

projects. That helps keep them off the nuclear labor market—and form selling their skills to an Iraq or Iran.

A neo-isolationist budget could nearly end our involvement in UN peace operations around the world—operations that serve our interests. Presidents since Harry Truman have supported them as a matter of common sense. President Bush in particular saw their value: last year nearly 60 percent of our UN peacekeeping bill went to operations begun with his Administration's support. His Secretary of State, James Baker, made a strong defense for these operations when he remarked that "We spent trillions to win the Cold War and we should be willing to spend millions of dollars to secure the peace."

This is burdensharing at its best. UN peace operations.

Save us from deploying U.S. troops in areas of great importance—for example, Cyprus or the Indian sub-continent.

They help pick up where our troops left off—for example, along the border of Iraq and Kuwait. In Haiti, UN troops are saving us resources by replacing most of our own withdrawing troops.

They are building democracy in Namibia, Mozambique and Cambodia—all missions we helped design. In Cambodia, the UN negotiated the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces and then held the country's first democratic election. After the years of the Killing Fields, 90 percent of the electorate turned out to vote—while UN peacekeepers protected them for the Khmer Rouge.

We would pay much more if we performed even a small number of these missions unilaterally. Instead, the price we pay now in manpower and money is reasonable: Of the 61,000 UN peacekeepers deployed around the world, only some 3,300 are American. We pay the equivalent of half of one percent of our total defense spending for UN peace operations—less than a third of the total UN cost and less than the Europeans pay in proportion to their defense spending. We participate in these operations only after careful consideration of the command arrangements and costs—but we gain immense influence through our ability to lead multinational efforts.

And a neo-isolationist budget could severely undercut our work for peace. The President has said that "America stands by those who take risks for peace." That is true in Northern Ireland, in South Africa, the Middle East and around the world.

For the Middle East peace process to continue—and for negotiations in other regions to succeed—we must have the resources to support the risk-takers. We cannot convince the holdouts from the peace process that will stand behind a just and lasting settlement if we back away from our current commitments. That means maintaining aid to Israel, Egypt and the Palestinians and fulfilling our pledge of debt relief to Jordan. In the Middle East our vital security and economic interests are on the line. We must not fold our hands—and leave the game to the opponents of peace—just when we are so close to the verge of winning.

A neo-isolationist budget could throw away decades of investment in democracy. In the last 15 years, the number of democracies in the world has almost doubled—and USAID provided assistance to most of the newcomers. For example, in Mozambique, a nation emerging from years of strife, AID assistance helped register 6 million out of a possible 8 million voters and turn the polling there into a success. Now, when these societies are most fragile, is not the time to cut this lifeline for democracy.

And a neo-isolationist budget would directly damage our own livelihoods. Our economy depends on new markets for U.S. goods

and high-paying jobs for American workers. That is why President Clinton led efforts to expand free trade with the landmark GATT agreement, NAFTA, and the free trade agreements in the Asia-Pacific region and in the Americas. And this Administration has worked harder, I believe, than any other to promote American exports. Imagine, for example, where we would be without the Commerce Department's efforts on this score. Secretary Brown's staff worked with other agencies last year on export deals worth \$46 billion for American businesses—deals that support 300,000 U.S. jobs.

In many cases, we were in a position to close deals because America had been engaged in those countries for years. Consider two statistics. AID programs in some countries have helped increase life expectancy by a decade. And every year, AID's immunization program saves 3 million lives. These are statistics not only of humanitarian hope. They are part of efforts to help create stable societies of consumers who want to buy our goods—not masses of victims in need of relief.

In addition, our support of the multilateral development banks also helps nations grow and their economics prosper. We contribute \$1.8 billion while other nations contribute \$7 billion—and that capital leverages more than \$40 billion in lending. If we stopped our contributions, we would lose our influence. And others might also follow our lead, and that would cripple these important institutions.

The backdoor isolationists who claim they are saving America's money cannot see beyond the green eyeshades. Our assistance has repaid itself hundreds and hundreds of times over. That was true when Marshall aid resuscitated European markets after the war. And in South Korea, which now imports annually U.S. goods worth three times as much as the assistance we provided in nearly 30 years.

And while we preserve our tradition of assistance, we are reforming its practice. AID has become a laboratory for Vice President Gore's efforts to reinvent government—it is eliminating 27 overseas missions and cut its workforce by 1200.

Now, with the "New Partnership Initiative," we will improve our assistance programs even more—by focusing on the local level. This will enhance the efforts of non-governmental organizations and raise the percentage of our aid that is channeled to them to 40 percent—because these organizations are on the ground and more responsive than distant national governments. This puts our resources to better use, helping nations so they can become self-sufficient.

Every one of us in this room knows that winning support for an activist foreign policy has never been easy in America.

Throughout the history of our Republic, we have never lived in literal isolation. In a world of instant communication and capital flows, we cannot do so now. That is not the issue. Literal isolationism is not an option.

What is at issue is whether we will have the policies and resources that can shape and support our involvement in ways that benefit our people in their daily lives—whether by opening markets or by preventing conflicts that could embroil us. It is at those times that our government failed to engage in such efforts that our people have paid the greatest price—as in World War II, following a period of irresponsible American retreat.

The genius of our postwar leaders was to see that technology and American power had changed the world and that we must never again remain aloof. But they had a hard time winning support even with the memories of war still fresh.

As he put his case forward, President Truman had an uphill struggle. But a foreigner

was that it was America's moment to lead—and told us so. Winston Churchill stirred the nation with his appeal for an engaged foreign policy. Today, we remember his address as the Iron Curtain speech, but Churchill called it "The Sinews of Peace." The phrase plays on a saying of the Romans: "Money is the sinews of war." Churchill's message was that preserving peace—like waging war—demands resources.

Today, that message rings as true as ever. This is a moment of extraordinary hope for democracy and free markets. But nothing is inevitable. We must remain engaged. We must reach out, not retreat. American leadership in the world is not a luxury: it is a necessity. The price is worth paying. It is the price of keeping the tide of history running our way.

TRIBUTE TO JASON SCHUBACH

HON. PAUL E. GILLMOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 2, 1995

Mr. GILLMOR. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to recognize an exceptional young man from my district who has recently accepted his appointment as a member of the class of 1999 at the U.S. Naval Academy.

Jason Schubach will soon graduate Old Fort High School after 4 years of outstanding academic achievement as well as extracurricular involvement. While in high school Jason has distinguished himself as a leader among his peers. He is an outstanding student and patriot.

Mr. Speaker, one of the most important responsibilities of Members of Congress is to identify outstanding young men and women and to nominate them for admission to the U.S. service academies. While at the Academy, they will be the beneficiaries of one of the finest educations available, so that in the future, they might be entrusted with the very security of our Nation.

I am confident that Jason Schubach has both the ability and the desire to meet this challenge. I ask my colleagues to join me in congratulating him for his accomplishments to date and to wish him the best of luck as he begins his career in service to our country.

TRIBUTE TO VAL ARTURO HENRY

HON. EDOLPHUS TOWNS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 2, 1995

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to commend Val Arturo Henry for his yeoman's work to improve his community, and his pursuit of individual excellence. Val was born in Colon, Republic of Panama, and immigrated to New York City when he was 2 years old.

Val attended public and secondary schools in Brooklyn and graduated from Franklin D. Roosevelt High School as a National Merit Scholar. He obtained his undergraduate degree in economics from Bucknell University. He then attended Fordham Law School, served as president of the Black Law Students Association, and passed the New York State Bar.