, how he lived his life for our navy and his country.

This is what Boorda did for 40 years. Bulkeley did so with guts and heart and, most important, with honor. His service stands as a tribute to every sailor.

This was obviously coming from Boorda's heart, Mr. Speaker, because he always considered himself a sailor. He said: Every American, every person on this Earth who cherishes freedom, Bulkeley's life touched more than just us. It touched the world. And so today America says—boy, these are words from the grave. I give Mike Boorda's words back at him, Mr. Speaker: Thank you, shipmate, for giving us the very best. And while we knew that you were always special, too extraordinary to ever need our thanks, we just thought you would like to know.

The words he ended with there were the way this legendary Admiral John Duncan Bulkeley would write a short memo, sign it and then write a four-page PS. He would always sign the PS: Just thought you would want to know.

Now, I do not want to confuse, Mr. Speaker, anybody who follows these proceedings, but I think at this point I

would like to do a tribute to Admiral Boorda, the highest ranking American naval officer in the world this morning.

Talked to our colleague, Commander DUKE CUNNINGHAM on the phone at 10, and I think I have a right to say what he told DUKE, that he was feeling pressure from the White House and Secretary Perry to undercut the Republican defense authorization budget that restores much modernization that is needed to our military, that he was under terrific pressure.

He had an interview with the news magazine this afternoon, just an hour after he died. He was getting hammered in the press a little bit, but that would not have bothered someone with 40 years in our great Navy.

But as I talk about Bulkeley later through the mouth of his son, Captain Peter Bulkeley, think about the fact that I will be back at that chapel in Myer for Admiral Boorda's funeral in a few days. This is amazing. Mike Boorda went through Officers Candidate School in 1962 in Newport, RI. Got his naval commission as a very experienced young ensign August 1962. So he would have been 24 years old. He served in destroyers, combat information center on the Porterfield, went to destroyer field in Newport, became a weapons officer on the *U.S.S. John Craig* and other destroyers, served on the *Parrot* and mine sweeper. Then he was a weapons instructor.

There is just so much here. I am going to skip through it because a lot of it is the dry bio of years and years of superb service going everywhere your country and your Navy tells you to go.

Mr. Speaker, here is where I first met him. After he was the commander of cruiser, destroyer Group 8, the Greyhounds of the Sea, and as carrier battle group commander embarked on the *Saratoga*, one of our first big angle deck carriers, he also served as the commander of battle force Sixth Fleet in 1987 in the Med.

□ 1900

And then he comes to D.C., and this is where I met him. In August of 1988 he became chief of naval personnel, a teenager of 17 up through the ranks. Everyone thought this was the crowning glory of his career, vice admiral, 3 stars, going to take care of all the kids and gals in the Navy and all the chief petty officers in the officer corps. He served there for 3 years.

In November of 1991, that is 5 years ago now, he got his fourth star. Has been a four-star general for what would have been 5 years this November, and in December 1991, 4 years ago last Christmas, he became the commander in chief of all the allied forces in southern Europe; I saw him there a year after that; and then commander in chief of all the U.S. naval forces in Europe, headquarters in London, England, in those traditional buildings that go all the way back to those D-Day victories, World War II.

On February 1, 1993 while serving as commander in chief, he assumed the

duty of commander, Joint Task Force Provide Promise, responsible for the supply of humanitarian relief to Bosnia-Herzegovina. He set up the air land and air drop dangerous night mission, C-130s coming at 10,000 feet, trying to target air drops with parachutes of heavy medical supplies and food into the besieged people of that poor war-torn land of Bosnia. He set all that up.

He has the Defense Distinguished Service Medal, the Distinguished Service Medal, second time, Legion of Merit, third award, Meritorious Service Medal and a number of other campaign awards.

He was our 25th Chief of Naval Operations.

What a history from 1775, John Paul Jones. I have not yet begun to fight. John Burrey, an Irishman, the father of our Navy Marine Corps, born November 10, same year, 1775. What a history. Only 25 CNOs.

His beautiful wife, Irishwoman Betty Moran, they have four children. It says nine grandchildren, but that is wrong. I was told today four more arrived just since this bio. No, 2 more. He has 11. I have 10. There is so much to live for, four children. Well, he has got exactly what I have. I have five children. So he has 15 children and grandchildren. I have 15 children and grandchildren. I want to get out of here some day and live for them to pass on everything that I hope is wise that I have learned in life.

Two of his sons are naval officers, Mr. Speaker. What a tragic depression must have borne down on that naval officer's chest. What a tragedy.

Just thought you would want to know that we have lost a great naval commander, a young teenaged boot going through probably Great Lakes Naval Center, where so many friends of mine went through. What an inspiration he was to the kids out there on the ships, and the young gals.

How tall was he, Mr. Speaker? Could not have been more than five foot 2, 3, 4; probably five-five. What a dynamite package. We are going to miss you, Mike.

So over there at that beautiful new cathedral at Ft. Myers, resplendent in his white uniform, a pallbearer also, of course. Many vice admirals sitting in the front row, one three-star general. Should have been a lot bigger than that for Admiral Bulkeley.

Mr. Speaker, FDR pinned on his Medal of Honor. We have got a Medal of Honor winner in the Senate. I think that should have dropped everything to be there. Got 2 or 3 Navy Cross holders, a former Navy Secretary over there. No Navy Secretary. Great Army three-star there, No. 2 man, but MacArthur pinned on his Distinguished Service Cross. Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, under Roosevelt, pinned on one of his Navy Crosses, he got another Distinguished Service Cross, but at least he had Mike Boorda, CNO, speaking up for him.

At this point what I would like to do so that it is a coherent record is put

back in, and I will bring this down and give it to the recorders, Mr. Speaker, all of the first part of Peter Bulkeley's tribute, which took his dad through his Annapolis years through China through meeting the beautiful English girl Alice, marrying her, the dark days in the Philippines, his days as the wild man of the Philippines, his clothes ragged, the both covered in grease and diesel fuel and held together with spit and wire and prayers, and Peter's beautiful words that will be in the RECORD, took him right up through the end of World War II, the stories of D-day, the stories that I told because I had heard it and forgotten it. It was in Peter's words about sinking two German Corvettes, capturing the Nazi commanders; maybe they were not Nazis, just naval officers, but they refused to salute Old Glory, a Naval tradition, as they were rescued and brought up on the deck of Admiral Bulkeley's first major combat surface ship, the destroyer *Endicott*, and he had them thrown back in the water.

I am told last Friday how the story was repeated to me by several of the crewmen from the *Endicott* that were there to pay tribute at the funeral to John Duncan Bulkeley, and, Peter, I got to the point where I read his words telling that story, a true story how the German on the third time around worked the trick, as Captain Peter said, and he finally saluted Old Glory, and then I told something that was not in Peter's remarks told to me by the helmsman Joe Caine, who was about 20, and that was about 50 years ago plus 2, so he is about 72 years old now, spry and as chipper as ever.

He told how Admiral Bulkeley took two Jewish members of the crew from Brooklyn, from the Bronx, and gave them Thompson submachine guns and took them into the officer's ward where they had these two German Corvette commanders, captains, and said, "Now, do you speak English?" And they did. They were educated. And he said, "Well, these two fellows here have a good Bronx background, and they're Jewish. I thought you might want to know that if you make a move, you're in a lot of trouble. Cover him, guys." One was named Gottlieb and the other, they said it was either Rosenberg or Rosenstein. It was quite a story.

So that is where my time ran out, and I pick up admiral—not admiral. Maybe some day another admiral in the Bulkeley family because Peter had also talked about all the naval officers and heroes going all the way back to the battle of Trafalgar and the victory and Lord Nelson. So I picked up Peter Bulkeley's words in his eulogy for his dad, and I will continue from here, and it will have his full eulogy in the record.

Let me pause, Peter says. The admiral was a strong believer in standards. Some may say he was from the old school, as the enemy captain of one of the Corvette soon learned. I have not read this, so I will do this. Coming up

the sea ladder, the German commander would not salute the colors of the *Endicott*. He was promptly tossed back into the sea. On the third time, that did the trick, and he was taken prisoner and allowed on deck.

I heard this story a long time ago, but last year, this would be 1995, I had the privilege of attending one of the *Endicott* ship's reunions and was told the same story over and over by the crew that served and loved their captain so well, John Bulkeley.

World War II closed, and the admiral emerged as one of the Navy's and America's most decorated heroes, having been awarded the Medal of Honor, the Navy Cross, the Army Distinguished Service Cross with Oak Leaf Cluster in lieu of a second award, two Silver Stars, Legion of Medal with Combat V, the Purple Heart twice over, the Philippine Distinguished Conduct Star, and from France the French Croix de Guerre, which by the way, my father earned the hard way, with three wound chevrons that are now called Purple Hearts, in World War I, Mr. Speaker.

Asked about his many decorations, John Bulkeley would only comment, "Medals and awards do not mean anything. It is what is inside of you, how you feel about yourself, that counts."

With an eye to the future, John Bulkeley looked forward to the day he would become an admiral in the Navy he loved so much. As President Kennedy in the early months of his administration dealt with an ever increasing crisis over Cuba, the admiral got his wish and, for a quarter of a century, would serve as a flag officer in the Navy.

As I am reading this, Mr. Speaker, I am picturing Boorda, Admiral Boorda, sitting there in the front row. How many days ago? Eleven? Twenty-seven days ago.

Challenged in his first assignment as commander of the Guantanamo Naval Base, Bulkeley met and defeated the challenge of Fidel Castro's threats of severing the water supplies of the base. Today Guantanamo stands as a symbol of American resolve because men like John Bulkeley stood up and refused to bend and took the initiative to stare down belligerent threats of lesser men not friendly with America. Perhaps a tribute of the time was a wanted poster offering 50,000 pesos for commander—Captain Bulkeley, dead or alive, by the Communist leadership of Cuba, along with the description a guerrilla, the worst species. I take it back. He was a flag officer by this time.

At Guantanamo, for those that have visited, there is a hill that overlooks the northeast gate, a gate with a sign that reads "Cuba, Land Free from America." I remember standing there with former members Bob Lagomarsino and Eldon Rudd of Arizona.

Peter says, "I stood with my dad on that hill almost 32 years ago. Cuban troops began moving about. They were armed. My dad's 19-year-old driver, a

Marine lance corporal, comes running over and stood directly in front of the admiral ready and willing to take the bullet that could end the life of his commander."

The admiral loved his Marines, and the Marines loved and respected him in return. He would be with them day and night in fatigues ready to conduct war, if necessary, but more, to defend Americans and the land of the free against the Communist yoke of tyranny.

Colonel Stevens, the former commanding officer of the Marine barracks at Guantanamo, wrote just recently adding three more stories to the legend of John Bulkeley. The admiral had the compassion of the men in the field, taking time again and again to bring them relief, whether cookies on Christmas morning or visiting with them at odd hours of the night to ease their nerves. They loved this man, the young men—not so young. The 70-year-olds at his funeral from the *Endicott* told me he knew every man's name on the ship; every nickname and would pop up in the dead of night to have coffee with whoever was on watch in the wee hours of 2, 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning.

The admiral would construct on that hill, his hill overlooking the northeast gate in Guantanamo, would construct the largest Marine Corps insignia in the world as a quiet reminder that the U.S. Marine Corps stood vigilant over this base, and in tribute a Marine would write John Bulkeley, Marine in sailor's clothing. Camp Bulkeley is still there in Guantanamo today, and that Marine anchor and globe has a fresh coat of paint.

John Bulkeley never forgot his early years, the hard iron-like discipline, the poor material condition of the fleet and the need to always be ready. He was talking about the '30s, 1930's. In this own words, to be able to conduct prompt, sustained combat operations at sea assigned as the president of the Board of Inspection and Survey, inspector general position unique to the Navy. The Army and Air Force do not have this as you know, Mr. Speaker; a post held by many distinguished naval officers since its inception almost since the beginning of the Navy. Bulkeley's boundless energy would find him aboard every ship in the Navy from keel to the top of the mast, from the fire control system to inside a boiler discussing readiness and sharing sea stories and a cup of coffee with the men who operate our ships, our planes and our submarines. This throughout the end of this 55-year career. He was relentless in his quest to improve the safety and material condition of the fleet and the conditions for the health and well-being of those men. He conducted his inspections by the book and strict accordance with standards, as many a man well knows, but his love for the sailors always came through.

His "Just thought you'd like to know" memos was another invention of his that was designed to be a, quote, unofficial report, unquote. But of

course they were often greeted by a groan by the recipient in the Navy's leadership knowing that John Bulkeley had another concern that needed attention, and the number of information addresses receiving the same "Just thought you'd like to know" letters often were longer than the letter itself. The admiral would laugh about his informal invention less than 30 days ago. That is last March.

After 55 years of commissioned service, John Bulkeley retired to private life. I was there at his retirement ceremony with Admiral Trost, then Chief of Naval Operations.

□ 1915

"John Bulkeley, as you recall, did not like notoriety and wanted to keep a low profile, throughout his life, even his last day in his Navy. His ceremony, as requested, was brief and to the point. Held in the CNO's office, with family present, all he sought after giving his entire life to his country and his service was to have the CNO's flag lieutenant open the door so he could slip his mooring line and leave quietly.

"Today we celebrate the final journey of a great American, John Bulkeley, and let him sail away."

Ironically, we should have all the flags in D.C. at half mast today, Mr. Speaker, for Adm. Jeremy "Mike" Boorda.

"We should not mourn, for he would not want that, preferring we celebrate his long life, fruitful life, and the life he chooses to lead. When asked to describe his own life he said," listen to this, Mr. Speaker, 'Interesting, Fascinating, and Beneficial to the United States.'"

Would not every Congressman and Senator like to say their career was interesting, fascinating, and beneficial to the United States of America?

"The spirit of John Bulkeley is here. You can see it everywhere. You can see it in the faces of our young sailors and marines, the midshipmen and our junior officers who will be challenged to live up to his standards of integrity, loyalty, bravery, and dedicated service to country and to service.

"John Bulkeley's career and service to the Nation spanned six turbulent decades of this century, he saw first-hand desperate times and the horrors of war. Yet he was also a father, marrying the woman he loved, and in his own words, 'It was the best thing I ever did.'" He said that to my face at D-day when he introduced me to his wife and several of his grown children.

Peter continues: "And raised the family he could be proud of, because we are proud of him." Then, in a tearful moment in the audience for us, Mr. Speaker, Capt. Peter Bulkeley looked at his mother, and he says, "Mom, you were his right arm, his closest friend for a long and full life. You gave him your love and your support. You truly were the Wind beneath his Wings," and they had played that hymn. "Yellow roses and his Colt 45 that he gave to

you on your wedding night, while he stood watch out in Swatow Harbor, China provide us comfort of this love for you and his service to country. Before he passed away, every member, child, and grandchild, sons and daughters-in-law all came to be with him in his last days. This by itself is testimony of the legacy he leaves behind and the love his family had for him.

"Today we face a different challenge than what John Bulkeley did. Old enemies are our allies. But now there are new foes who challenge our country's interests and our way of life sometimes, even inside our own borders." Narcotics.

"Admiral Bulkeley's efforts and sacrifices for a better world, a free world, his integrity and honor, and a combat-ready fleet, ready to conduct prompt, sustained combat operations are his legacy to our Nation.

"Seated before me are many of the warriors that fought alongside the admiral, shared in his beliefs, his determination, his losses, his grief, and his unfailing love of family, service, and country.

"With his passing, the watch has been relieved. A new generation takes the helm and charts the course. His Navy, he shaped for so many years, is at sea today, stronger and better because of him, operating forward in far-away places, standing vigilant and engaged in keeping peace and helping our fellow man, but ready for war.

"In his own words, he leaves this with you: 'Be prepared. Your day will come, heaven forbid, when you will be called to go forward to defend our great Nation. Your leadership, bravery, and skill will be tested to the utmost.'" He continues with his dad's words: "You should never forget that America's Torch of Freedom has been handed down to you by countless others that answer their country's call and often gave their lives to preserve freedoms so many take for granted. This torch is now in your hands. You have a great responsibility to uphold duty, honor, country. God bless each of you and protect you.

"Just thought you'd like to know."

"So, we gather together today to say farewell to a man we love, a man we respect and cherish, a man that did his duty, that made his mark in life, and left the world a better and safer place. Peter Bulkeley looked toward his father and said, 'God bless you, Dad. All lines are clear.' A beautiful tribute. I could look over about 6 people, see the tears in the eyes of the Naval CNO, Chief of Naval Ops."

So I will just make Peter's tribute to his legendary father a tribute to your 40 years, Admiral Boorda: God bless you, Mike, all lines are clear. I will see your family over at Fort Myer Cathedral.

Mr. Speaker, this has been a tough week. My honor has been challenged more than once by some of the biggest papers in this country: U.S.A. Today, New York Times, L.A. Times. People

who are ignorant of what I am trying to do for our military have been taking cheap shots at me all week long. They just bounce off my back, because I am the one who has done the research on this moral crisis in our country and in my beloved military, all the services. I have never felt parochial about the Air Force, I belonged to all the forces.

I will spend all day tomorrow at West Point. I have four or five cadets up there from my little California, Orange County, district. I will have lunch with them, I will meet with the instructors. I come back here Saturday, and I am going to the ordination of 12 priests, the biggest ordination of priests anywhere in this country this year in a diocese, Arlington, across the river, that is on fire with the Holy Spirit; great priests. One of them is my son-in-law's priest from the Mission San Juan Capistrano, Joe Dressler. He is coming back here to meet with some of his underclassmen from the seminary that he studied at.

Then on Sunday, I am taking my wife and the Air Force is driving me down to an Air National Guard base at Richmond, and I am going to fly the F-16, if I pass my morning physical down there, with an Air National Guard squadron of great tradition; flew the F-105 Thunder Chief after Vietnam for years, and now flies the F-16 Falcon.

They have been given the duty of working out the tactical reconnaissance mission in pods on F-16's, instead of taking over the whole aircraft of the F-101 Voodoo, the RA-5 Vigilante in Vietnam, or the RF-4 Phantom in Vietnam and all over the world, all over the world, right up through Desert Storm.

Now, instead of a dedicated reconnaissance fighter aircraft, we are going to have a pod and a mission where in every fighter squadron, or in handpicked squadrons, there will be a few aircraft capable of reconnaissance and fighting if they get in trouble and have to jettison the pod; quite an airplane, that single-engine single-seat single-tail F-16. I will be doing that.

Next weekend, depending on our votes, I am going up to Greenland to close the circle on trips that I have made to the North Pole with Admiral Mauz, another great four-star nuclear engineer who runs all the nuclear programs in the Navy. He took AL GORE and I up to the North Pole to go under the North Pole ice cap on the U.S.S. *Sea Horse*.

Navy officer Bart Roper, back seat radar intercept officer who is now the AA of the gentleman from Florida, JOE SCARBOROUGH, who was earlier doing a tribute to Admiral Boorda; Lt. Comdr. Bart Roper, now working as one of our allies on the Hill, he took me down to Antarctica. I flew with the greatest Navy pilots I have ever flown with in my life, old Huey helicopters, ski-equipped LC-130's. They call themselves the ice pirates. I have a great patch of theirs on one of my flight jackets.

I want to see how our Air Force operates at Greenland. I have wanted to do

that all my life, since when I had a young commander who said, "I am sending you to Thule, Greenland, Dornan, if you don't shape up." So I am going to go up there to see one of our young men and women up there who was on one of our key flights with one of our C-141 aircraft, the stretch B model that is aging.

This is what I did all the time as a regular back-bencher, a minority member activist, a ranking minority member, and now on the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and chairman of Subcommittee on Military Personnel, I know what I am doing on this floor, Mr. Speaker, when I put forward an amendment not to have homosexuals in the military.

It won so big in full committee they did not even vote, and it won so big here Wednesday nobody would challenge me with a vote, but behind the scenes they are talking about dumping it in conference, in a secret star Chamber session, with Senators who either had never served or do not work their tail off the way I do visiting with the men and women in the field at all ranks, from sailors and boot camp young men going through paratrooper training in Benning or Special Forces senior heroic Delta Force master sergeants and first sergeants.

I visited the graves of our two Medal of Honor winners, Randy Shugart and Gary Gordon, Gary up in the land of his birth in Lincoln, ME, Shugart born in Lincoln, NE, but buried up in Carlisle, PA. I took my son Mark to both of their graves, so he could see what heroes were sent to their death by a stupid foreign policy in the filthy alleys of Mogadishu.

I only learned in the last few weeks that they held up the arms and legs of our men to show to the crowd. I saw pictures this week of young punks wearing the sunglasses of our aviators, or Durant's crew after they had murdered all of them. Durant, fortunately, came home. I met with him at Fort Knox. It is just amazing that people will ascribe to me motives for what I am doing without ever talking to a man or woman in uniform.

I called a smart-alecky reporter, David, and I will not mention his whole name, he writes for Armed Forces Journal International. He starts off and says, "Dornan is now a bad joke because he has done all the social stuff in the military." I got him on the phone, he was very respectful last night, I called him from an Intel secure phone, because we had a briefing going up there about the dangerous world we live in, and I said, "Where do you get off? Have you worn a uniform?" "No, I haven't. You have got me there."

"Where do you get off telling me that and ripping me up in the press?" I said, "I'm not bothered by the heat. I kind of like Harry Truman's line, take the heat or move on, but you don't follow me through the Pentagon, you don't go to the funeral with me at Arlington, where I got 5,000 people the Armed

Forces the Expeditionary Medal by myself; no help in the Senate, none, nobody."

They fought me. Senior four stars fought me in the Pentagon, but I was there to meet Colonel Pickett, whose son, Lieutenant Colonel Pickett, was executed with a bullet to the back of his head by the Communist FMLN, the Faribundo Marti, down in El Salvador. I met his grandson. I listened to them play taps standing on his grave at Arlington, the only one of our 21 men killed in a battle with communism, where we were not going to give them decorations for even showing up, just an Expeditionary Medal.

None of these reporters were with me. They do not know anything about the military, anyway. They do not know that my heart goes out to these thousand people who have been given a slow, long death sentence with a fatal venereal disease; no matter how they caught it, that is what it is, it is syphilis II, and it is fatal.

And they all know that they serve in the military, restricted in duty, not worldwide deployable, not deployable anywhere, never again to be trained. All their combat training, if they had it, has gone down the drain. one hundred thousand healthy men and women have been discharged, Mr. Speaker, and we politically protect a little group of 1,000, all because of the homosexual lobby trying to drive the agenda here.

□ 1930

Let me just tick off some items here. Item this month—World News Washington Post. Spread of AIDS in China Alarms the Chinese. The prediction here is identical to the prediction I brought to the floor 10 year ago about Bangkok, Thailand and the Indian cities, huge population centers along the Ganges, Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and it has all happened in southern Asia, it has all happened in Thailand.

Look at this article here. None of the centers know anything about this but it is in the papers today.

In the L.A. Times today, Mr. Speaker:

"House Okays Defense Bill with Dornan Provisions." They say that I have renewed the ban on abortion. I did not renew anything. It is law. Clinton was forced to sign it on February 10. It is law. The other side brought it up. The same people who want us to have so-called partial birth execution style organized crime. I agree with some Italian-Americans who called me and said, "BOB, we love you, please don't use the word Mafia. It is an unfair word." It is organized crime. It is in every country. It is organized crime in Moscow and they call it Mafia. We ought to just call it organized crime unless it is Sicily where it is specifically Mafia. But this is ridiculous, what they write. I did not bring up the abortion issue. HIV, I am right. Homosexuals in the military. I am right. Then it says the bill would renew provisions contained in previous defense bills. No; it is law.

Then it says staffers for Senate Republicans who oppose inclusion of all these social agendas, the HIV ban, the homosexual ban, the ban on Hustler magazine on military bases, PX's, and commissaries.

It says those who oppose it said they gained assurances from the House GOP leadership that at least the AIDS provision would be eliminated. Oh, they are not so sure about going back to George Washington and Ronald Reagan and George Bush's homosexual ban.

None of my leaders better have done this. I went to all of their staffer here, my pal Mr. ARMEY's staff, my classmate from my comeback in 1984, TOM DELAY's staff, another member of the class of 1984. I said, did anybody talk to them, to the L.A. Times, to Norman Kempster and tell anyone?

Well, actually, it is the Senate staff saying this, not Members, staffers saying our leadership is going to dump on DORNAN. Well, I am a conferee this time. This is not like the appropriations bill where Republicans gutted out for the first time in 20 years that I know of, undid public law that was fair to men and women in the military. Listen to this. Here is why I am going to make my case in conference and take names. Nothing says we have to be secret in conference.

"African Armies Weakened by AIDS Virus." This is in the Stars and Stripes May 5. Weakened is hardly the word for it, Mr. Speaker. Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwean Army has been declared by the United Nations no longer acceptable for deployable duty. That means more duty for us. Do you know why? Three out of every four soldiers, officers, enlisted men, NCO's are infected with the AIDS virus. They are all going to die within the next few years. The former commander is dying of AIDS, the commander before him is dead of AIDS and he has the AIDS virus, the current commander, three out of four.

How about Kenya? Uganda? They are pushing 70 percent, or 6 out of every 10. How about Thailand, 3 or 4 out of every 10 soldiers in Thailand infected with the AIDS virus. When we test people coming to our command and staff schools, artillery schools, armor schools, if they test HIV positive, we send them home. The armies around the world are being ruined by the AIDS virus.

Am I not entitled to say I want my military mercifully with honorable discharges and the best medical treatment in the world hopefully, if people would work with me, the same doctors, the same 35 to \$40,000 a year spent on each of these 1,000 people that have it in the military, I am entitled to say, if it is micro-redeployability for other people, even though it is only a thousand, a percentage of a percentage point in the world where there are only 191 nations and less than 100 fit for U.N. duty, where they even have trained and disciplined military, every Nation that is X'ed off by the United

Nations, by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, it means U.S. men and women who will never be deployed with AIDS, the AIDS virus, they are out when they get AIDS, the HIV AIDS virus, that means more deployability for us on a macro level.

Look at this item. Column from last year by Jeffrey Hart. I just found it in my records. He writes about Michael Warner, this is a friend, Jeffrey Hart's column, an intelligent fellow who is HIV negative but a homosexual activist, he said, why gay men are having risky sex.

On the assumption that the Voice, a New York City weekly, is not part of your regular conservative reading list, I will give you a brief outline of Mr. Warner's startling article. Warner reports that among large numbers of homosexuals, the risk of death is now part of the emotional appeal of sex, as something experienced and shared, and that sex under the threat of death is, well, better sex.

More about that when I do my rebuttal to Mr. GUNDERSON next Wednesday.

Look at this, Mr. Speaker. Baby flushed down the toilet of a Northwest Airlines airplane. Flight 25. Did you read where they found a little baby strapped in its seat at the tragic Valujet crash of Flight 592?

Well, here is a little baby that was not killed in a crash on God's call but the mother on a plane from L.A. to Manila at the Japanese stop, a big Boeing 747 of Northwest Airlines, the police find a baby. It appeared to be 2 days old. Was it born on board? Was it carried on board dead or alive, then disposed of? Was it wrapped in the toilet paper before the flight even left L.A.? We just do not know. This is last Friday. Northwest is working with the legal authorities. Plane was filled with passengers, 349. Two hundred sixty-six of them left the plane. Then for hours they had to hold the other 83 passengers there and finally they let them go on to Manila. All of that because of a little baby a few hours or a couple of days old, one little baby, part of the umbilical cord was still attached. How is that baby any different than what people in this House, including 33 Democrats who have Catholic in their biographies, how is that any different from killing that little baby with its head held in the birth canal, distressing the mother, I do not know how that is supposed to help the mother, she is in a forced birth situation, and they take the little baby's brain out with suction equipment.

Here is an item, Mr. Speaker, "Vatican Calls Clinton Abortion Veto Brutal Act of Aggression." Here is the exact statement on April 19, the day I am out, that Admiral Boorda is speaking at Admiral Bulkeley's funeral, the same day, Patriot's Day in the United States. This in practice amounts to an incredibly brutal act of aggression against the preborn. The fact that this Presidential decision legalizes this inhuman procedure morally and ethically

imperils the future of the society that condones us. The Holy See completely supports the position taken by the cardinals of the United States and the National conference of Catholic Bishops.

Today, Mr. Speaker, in Lincoln, NE, that same town where Medal of Honor winner Randy Shugart was born 37 years ago, today several dozen Catholics were excommunicated for belonging to Planned Parenthood, a phony Playboy magazine group called Catholics for a Free Choice and several other groups, about a dozen groups. The bishop there is named Fabian Bruskwitz. The clerical holy gauntlet has been thrown down, Mr. Speaker.

I had hoped to come to the floor tonight to talk about happy things. Tom Tracy, a friend of mine, is a distinguished Irish-American leader. I have got his great tribute in front of me, how he has honored all Irish-Americans. I am going to save this for next week and do Tommy Tracy right.

I will close on this item, Mr. Speaker. Time magazine, April 29. My friend from Crossfire, Michael Kinsley, did dozens of shows with him. He says:

"Character is a tempting issue and theme for the Republicans. Part of the answer lies with the media. Skeptical scrutiny of Presidents, it seems, is on a permanent upward ratchet. This is a good thing by and large but it is rough on any incumbent President. Part of the answer lies with Clinton himself. Not that his moral failings are worse than other politicians." Whoa, Michael, do not put me in that pack.

"But his relative youth which is not his fault and his occasional callousness, which is his fault, deprive him of gravitas." My 4 years of Latin tells me that means heaviness, weight, seriousness. "The anonymous novel," which my wife is reading, "Primary Colors, is especially good on the way Clinton's bad qualities and good qualities are two sides of the same coin. His ability to deliver a moving speech on great occasions is related to his ability to talk utter baloney with seeming sincerity. Reagan was a great communicator. Clinton, his opponents say dismissively, is a masterly politician. What's the difference?"

Kinsley goes on. "His enormous hunger for approval is what has led him to chase voters and to chase women and his enormous capacity for empathy helps explain why he is apparently so good at both. The empathy is genuine and for all the mockery of 'I feel your pain,' for all the telling parallels between Clinton's political and personal promiscuity, it is his most valuable gift as a national leader."

And Congressman BOB DORNAN wrote in the margin, "Ugh."

We have got a tough time in this country. I have never seen so many important people dying in any administration and I am sure there is nothing related or conspiratorial about it but we have got a rough 173 days ahead of us to the next election.

EXCERPT FROM RECORD OF MAY 10, 1996

"Admiral Boorda, thank you for your very kind remarks. As our Chief of Naval Operations and as a personal friend of the Bulkeley family, we really appreciate your deep concern, your compassion, and personal kindness from all of us. Thank you again. For everyone, please sit back and relax and let me tell you a story about a very special man. Typical of the Admiral, he would want me to come to the point, so this is what he really wanted you to know. He had no regrets of his life, that he lives a long time, married the woman he loved, raised a family to be proud of, and served a Navy second to none."

Mr. Speaker, I pause here in Peter Bulkeley's opening eulogy to remind you and anyone listening to this Chamber proceeding that Ronald Reagan asked me to do things like this, that I may have my weird detractors who do not understand why I am concerned about the social decay of our country, why I want even defense publications like Armed Forces Journal International, or Roll Call, or the Hill, Marty, why I want you to pay attention to what Billy Graham said, poised on the edge of self-destruction. That is why I am doing this. I want people to hear these words about a real hero. Why no one showed up from this administration, unbelievably. The Army did send their No. 2 man, General Reimer's deputy.

I went to another tribute a few weeks later. It was not written up in the Hill or Armed Forces Journal International. It was not written up there. But I went to a ceremony at Arlington last Sunday where I was given some small piece of thank-you for getting 5,000 warriors—men and plenty of women—the Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal for what they did in El Salvador. No Senators, no Congressmen except myself, nobody from the administration. As a matter of fact, the Senate and some strange blockage at the highest levels of the Pentagon did not want these 5,000 male and female warriors to get that medal. And now I have kicked open the door and we are going to get some Bronze Stars and some combat infantry badges and combat medical badges for these people. Nobody showed up there. A beautiful Sunday, playing taps from the grave of Army Colonel Pickett. I got to meet his dad, a retired Army Colonel Pickett.

How did Colonel Pickett die? On his knees with a Communist bullet from the FMLN shot into the back of his head, killed this young enlisted man lying wounded on the ground, the copilot Captain Dawson was already dead in the cockpit of their helicopter.

When did that take place? January 1991. Nobody noticed because a week later the air war of Desert Storm started.

I will close without any more interruptions, just sit back, as Peter Bulkeley says, and listen to this story of a man who was a legend, and when I told BUCK MCKEON of our House that I could not believe nobody was there, he said, "You mean he outlived his fame."

He said, "If Ron Brown had lived to be Admiral Bulkeley's age, in his eighties, would anybody have remembered him or his less than 4 years as Commerce Secretary?"

No, I guess if you die young, on the line, you get buildings named after you. But if God gives you a good long life and a beautiful family, only a few remember and show up to say goodbye.

Peter continues:

When I pressed dad on 'no regrets,' he sheepishly told me with a twinkle in his eye that that wasn't quite altogether true. And he finally said, I do have one regret, Pete. I should have gotten a bigger boat. A destroyer is not too bad, but he was the kind of

guy who could have handled a super carrier. So if you are contemplating a bigger boat, you know what to do.

I will not have in my lifetime a greater honor than today as an officer in our Navy and as his son, because I get to talk about my dad. Admiral Boorda, Admiral Larson, Superintendent at Annapolis, Admiral Trost, General Dubia, the number two man in the Army, General Blott, Assistant Secretary Perry, Assistant Secretary, Medal of Honor recipients, two of them from Army, Vietnam, another cause for freedom that Reagan and I both believed in, and so did Admiral Bulkeley, representatives of the Senate, none were there, and the House, one, members of the diplomatic corps, a couple, allied representatives from France, they were there, Philippines, Great Britain, members of our armed forces, all of them in uniform, friends from Hackettstown, New Jersey, and around the globe, all of those who served and knew Admiral John Bulkeley, and most especially my mom, my sisters, Joan, Rigina and Diana and their husbands, my brother at the organ, beautiful, my wife, all eight of the Admiral's grandchildren, we have come together to honor a great man, a patriot, a legend, a hero in the truest sense. A husband, a father, a friend; a simple man that did his duty as God gave him the ability to do, and the man that tried to keep a low profile, but somehow always ended up in the limelight of life.

Admiral John Bulkeley is a legend. He devoted his entire life to his country and to his Navy. Six decades of his life were spent in the active defense of America. Even after retirement in 1988, he remained engaged in the direction of our Navy and our country. He represented the Navy and the veterans at Normandy during the D-Day celebrations, laying wreaths and flowers of his and our fallen comrades. He provided running parallel to Utah Beach, and picking up wounded soldiers from the sinking minesweeper Tide and the Destroyer Cory.

His World War II exploits would not be complete without the mention of his love for destroyers, of which he would command many in his years to come. As Normandy operations wound up, he got his first large ship, the Destroyer Endicott, a month after D-Day. I told this story about the British gunboats, the two German Corvettes charging in as dawn's light broke. I told that story. I want to use every minute here. Peter tells it better than I did.

When I asked about dad about that action, he said "What else could I do but engage? You fight, you win. That is the reputation of our Navy, then, now, and in the future. You fight, you win."

[From Catholic News Service]

VATICAN CALLS CLINTON ABORTION VETO  
"BRUTAL ACT OF AGGRESSION"

(By Cindy Wooden)

President Bill Clinton's veto of the bill banning partial-birth abortions "in practice amounts to an incredibly brutal act of aggression" against the unborn, the Vatican said.

"The fact that this presidential decision legalizes this inhuman procedure morally and ethically imperils the future of a society that condones, it," said Vatican spokesman Joaquin Navarro-Valls.

In its April 19 edition, the Vatican newspaper printed an Italian translation of the April 16 letter written by eight U.S. cardinals and the president of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops condemning Clinton's veto of the bill.

"The Holy See completely supports the position taken by the cardinals of the United States and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops," Navarro-Valls said April 19.

"As has already been stated by the American cardinals, this presidential decision is 'more akin to infanticide than to abortion,' and thus it is not surprising that 65 percent of those who call themselves 'pro-choice' are opposed to partial-birth abortions," he said.

Navarro-Valls explained to reporters at the Vatican that the bill vetoed by Clinton would have banned a procedure used in late-term abortions. The spokesman, who is a medical doctor, said the procedure involves the partial delivery of the fetus before surgical scissors are stabbed into the base of its head. The brains are removed by suction, allowing for easier delivery of the rest of the fetus.

Clinton's decision to veto the bill passed by Congress is "shameful," the spokesman said, and "in practice, amounts to an incredibly brutal act of aggression against innocent human life and the inalienable right of the unborn."

Naturally, this situation makes even more urgent a greater solidarity in defense of the life of the unborn who cannot speak for themselves," he said.

Navarro-Valls said the fact that the United States will hold a presidential election in November played no part in the Vatican's decision to comment on Clinton's veto.

"The Holy See cannot say nothing," he said. "This is an ethical and moral problem which is very clear and very serious."

The same day the Vatican issued a statement condemning the Israeli bombing of a refugee camp in Lebanon, killing many civilians, he said. "We must also say something about this attack on defenseless, unborn babies."

Raymond L. Flynn, the U.S. ambassador to the Vatican, said he was informed April 18 "of the Holy See's disappointment with the president's veto."

[From Time, Apr. 29, 1996]

EVERYBODY DOES IT

(By Michael Kinsley)

In every presidential election from 1968 through 1988, the Democrats nominated a goody-goody (Hubert Humphrey, George McGovern, Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale, Michael Dukakis). And they lost every election during those two decades except in 1976, when the Republicans also nominated a goody-goody (Gerald Ford). In 1992 the Democrats finally got—well, you might say cynical or you might say serious. They decided they wanted to win this time. So they nominated a man who is no one's idea of a goody-goody. They nominated a slippery politician. Not coincidentally, he is also a morally flawed character with personal and (perhaps) financial peccadilloes.

Bill Clinton had not been President more than five minutes before many Democrats began reacting in horror to the realization that their man was not a plaster saint. Many Republicans, meanwhile, seemed resentful that the Democrats had stolen the election through the devious device of nominating someone who knew how to win.

It is pretty clear now that even if Clinton is re-elected, he is destined never to enjoy a period, as even Richard Nixon did, of genuine and heartfelt popularity while in office. The best he can probably hope for is a couple of weeks of golden-glow nostalgia when he leaves office in 2001 and a historical reevaluation some decades down the road. It is fortunate for Clinton that our voting system doesn't measure intensity of feelings, because his opponents dislike him with a seething passion while his supporters can rarely muster more than grudging acquiescence.

But why is that? Is Clinton's opportunistic floppery on, say, balancing the budget any more egregious than Bob Dole's on, say,

abortion? Ronald Reagan's California business chums bought him a house while he was President, to barely a peep of protest; yet we are in our fourth year of pawing through the much smaller financial favors Clinton's Arkansas business chums tried to do him 14 years ago when he was Governor.

Yes, of course, repeat after your mother: "Everybody does it" is no excuse." But why is Clinton's "character" such a liability to him, when by any reasonable reckoning his professional and personal failings average out to a level of moral compromise so typical among Presidents and presidential candidates that it almost amounts to a job qualification?

Part of the answer lies in Republican strategy. With not much cooking on the foreign front, and with the economic issues that usually decide elections divisible into those that look pretty good right now (growth, unemployment, inflation, the deficit) and those for which the Republicans have nothing much to suggest (wage stagnation, middle-class angst), "character" is naturally a tempting theme. Part of the answer lies with the media. Skeptical scrutiny of Presidents, it seems, is on a permanent upward ratchet. This is a good thing, by and large, but rough on the incumbent. And part of the answer lies with Clinton himself. Not that his moral failings are worse than other politicians'. But his relative youth (which is not his fault) and his occasional callousness (which is) deprive him of gravitas.

The anonymous novel Primary Colors is especially good on the way Clinton's bad qualities and good qualities are two sides of the same coin. His ability to deliver a moving speech on great occasions is related to his ability to talk utter baloney with seeming sincerity. (Reagan was a "great communicator." Clinton, his opponents say dismissively, is a "masterly politician." What's the difference?) His enormous hunger for approval is what has led him to chase voters and to chase women, and his enormous capacity for empathy helps explain why he is apparently so good at both. The empathy is genuine. And—for all the mockery of "I feel your pain," for all the telling parallels between Clinton's political and personal "promiscuity"—it is his most valuable gift as a national leader.

It is hard to turn this point into a useful campaign slogan. "Vote for Clinton. He's Not So Bad." "Re-elect the President. He's No Worse Than All the Others." Or "Bill Clinton: You Can't Have the French Fries Without the Grease." I don't recommend this theme to the Democratic National Committee. But it is pretty close to the truth.

As a Clinton supporter of moderate but steady enthusiasm, I've been bewildered by those liberals who've veered from wild ardor in 1992 to foaming dislike in the years since. The intense hatred Clinton evokes among conservatives is less puzzling but still a bit strange. Not since F.D.R., probably, has a Democratic President inspired such emotions in his opponents. But the F.D.R. comparison merely adds to the puzzle, since Clinton's agenda is far more modest and less ideologically charged.

Maybe an explanation lies in that old joke about academia, where, it is said, "the disputes are so vicious because the stakes are so small." The differences between Bill Clinton's agenda and Bob Dole's agenda are negligible in comparison with our political culture's huge need for rhetoric and disagreement between now and November. That means it's probably going to be an especially vicious campaign.

[From the Stars and Stripes, May 5, 1996]

AFRICAN ARMIES WEAKENED BY AIDS VIRUS  
MANGOCHI, MALAWI.—In some African armies, half of the soldiers are infected with

the virus which causes AIDS, a conference on the disease was told 24 April.

On a continent plagued by Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), the military faces extra risks and in some countries like Congo, the United Nations estimates every second soldier is infected with the HIV virus that causes the disease.

"Prevalence rates in many armies of the developing world, especially in Africa, are exceptionally high," Malawian Defense Minister Justin Malewezi told an AIDS conference for high-ranking military officers from 13 South and East African countries.

He said highly trained army and air force officers seemed to be particularly at risk and that countries might find it hard to train enough men to replace them.

"When the military is weakened, so too is the security of the country it is intended to defend," Malewezi said, opening the three-day meeting in the northern town of Mangochi.

Many countries in the region estimate up to a tenth of the population is infected with human immuno-deficiency virus (HIV).

The World Health Organization director for Africa, Ebrahim Samba, said soldiers were a high-risk group because they were young, mainly between the ages of 15 and 24, sexually active and away from home for long stretches at a time.

"They are often in search of recreation to relieve stress and loneliness," he said in a message read to the meeting.

"They feel vulnerable in a profession which excuses or encourages risk-taking. Off-duty soldiers can be counted on to have money, but not necessarily condoms, in their pockets."

Samba said soldiers often paid prostitutes for sex or slept with women from the local community wherever they were based or deployed. Drug pushers also preyed on the military.

Stuart Kingma, a UN adviser on AIDS in the military, said Zimbabwe's army had an HIV infection rate three to four times higher than that in the civilian population.

One in two of the nearly 20 million people infected with the virus worldwide were in sub-Saharan Africa, he said.

Kingma listed Congo, Uganda, Gabon, Kenya and Zimbabwe as African countries where the situation in the military was particularly bad.

#### EQUAL OPPORTUNITY ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. SKEEN). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from Florida [Mr. CANADY] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. CANADY of Florida. Mr. Speaker, this evening I rise to address the Equal Opportunity Act, legislation which Senator DOLE and I introduced on July 27 of last year.

This legislation will, if enacted, end the use of race and gender preferences by the Federal Government in Federal employment, Federal contracting, and in the administration of other Federal programs.

The principles of equal treatment and nondiscrimination on which this legislation is based are principles which are at the heart of the American experience. They embody an ideal which generations of Americans have honored and sought to realize, an ideal to which we as a people have long as-

pired but an ideal which we have never fully attained in our life as a Nation.

On Saturday of this week, May 18, we will mark the 100th anniversary of the Supreme Court's decision in Plessy versus Ferguson, the decision which represents the culmination of disappointment in the struggle for equality before the law during the 19th century.

In Plessy by a 7-1 majority, the Supreme Court of the United States held that Louisiana's law requiring railroads to provide racially separate accommodations did not violate either the 13th or the 14 amendments. Justice Henry Billings Brown, in delivery the court's opinion, explained the difference between a distinction based on race and prohibited discrimination.

He said as follows:

A statute which implies merely a legal distinction between the white and colored races has no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races or to reestablish a state of involuntary servitude.

Brown went on to observe that in the nature of things, the 14th Amendment could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color. According to Brown, the 14th Amendment challenged in Plessy reduces itself to the question of whether the statute of Louisiana is a reasonable regulation.

Brown then concluded:

We cannot say that a law which authorizes or even requires the separation of the races is unreasonable.

This is a shameful decision. And although the segregationist doctrine embodied in Plessy has been rejected by the courts most strikingly in Brown versus Board of Education, the case itself has never been directly overruled. Indeed, the core holding of Plessy that Government may make distinctions in the treatment of its citizens based on their race remains the law of our land.

Justice Harlan's dissent in Plessy, which, is recognized as the most famous dissent in the history of American jurisprudence, has been vindicated by history but the principles so eloquently articulated in that dissent has not finally been accepted by the courts. In words that would often be cited by those seeking to overthrow the Jim Crow system, Justice Harlan pronounced:

Our Constitution is colorblind. The law regards man as man and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights, as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land, are involved.

Harlan found a Louisiana statute unconstitutional because the Constitution of the United States does not permit any public authority to know the race of those entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of their civil rights.

Simply put, Government may not have regard to the race of its citizens when the civil rights of those citizens are involved.

The color-blind ideal was the touchstone of the American civil rights movement until the mid 1960's. In 1947, Thurgood Marshall, representing the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational

Fund in a brief for a black student denied admission to the segregated University of Oklahoma Law School, stated that principle unequivocally. Classifications and distinctions based on race or color have no moral or legal validity in our society. They are contrary to our Constitution and laws.

□ 1945

Marshall's support for the color-blind principle, which he later, unfortunately, abandoned, is vividly revealed by Constance Baker Motley, senior United States district judge for the southern district of New York, in an account included in Tinsley Yarbrough's biography of Justice Harlan. Judge Motley recalled her days working with Marshall at the NAACP as follows:

Marshall had a Bible, to which he turned during his most depressed moments. Marshall would read aloud passages from Harlan's amazing dissent. I do not believe we ever filed a major brief in the pre-Brown days in which a portion of that opinion was not quoted. Marshall's favorite quotation was our Constitution is color-blind. It became our basic creed.

Marshall admired the courage of Harlan more than any justice who had ever sat on the Supreme Court. Even Chief Justice Earl Warren's forthright and moving decision for the court in Brown did not affect Marshall in the same way. Earl Warren was writing for a unanimous Supreme Court. Harlan was a solitary and lonely figure writing for posterity.

In the face of the vociferous opposition to the Equal Opportunity Act, and any other proposal to end the use of preferences, we would do well to remember the long battle that was fought to establish a legal order based on the principles set forth in justice Harlan's dissent.

Professor Andrew Carl, in his admirable history "The Color Blind Constitution," identifies the centrality of the color-blind principle to the civil rights movement. Professor Carl says as follows:

The undeniable fact is that over a period of some 125 years, ending only in the late 1960s, the American civil rights movement first elaborated then held as its unvarying political objective a rule of law requiring the color-blind treatment of individuals.

In 1964, the U.S. Congress took a great stride forward toward the realization of that objective. With the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Congress established a national policy against discrimination based on race and sex.

It is the supreme irony of the modern civil rights movement that this crowning achievement was so soon followed by the creation of a system of preferences based on race and gender, a system contrived first by administrative agencies and the Federal courts and then accepted and expanded by the Congress.

The 1964 Civil Rights Act constituted an unequivocal statement that Americans should be treated as individuals