

Farr bill and the bipartisan bill and hopefully, given time to reflect on it and given support across this Nation, and given the fact that when we are deliberating this bill, it will not be just before an election. I believe that we can pass such legislation and get it to the President's desk for his signature.

So again I want to thank my colleagues for supporting my bill, I want to thank the Republicans that helped support it, as well. I look forward to working with everyone next year to make a meaningful campaign reform, not just a discussion, not just a debate, not just a vote but a reality.

THE MUNICH ELEVEN

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. CAMPBELL). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. KINGSTON] is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, 24 years ago this summer, this August, people from all over the world started turning their eyes toward Munich for the summer Olympics. That was one of many historic Olympic games that were held.

While the world turned there and many went there to pursue gold and silver and bronze medals, others went there and returned only with memories. And 11 members of the international committee, Olympic athletes, did not come home.

Tonight we want to discuss this tragic page in world events. I have with me the distinguished gentleman from New York, Congressman BEN GILMAN, who I want to yield the floor to tonight. He has been waiting. Congress, as you know, Mr. Speaker, adjourned several hours ago but he has been waiting to make a statement.

I am going to yield the floor because I understand he has an engagement and I do not want to hold him up, but I certainly appreciate him participating.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. KINGSTON] for arranging his special order.

Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to commend the gentleman from Georgia for sponsoring this order at this very special occasion during the Olympics in Atlanta and on the closing of the Tisha be-Av holiday for the Jewish community, a very solemn occasion. It is a fitting memorial tribute to the 11 athletes of Israel's team who were taken hostage and viciously murdered by a group of Palestinian Black September terrorists at the Munich Olympic games in 1972, and I commend the Atlanta Jewish Federation and Israeli Olympic Committee for erecting a permanent monument to these athletes which will be dedicated in Atlanta this Sunday.

Regrettably, the International Olympics Committee, IOC, is not a sponsor of this monument but will send a delegate to attend the proceedings. During the planning for these Olympic games,

IOC chairman, Juan Antonio Samaranch, apparently promised the athletes' families the IOC would officially memorialize the murdered athletes at these games. This has turned out not to be the case. Accordingly, ad hoc memorials, such as today's special order, will have to suffice. We will have to fight the scourge of global terrorism without the IOC.

Mr. Speaker, the horrible events of September 5, 1972 witnessed eight members of the Black September terrorist organization break into an Olympic Village dormitory in the early morning hours where the Israeli delegation was housed, and despite strenuous efforts by the targeted athletes to save themselves and each other, only six members of the team managed to reach safety; the remainder were taken hostage and killed in the violence which ensued.

We remember the painful broadcasts which hour by hour saw the terrorists' deadlines pushed back and frantic hopes that these Olympians' lives could be saved. With negotiations conducted by the German authorities, the masked terrorists demanded the release of 236 guerrillas held in Israeli jails, as well as the release of the leaders of the notorious Bader Meinhoff gang and safe passage to a foreign country. Late that evening, the terrorists, with their hostages in tow, boarded buses for an airfield and helicoptered to a waiting Lufthansa Boeing 707. German police snipers fired on two of the terrorists as they approached the plane and a fire fight ensued. The terrorists were armed with grenades and automatic machine guns while the police possessed only single-bore rifles.

Just after midnight, one terrorist threw a grenade into the helicopter, killing the nine remaining hostages while the terrorists shot at the fire response team, keeping them from the burning helicopter. The three remaining terrorists were then apprehended but were released by the German Government approximately 8 weeks later when Black September terrorists hijacked a Lufthansa flight from Damascus to Frankfurt in late October. The three men were picked up in Zagreb airport and flown to Libya where subsequently they disappeared.

We therefore honor the memories this evening of those Israeli athletes and their coaches murdered at the Munich Olympics: David Berger, a dual American-Israeli national, Zeev Friedman, Yoseph Gutfreund, Eliezer Halfin, Yoseph Romano, originally from Libya, Amitzur Shapira, Kehat Shor, Mark Slavin, a Soviet Jewish immigrant who had arrived in Israel only 4 months earlier, Andre Spitzer, Yaacov Shpringer, and Moshe Weinberg.

These men lost their lives for no reason other than because they were Israeli citizens and Jewish. The terrorists who seek to spread their evil today do so for the same reasons, despite the many years which separate that tragedy from recent ones. Yet it is clear

that our fight against terrorism is not over in the least and those who perpetrate these crimes against humanity all too often are set free.

Let us therefore rededicate our efforts to combat this threat wherever it rears its ugly head. Israel's Munich athletes may be gone but they are not forgotten, and it is in their memory that we press on against this worldwide menace and its State sponsors.

Again I thank the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. KINGSTON] for helping us refresh our memories with regard to this tragic accident and to memorialize the losses of these people.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I certainly thank the distinguished gentleman from New York for participating and all the work that he does for international peace and fighting international terrorism, because we need people like him involved in this and the leadership.

What I wanted to do, Mr. Speaker, is kind of maybe draw a picture of that tragic night of September 5 when the athletes were all bedding down for the evening and a young Andre Spitzer had called his wife, Ankie. They had only been married about 15 months at the time, and they had a new daughter 2 months old, Anouk. They were very happy. They talked a little bit about the games to come up, about his role as fencing coach, and then they talked about the new daughter and how happy they were. And that night as they hung up the phone, Andre said to Ankie, I love you. Then he, along with 10 other athletes, went to bed that night, and they had come so far for their own talents of wrestling, fencing, shooting, track, and weightlifting. As they put their head on the pillow, their hearts were inspired, their minds maybe a bit anxious, their emotions certainly somewhat eager. As they went to bed they were confident that with the morning light they would have a daytime opportunity to realize a dream that they had indeed had all their life, but instead they were awakened to darkness and awakened in a nightmare.

Mr. GILMAN talked about this. I will reiterate a little bit of exactly what has happened. There are a lot of different accounts but generally, as Mr. GILMAN said, at 5:30 a.m., a group burst into the Israelis' quarters. Only one Israeli, weightlifting coach Tuvia Sikulski escaped the first attack. And another one, Gadza Barry, a wrestler, escaped during the fight. In fact, six of the team members escaped into safety, one of the members, Moshe Weinberg, only 33 years old, held the door against the attackers, hollering over his shoulder to his friends inside the dormitory, get out, escape while you can, and they began breaking the windows with their hands, and yet a burst from an AK-47, and that was all for Mr. Weinberg.

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Yoseph Romano, a 32-year-old weight lifter, was also killed during fighting with the terrorists. Nine others could

not escape. Nine others were trapped, and they fought with knives, but certainly were overpowered with the heavy artillery of the terrorists.

Their hands were tied behind their backs and they were forced to hobble to a central location. And what ensued was 21 hours of pure hell as they went from location to location, as negotiations began, negotiations broke down, and the threats from the terrorists to kill a hostage each hour went out.

The families sat by helpless. Indeed, authorities and people from all over the world sat by helpless. And it went on until about 10:20 that night.

They were taken out to an airport, and at that time a faulty rescue mission took place. There were so many mixed signals, so many ideas that were aborted and so many, I guess just scared and skittishness, that, as Mr. GILMAN said, only five West German sharpshooters were able to get there, and, of course, there were eight terrorists.

Five of the terrorists were killed. But during the battle that lasted for about 1½ hours, in cold blood, a hand grenade was thrown into the helicopter that had the nine hostages, and they were killed.

It was a very sad situation, obviously, for the family, and a very dark chapter in the history of the world.

I want to talk about the shattered effect this has had on the families, but I also wanted to acknowledge and thank the gentlemen from Georgia, Mr. DEAL, and Mr. LINDER, for joining us, and I would be happy to yield the floor to either of you if you would like to talk at this time, if you want to. But we appreciate your sympathy to the families and acknowledging them.

Mr. LINDER. If the gentleman will yield, I think it is appropriate you are bringing this to the floor. We in Georgia are celebrating the 100th Olympiad, the centennial games, and there is great joy and great excitement in Atlanta for all the 11,000 athletes participating there. But for all the winners, we need to look back at the Munich games and remember there were some losers.

Throughout history, the free history, it always seems to be the Israelis who were the losers. They were the ones that were murdered. In fact, they are the only ones about whom we have now in Atlanta been forced to double our security, triple our security, because of terrorists trying to do damage to Israel.

I am told on Sunday evening in Atlanta there will be a ceremony honoring those who died and their families. Unfortunately, I will be here and not there, or I would be delighted to attend it. But it is appropriate to bring this issue up in the midst of the excitement and the glory of the games and when all are watching, that we think back to those 1972 games, where great athletes, who had trained, who looked to the gold, who tried to win, were shot down by terrorists in our own midst.

I will yield back and continue to enjoy your speech.

Mr. KINGSTON. The gentleman mentioned the family members. I think it is appropriate as we are focusing on the widows and on the 14 children and grandchildren that I enter into the RECORD their names and say a little bit of who the athletes were who now are known as the Munich 11. I will do this, and then I will yield the floor to Mr. DEAL and Mr. FOX, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, who has joined us.

The Munich 11: David Berger, 28. Weight lifter. Born in Cleveland, OH; graduated from Colombia University, degrees in law, economics, and psychology. Immigrated to Israel in 1970 where he worked as a lawyer.

Zeev Friedman, 28 years old. Weight lifter. Survived by his parents and sister. Born in Poland; immigrated to Israel in 1960.

Yoseph Gutfreund, age 40. International wrestling judge and referee. Survived by his wife and two daughters. Born in Romania. He was a businessman in Jerusalem.

Eliezer Halfin, 24. Wrestler. Survived by his parents and sister. Born in the Soviet Union; immigrated to Israel in 1969. He was a mechanic.

Yoseph Romano, age 32. Coach of the weight lifters. Survived by his wife and three daughters.

Amizur Shapira, age 40. Track coach. Survived by his wife and four children. Born in Israel.

Kehat Shor, age 53. Shooting coach. Born in Romania; immigrated to Israel in 1963. Survived by his wife and a married daughter.

Yaacov Shpringer, age 50. International judge and referee in wrestling. Born in Poland and immigrated to Israel in 1956. Survived by his wife, a son, and a daughter.

Mark Slavin, died at age 18. Wrestler. Born in the Soviet Union and immigrated to Israel in 1972. Survived by his parents, a brother, and a sister.

Andre Spitzer, 27. Fencing coach. Born in Romania. Survived by his wife and a daughter.

Moshe Weinberg, died, age 33. Wrestling coach. Born in Israel. Survived by his wife and baby.

And now I would like to say the names of the children, because I think it is so important for us to make sure that we are focusing on a very human tragedy, although an international one, certainly a very personal one, too.

Shirly Shapira, Shay Shapira, Oz Shapira, Eyal Shapira, Alex Shpringer, Eugenia Shpringer, Anouk Spitzer, Shlomit Romano, Rachel Romano, Oshrat Romano, Gur Weingberg, Michal Shorr, Yael Gutfreund, Yehudit Gutfreund. These are the children. These are the real people that are affected by this.

I don't have all seven names of the widows. I would like to submit that to the RECORD, and I will work on getting those names.

I am going to read you just a couple of quotes before I yield to you. This is

a comment by Shlomit Romano, 24-year-old daughter of the weightlifting coach who was killed.

"They were killed and it's over? We didn't say the word daddy once in our whole lives and nobody remembers."

To live your life without knowing your dad.

Then here is a word from Guri Weinberg. "A lot of people say I look like my dad and move like him, I talk like him. But I don't know."

He never had the chance to know his dad.

These are just two of the quotes of the children. And that registers on the heart not just of everyone here in Congress and everyone here in America, but citizens throughout the world.

Let me yield to Mr. DEAL.

Mr. DEAL. I appreciate, first of all, your bringing this to the attention of this Congress, and at this appropriate time, as these 14 children, who are really orphaned as a result of this very tragic event, have been able to come to these Olympic games that are being hosted in our State of Georgia and our capital city of Atlanta.

It is certainly appropriate I think for us all to remember these tragic events of the 1972 Olympic games, and certainly appropriate, as you have just done, to read the names of those who were tragically murdered in that event and to remember these 14 orphans who are here in the United States for these Olympic games.

As Mr. LINDER referred to earlier, I am pleased, as I know all of us are, that there will be a ceremony on July 28 at 7:30 at the Selig Center in Atlanta in which a memorial will be dedicated in memory of those who were slain in the 1972 Olympic games, the 11. It is being hosted by the Atlanta Jewish Federation, and certainly is an appropriate way of all of us remembering this particular tragedy that still has a cloud that hangs over the Olympic games, in spite of the fact that we have come very far in the years that have followed.

But we are pleased that these children are here in our country and in our home State of Georgia and in our city of Atlanta for the Olympic games, and we want them to know that those of us here, especially those of us from the Georgia delegation in Congress, have not forgotten this event, and we welcome them to these Olympic games and to our country, and we want to assure them that as this memorial is dedicated this weekend, that we will all be remembering the ones that they lost in Munich.

I thank you again for yielding me time and for bringing this matter to the attention of this body.

Mr. KINGSTON. Let me yield with pleasure to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FOX].

Mr. FOX. Thank you, Congressman KINGSTON. I thank you for your leadership in securing this time period for Congressman DEAL, Mr. LINDER, and yourself, to highlight the importance

of the tragic events of September 6, 1972, when 8 Palestinian terrorists entered the Olympic Village in Munich and killed 11 innocent athletes and coaches that represented the State of Israel. Twenty-four years later, I commend the Atlanta Jewish Federation and each of you for your part in the Israeli Olympic Committee erecting a permanent monument to the memory and the honor of these slain Olympians, who were competitors and coaches, and, like the other Olympians, wanted to participate and make a difference in this world.

Their lives were cut short tragically in a despicable display of violence that should never be repeated. The spirit of Israel and their fine athletes live on despite these tragic events, and we here in Congress will work on antiterrorism legislation. We have already passed some bills. We will also pass others that will stop these rogue states and have them be responsible for any future acts. Hopefully with our increased security here in the United States and abroad, we will make a difference, so that such tragic events and such despicable activity will never again happen at the Olympics or anywhere else.

I will continue working with each of you for peace in the Middle East, and use our diplomatic channels and peace through strength, as the new Prime Minister discussed just here in the Chamber of the House 2 weeks ago, in how working with a strong Israel and a strong America, two great democracies, we will lead the way to peace in the Middle East and assure that our future athletes, whether they be American Olympians or Israeli Olympians, surely have the security of knowing they can participate without this kind of bloodshed.

So I have to commend you as the Georgia delegation and me as an honorary member of that delegation for moving forward with this fine memorial, which is going to be a living testimonial to their efforts, their strength, and their leadership.

I yield back to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. KINGSTON. We thank the gentleman for joining us tonight, and we thank you for your efforts and energy that you have put into supporting the peace process in the Middle East.

You know, the sad footnote of this world tragedy is as the world went on, there were other world events, there were other plans that were high-jacked and other people that were taken hostage and there were other sad things. But getting back to the families, what they wanted, at the time the chancellor said, "Let's continue the Olympics, but let's fly the flags at half staff." A number of countries would not do that, so the mandate was lifted and flags were not flown at half staff.

Well, as respects the survivors, the families, OK. You know, it is sad, but that was not their No. 1 priority then.

But now, as these 14 children get older, there is a kind of therapeutic

value to saying it would be nice if the International Olympics Committee and Juan Antonio Samaranch would acknowledge that it happened.

In a quote that I wanted to read from Mrs. Spitzer, she said:

You know, we don't ask that they mention 11 Israelis or 11 Jews. We Jews ask that they mention the 11 athletes who came to participate in the international games with a spirit of peace and brotherhood, and went home in coffins.

What they wanted the other night in Atlanta was not even a moment of silence. They just want it to be acknowledged that these kids, these families, had come, incidentally, not on their government, but by their own paycheck, with their own money, out of pocket, had come just to mention. And they sat there disappointed as Sarajevo was mentioned, and yet, nothing. And I believe that that is why this memorial dedication in Atlanta by the Atlanta Jewish Federation on Sunday is so important, just to let them know that the world cares and that we do love them and that we do respect them.

I know, having had death in my family, that there is certain therapeutic value to rituals, certain comfort in human acknowledgment of that tragedy. The families, Mrs. Romano, Mrs. Spitzer, and the other five widows, have tried for over 20 years now, the Montreal games, Russia, Los Angeles, Barcelona, Sarajevo, now Atlanta, just for something, just to let us know. It is important.

We are spending now, and I believe it is correct, \$46.5 million on security. I do not want that, and I do not think they want that, to be the only legacy of Munich. They want something a little bit more, peace.

I think it is positive that Palestine is participating in the Olympics. That shows that the peace process that we all support is moving forward. This is not trying to rehash that. This is just saying, let us move on, but you have got to acknowledge it happened.

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Mr. LINDER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KINGSTON. I will be glad to yield.

Mr. LINDER. I am pleased that the Atlanta community and Atlanta Jewish Federation is seeing fit to make a memorial to this occasion at this Olympics at this time. But how many memorials must there be? How many more opportunities to shed tears over the deaths of innocent Israelis and Jews must we have before we get real peace?

All of us who sat here in this Chamber and heard Prime Minister Netanyahu deliver probably the most bold speech I have ever heard in this Chamber since I have been here, are encouraged by his commitment to building Israel. But I have been there, and you cannot go through those streets in Jerusalem and not feel the vulnerability of this Nation and the anger of

their neighbors. We should all go there, often.

How many more memorials do we need? Since the peace process began on the south lawn of the White House and the great handshake occurred, more innocent civilian Israelis have been murdered than in all the rest of the history of Israel. These brave athletes who just came to Munich in 1972 to celebrate a wonderful international experience, with their talents and their practice and their training, were gunned down, and they are only fit in a long line of those who have been gunned down in the Middle East over this very serious problem.

It is to be hoped that this effort on behalf of the Jewish community in Atlanta will lead to broader efforts across the country; that we will not begin to think that this is just one more memorial in the history of memorials but this may be the beginning of the end of memorials.

We are moving toward the process of peace in the Middle East. We have much more to go, but when they gun down innocent athletes in innocent games in the pursuit of athletic prowess and it does not get recognized, we make a mistake.

I am proud of our Jewish community in Atlanta, and I hope that other communities across the country will understand that these games are more than just games, they are opportunities to put aside anger and bitterness and fighting among parochial groups of people and begin to put together a real peace in which innocent people do not continue to die.

I congratulate the community in Atlanta for what they are doing. I hope it will be emulated across the country. I yield back.

Mr. KINGSTON. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KINGSTON. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania. In hearing Congressman LINDER speak, it does make a very poignant footnote, in that how many times and places can there be for international cooperation and international dialogue? Here we have the Olympics every 4 years. We have international associations meeting in different countries.

There was an expectation in that September 1972 in the Olympic village that the athletes of each country would be protected, would be secure, would be able to participate and meet other athletes and talk about life's dreams, but these 11 individuals from Israel will no longer have that opportunity, and their lives were snuffed out.

I am hopeful, as you are, that similar celebrations of memorial and similar events as are taking place in Atlanta on July 28 will take place in every State across this country, so that the lessons that should be taken from these tragedies will not be repeated, so

that those of us who can make a difference in bringing about peace in the Middle East will make that the legacy of these heroes from Israel.

I yield back to you, Mr. KINGSTON.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, it has been said that friction between nations and people and different philosophies can often be brought down by a dialogue, getting over things. There is a very touching story that happened as a consequence of the Civil War.

Atlanta was the site of probably the turning point in the Civil War when the North invaded the South and Sherman's troops were victorious and basically burned Atlanta to the ground. The highest commanding general under Sherman was a man named McPherson. He died in Atlanta, and there is a monument built to him in Atlanta, GA, that is respected by the sons of Confederates and the sons of the northern soldiers.

The story I want to tell, though, has to do with Gen. Joseph Johnston, who was defeated in Atlanta. Now years after the war, he and William Tecumseh Sherman were not buddies, but they were friends. They reconciled their differences.

When General Sherman died, his funeral was in New York. As his casket was going down the street, Gen. Joseph Johnston, southern Confederate general, took his hat off to honor his dead comrade, although on a different side of the fence. Because he did that, he later caught a cold, subsequently pneumonia, and died. On his deathbed, people said, "Why did you take your hat off for General Sherman, our arch enemy?" And he said, "Because he would have taken it off for me. The war is over."

For these family members, Munich is not over. I think it would be just and proper for the international community to acknowledge the tragedy so that they can move on and this peace process, which is so important to all of us, so important to the world balance, can go and move forward, maybe with just a little more momentum.

As I said before, let us not have the legacy to them just be increased security. Let us have the legacy to the deaths of the Munich 11 be a happier world for their children and their grandchildren through peace.

Mr. LINDER. If the gentleman would continue to yield, your bringing this to the floor tonight and your foresight to precede the celebration or the ceremony in Atlanta at 7:30 on Sunday night may be enough, it is to be hoped, to spur the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games to correct a wrong.

We know that this is a very large enterprise with 10,000 or 11,000 athletes and 2 or 3 million people in our city, and the world focused on it. It is understandable if some things have slipped by and not been noticed by the planners who have been working long days for long years. But it is to be hoped that perhaps your bringing this to the floor of the House and our airing the

concerns of the family members, the 14 family members, about their 11 parents from the 1972 Olympics will come to their attention and will, indeed, have the opportunity, we have enough days left in this Olympics, to perhaps allow the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games and the International Olympic Committee to find a spot in the closing ceremonies to close the door, to give honor and credit and attention to those who tragically died 24 years ago.

I would hope that those who are watching will make contact with the committee. There is plenty of time to find a small opening in those marvelous closing ceremonies, which will be, I am certain, at least as exciting as the opening ceremonies, and perhaps we can close this door and put to rest and put to peace the concerns of these family members.

I congratulate the gentleman for bringing this to the attention of the Congress and thank him for his perspicacity.

Mr. KINGSTON. I thank the gentlemen from Georgia, Mr. LINDER and Mr. DEAL, and the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. FOX, and I thank the gentleman from New York, Mr. GILMAN, for being here.

I will close with this, an old U.S. Army tradition of the rollcall. The rollcall that they have in the Army at celebrations, not celebrations but melancholy tributes, they call the roll of their fallen comrades. I will close with that, and then I want to yield the floor to the gentleman from Utah.

Berger, Friedman, Gutfreund, Halfin, Romano, Shapira, Shorr, Springer, Slavin, Spitzer, Weinberg.

Mr. GINGRICH. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to remember the 11 Israeli Olympic athletes and coaches who were victims of terrorism on September 6, 1972, during the Olympic games in Munich, Germany.

On Sunday, July 28, 1996, the Atlanta Jewish Federation along with the Olympic Committee of Israel will host a memorial service honoring the Olympic competitors who were killed by terrorists in 1972. During this occasion, a sculpture with an eternal flame, the Olympic rings, and the names of the victims will be unveiled as a reminder of the tragedy and loss suffered on that dreadful day 24 years ago.

We remember again today the families and friends of these athletes and coaches who suffered such a terrible loss at the hands of ruthless terrorists.

Mr. ZIMMER. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague, Mr. KINGSTON, for arranging this special order. As the hosts of the Centennial Olympic Games, we join the world in celebrating the dedication, camaraderie, and spirit that marks these competitions. At the same time, we cannot forget the horrible tragedy that befell the 11 Israeli athletes who were slain at the hands of terrorists during the 1972 Munich Olympics. Since that time, the International Olympic Committee has been beseeched by relatives to memorialize their fates—as well as the courage and determination that brought them to Munich in the first place. Because they have not yet been successful, I would like to lend my own support to their efforts.

I would like, as well, to commend the Atlanta Jewish Federation, which has stepped in to arrange the first-ever memorial service for the 11 Israeli athletes during the celebration of the current Olympic games. They plan an evening of services and dedication of a memorial sculpture this Sunday.

As my colleagues know, I have been among those in Congress who have repeatedly warned of the threat posed by terrorists to the peace and security not only of Israel but of the world. It is my hope that we will always remember the courage and decency of those 11 Israeli athletes; that their spirit will forever prevail; and that we as a world community will do whatever lies in our power to ensure that terrorism will not prevail.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD additional information on the Munich 11 memorial:

THE MUNICH 11 MEMORIAL

On the evening of Sunday July 28, 1996, the Atlanta Jewish Federation will be hosting, on behalf of the Olympic Committee of Israel (OCI), a gala reception for representatives of the IOC, National Olympic Committees and the Israeli Olympic Team. Preceding the reception will be the first-ever memorial service for the 11 Israeli athletes and coaches who were killed by Palestinian terrorists in the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich (the Munich 11). Family members of the victims were invited by the Federation and will be in attendance for the service and the dedication of a memorial sculpture.

The three-foot sculpture, which will be unveiled for the first time at the July 28 service, incorporates an eternal flame, the Olympic rings and the names of the victims. As the Olympic rings reflect on the mirrored stainless steel base of the sculpture, the viewer will see eleven rings, symbolizing the fallen athletes and coaches. Quite literally, the mirror creates a reflection on past Olympic games, but also projects the positive image of the Olympic spirit in the future. The names of the athletes and coaches are carved into the sculpture's base in English and in Hebrew and are accompanied by their event symbols. Within the center ring will burn an eternal flame, to be lit by one of the family members of a slain athlete.

There will be a media room at the July 28 event for interviews with the family members, Israeli dignitaries and members of the Israeli team. Pre-event media clearance is mandatory for attendance.

For more information about the Israeli Olympic Team, the Israeli Olympic Team Reception or the Munich 11 Memorial, or to obtain media clearance, please contact Lynne Tobins at (404) 870-1860 or for time-sensitive inquiries, (770) 379-9439.

The Atlanta Jewish Federation, the primary fundraising, budgeting, social planning and community relations body for Atlanta's 70,000-plus Jewish community, supports over 300 social and humanitarian programs each year in Atlanta, Israel and 58 countries around the world. Remarks given by Stephen Selig, President, Atlanta Jewish Federation at the July 22 press conference held at the Israeli Consulate for the children of the Munich 11:

"I am Stephen Selig, president of the Atlanta Jewish Federation. I'd like to extend a warm welcome to the families of the Munich 11.

"This is an historical time for the Jewish community of Atlanta. Not only have we opened and dedicated the Federation's beautiful new building. The Selig Center, we have been proud to take part in the once-in-a-lifetime experience of hosting the world for the Centennial Olympic Games. The Atlanta

Jewish community is also proud to do what is right—what is appropriate—for a community to do. We are stopping for a moment—amid the festivities and celebration—to remember the 11 athletes and coaches who were slain in the 1972 Munich Games.

"We join the families of the Munich 11 in their quest to keep the memory of this tragedy alive. On Sunday, July 28, the Atlanta Jewish Federation will hold a memorial service and dedicate a commemorative sculpture which will remain a permanent part of the Selig Gardens and will ensure that even as the world celebrates the triumph of the human body and spirit, it will never forget the need for vigilance against terrorism and hate. We are pleased that the International Olympic Committee has agreed to participate in this memorial service and dedication.

"I'd like to invite all members of the media to join us, so they can help us convey to the world that what happened in Munich must be properly acknowledged and never forgotten."

OLYMPIC MEDIA ALERT

IOC TO PARTICIPATE IN MUNICH 11 MEMORIAL

For the first time in 24 years, members of the International Olympic Committee will attend and participate in a memorial service and commemorative sculpture dedication for the 11 Israeli athletes and coaches killed by Palestinian terrorists in the 1972 Munich Games.

Children of victims, ACOG representatives, Mayor Bill Campbell, Israeli dignitaries and Israeli Olympic Team also to attend.

Memorial and dedication to be hosted by the Atlanta Jewish Federation, July 28, 7:30 p.m. at the The Selig Center, 1440 Spring Street, Atlanta.

Memorial attendance by invitation only. Pre-event media clearance is mandatory for attendance. Media asked to arrive between 5 and 6 p.m. for security clearance.

[From the Atlanta Journal-Constitution,
July 23, 1996]

WHEN SILVER ISN'T ENOUGH TO TAKE HOME
(By Peter Kent)

In an instant, Yael Arad was transformed from a judo player into a national hero. With her silver medal in Barcelona, Arad became the first Israeli to ascend the medalists' podium.

A child of Israel—a sabra—the 29-year-old with eyes that burn with searing intensity changed the history of her nation. Arad's triumph in 1992 laid to rest the past, celebrated Israel's present and set a course for the country's athletic future.

For Arad, second place is not good enough. She returns to the judo mat today seeking what eluded her. Gold. Not for herself, but for her country and for those who died in Israel's lifelong struggle for survival.

Yizkoi is the Hebrew word for "remember." It is also the name of a Jewish prayer, a version of the Kaddish, the mourners' prayer. In one of Judaism's most moving prayers, the living honor the dead by being worthy descendants of Abraham, Issac and Jacob, proclaiming their faith and their vow to never forget. Exodus. The Diaspora. The Holocaust. Munich.

Arad was 5 years old in 1972, hardly old enough to understand the horror of the attack by Black September terrorists on the Israeli Olympic team, which killed 11 of her countrymen. As she grew, the tragedy of "The Eleven" was passed on to her as part of her nation's history.

In 1992, before leaving for Barcelona, Arad met with many of the families of the 11 Israelis who died in Munich. She dedicated her Olympic performance to their memory. Arad

was determined to win a gold to honor them. It was not meant to be.

Fighting through the ranks, Arad reached the final against France's Catherine Fluery. They fought to a draw, and the judges declared Fluery the winner. At the medal ceremony, Arad wept joyous tears for what she had accomplished for Israel, bitter tears for having fallen short of her goal.

"[It] was the biggest disappointment I've ever had in my life, to lose the final," Arad said. "It's not what I wanted. I wanted to see my flag, to hear my anthem."

For Israelis, Arad's silver was as good as gold. The desert nation's 40-year Olympic drought ended. She was awarded \$80,000 and was given a shiny new red Alfa Romeo. Arad went from a celebrated judo player to a sought-after celebrity for everything from talk-show spots to product endorsements. "For two or three months, I couldn't step out of my house. People hugging and kissing me in the street," Arad recalled.

More importantly, Arad's victory reformed the chain that linked Israel and the Olympics. For 20 years, to speak of the Olympics was to bring to mind Munich. Arad created a new connection, one of joy to balance against past sorrow.

"Maybe now we can say, if it is possible, that we have avenged this murder," she said at a post-medal ceremony press conference. "I think we owe it to the families and the people of Israel. We'll never forget it, but maybe today it is something that will close the circle."

This year, another tragedy struck Israel. The assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin deeply affected Arad. After Arad's effort in Barcelona, Rabin sent her a telegram that read, "Congratulations, Israel thanks you and is proud of your performance." The two became friends as they worked together to improve funding for potential Olympians. She has dedicated her performance in Atlanta to his memory.

A sports celebrity is something of a luxury for Israel. In the 48 years since the country's creation, Israelis have had to devote themselves to the hard work of nationhood. The obligation to serve in the army comes at the moment when young men and women are at their physical prime, putting off any hopes of sports achievement. The nation needed professionals and workers in a host of economic fields more than it needed athletes in track and field.

While a new Israeli government has sparked uncertainty, Israel is prospering and at peace—for the moment at least. It can afford to indulge in the national pride that comes from winning sporting events.

As Israel prepares to celebrate its 50th anniversary, Arad symbolizes how far the country has come. A new generation of Israelis is rising to define the character and aspirations of their nation, and Arad is an inspiration. Her achievement has planted the seed of Olympic dreams in many Israeli youngsters.

And what of Yael Arad's future? There are the Yael Arad Foundation and her projects to increase private and public funding for sports. Last year, she married. It is time for her to get on with her life.

This will be Arad's last Olympics, almost certainly. Age, injury and commitments slow her down. Still, she cannot be discounted here.

"When people and children [in Israel] think about sports, they know sports are for winners," Arad said.

[From the Atlanta Jewish Time, July 19,
1996]

MUNICH'S COLD SHADOW

A surge of pride swelled through the small crowd of Jews at the Olympic Village on

Sunday morning as the Israeli flag was raised. Equally, a tide of anger went through them and many others when the Olympic committee this week again refused to host an official memorial for Israeli athletes slain at the 1972 Munich games. Yet, at presstime we learned that it would be formally represented at an Atlanta Jewish Federation memorial. Our hearts go out to the children and wives of those sportsmen, many of whom are guests of our community during the games.

Also this week, the International Olympic Committee balked at Israel's last-minute complaint about a delegation from "Palestine," which indicates an independent country. IOC Director General Francois Carrard accused the Israeli government of playing politics by doing this so close to the games' start. But we weren't doing so two years ago when we called and faxed the Olympics headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland about this matter. Mr. Carrard is simply, like the sneakiest of teflon politicians, ducking the issue.

For the record, we have no problem with a Palestinian delegation. The Palestinian Authority exists and there is an irrefutable sense of nationalism among the Palestinian people. We hope that the Palestinian Authority understands that seeing the flag here is the result of progress in the peace talks.

But for the moment, Palestine does not exist. Referring to the Palestinian movement as such is a blatant political act.

The Atlanta Jewish community is keenly aware of the emotions that the Israeli children and widows of the 1972 competitors feel about this and of being denied a memorial ceremony. We are extremely proud that our community has launched the first large effort to commemorate the tragedy that befell Israel, and by extension the Jewish people, 24 years ago.

One event will be open to the public—this Saturday morning's commemoration at Ahavath Achim Synagogue. We hope that those who cannot attend say their own prayers for Israel's fallen. The other will be a private affair at the Federation. There, a permanent memorial statue, subsequently open for public viewing, will be dedicated.

One day, perhaps, the IOC will learn that politics is not behind remembering Munich's chilled shadow on the Olympic movement and what it means to Jews. The IOC made a gross error in 1972 and the following games by not formally facing the horrors of 24 years ago. And it mocks all Jews when it accuses Israel of politics without owning up to its own version of playing that game.

[From the Atlanta Journal/Atlanta
Constitution, June 29, 1996]

FAMILIES MAKE GAMES VISIT TO HONOR SLAIN
ISRAELIS

(By Mark Sherman)

Fourteen children and two widows of the Israeli athletes killed at the Munich Olympics in 1972 will visit Atlanta during the Summer Games to serve as a reminder of an event that Olympics officials have no plans to commemorate, Israeli Consul General Arye Mekel said Friday.

Ankie Rechess, whose husband, Andre Spitzer, was the Olympic fencing coach, and Ilana Romano, who was married to weightlifter Joseph Romano, will lead the delegation, which will take part in various events arranged by Atlanta's Jewish community, Mekel said.

The group will attend the Opening Ceremonies July 19 and participate in a synagogue service the next day, he said.

"It is important that the international Olympic community and the Olympics in Atlanta do not forget the terrible tragedy that

happened within the Olympic Village some 24 years ago," Mekel said.

Palestinian terrorists invaded the village in Munich in 1972, eventually killing 11 Israeli athletes and coaches.

This year's Games have added meaning for the Israelis, because they will be the first to include a Palestinian team.

Rechess has fought unsuccessfully for Olympic recognition of the Munich massacre for the past 20 years, asking that at least a moment of silence be observed at every Olympic Games.

The International Olympic Committee's official commemorations have been dedications of artwork in Munich and at the Olympic museum at the organization's headquarters in Lausanne, Switzerland.

[From the Atlanta Journal/Atlanta Constitution]

ISRAELI'S MOMENT NEVER CAME
(By Mark Sherman)

For Moshe "Moony" Weinberg, it was a double dose of joy. He watched a mohel circumcise his newborn son, Guri, in the Jewish ritual traced back to Abraham.

The next day, he kissed his wife goodbye and joined the Israeli wrestlers he was going to coach in the 1972 Olympic Games in Munich.

"I was mad at him because he left me with this baby," his wife, Mimi Weinberg, recalled. "He said, 'I promise you, this is it.' He was right."

She and her son, now 23, heard the worshippers at Atlanta's Congregation Ahavath Achim chant the mourner's kaddish Saturday for Weinberg and his 10 teammates who were killed by Palestinian terrorists in Munich.

The Weinbergs are in Atlanta as part of a delegation of relatives of the victims of the Munich massacre, the ghastly attack that cast a pall over the 1972 Games. Two Israelis were killed in the Olympic Village dormitory, which was invaded by terrorists Sept. 5. Nine others died at the airport when a German rescue effort went awry.

The crash of TWA's Flight 800 last week, while not yet classified a terrorist attack, brought inevitable comparisons to the Munich killings, especially because the air disaster came in the days leading up to the start of the Atlanta Olympic Games.

The Israelis who traveled to Atlanta attended Friday's Opening Ceremony hoped to hear words of sorrow or remembrance or reconciliation from Olympics officials, who have never used the world stage of the Olympics to commemorate the darkest hour in the history of the Olympics.

The presence of the first Palestinian team to march in the parade of nations and take part in the Games added a poignancy that the Israelis felt Olympics officials could not, would not, ignore.

"Alas, it was not to be," Rabbi Arnold M. Goodman told the worshippers Saturday.

ACOG President Billy Payne said the Opening Ceremony would pay tribute to all past hosts of the Summer Games, including Munich. Indeed, a runner bearing a Munich flag joined other runners representing the other Olympic hosts.

And among the medal winners recognized during the ceremony was Mark Spitz, the American swimmer who captured seven medals in Munich.

In 1972, Spitz, who is Jewish, was put under heavy guard following the attack and spirited away from the city.

The Israelis sat in the stands Friday night but heard just those two references to Munich.

The IOC hews to its line that politics are not part of the Olympics. When Israel com-

plained a week before the Games began about the Palestinian team's use of the name "Palestine," Carrard dismissed the objection as "last-minute politics" and said the IOC would not bow to such political pressure.

Ankie Rechess was in Munich in 1972, accompanying her husband, fencing coach Andre Spitzer.

Rechess, a television news reporter, has been a leader in the effort to win Olympic recognition of the massacre. "We will never forget the transformation of the world sports arena into a slaughterhouse," she said at Saturday's memorial service.

Rechess and the others initially asked for a moment of silence for the killings, which as she said, "took place within the Olympics themselves." They would have settled for any mention at all.

"They say they don't want to put politics in it," said Guri Weinberg, an actor living in Los Angeles.

But he said he felt a moment of hope Friday when IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch mentioned rebuilding athletic facilities in war-ravaged Sarajevo, which hosted the 1984 Winter Games.

"He was talking about Sarajevo, but he couldn't say one word about athletes who were murdered?" Weinberg asked.

Before the healing could begin, there has to be some pain.

Members of the Israeli Olympic team, what was left of it, gathered at the Tel Aviv airport Sept. 7, 1972, dressed in the same white hats and blue blazers they wore in the Munich Opening Ceremony.

The occasion was the funeral of 10 of the 11 slain Israelis. One, David Berger, was buried in the United States.

Oshrat Romano was just 6 years old and so she wasn't at the funeral of her father, weightlifter Joseph Romano. He was the first Israeli killed.

"My mother went to the airport thinking she would find two coffins, of Romano and Weinberg, the two Israelis killed in the Olympic Village," Romano said. "She saw 11. She was shocked because she didn't know about the others."

Meanwhile, in Cairo, Egypt, five terrorists who died in a gunfight with German police at the airport were mourned in mosques as martyrs, according to news accounts.

The children of the Israelis grew up "under the shadow of the Olympics," Rechess said. Most had only dim memories of their fathers and some, like Weinberg, none at all.

"I heard stories, always stories," he said. "It was always, 'Did I tell you the story?' And it was always, 'Yes, about 20 times.' As a child I didn't understand what had happened. I only knew I had a mother and no father. There was no money, and we were trying to survive. As a little kid you don't know what's going on, and then when you grow up, everyone expects you to handle it and you don't know how to handle it."

Weinberg has never visited Munich and thought for a long time before deciding to come to Atlanta. He is here, he said, because he has spent his life "living under a black veil of what happened, and you're always trying to lift it."

When President Clinton addressed American athletes Friday, he told them of a Palestinian man in the Olympic Village who said the Palestinians had a team at the Olympics for the first time because of the United States and its role in the peace process.

The entrance of the team in the Olympic Stadium was a vastly important symbolic moment for Palestinians, one that gave them a stamp of legitimacy.

The relatives of the Munich dead approached the moment with trepidation, torn between the pageantry of the ceremony and

the inescapable desire to hold all Palestinians responsible for what happened to their husbands and fathers.

"You don't know how to feel," Weinberg said. "It's a weird situation."

Ultimately, he said, he feels no ill will toward the Palestinian athletes. "They didn't go kill my father," Weinberg said, his piercing blue eyes looking squarely at his questioner. "They're athletes, not politicians just like my dad wasn't a politician."

For Romano, Friday's ceremony was a chance for her and her mother and two sisters to think about her father. "We saw one team that reminded us of the pictures of our delegation in Munich."

She said she shared the ambivalence many in her group felt when the Palestinians marched around the stadium. "We felt something, but I don't know how to explain."

Then, she added, "They are one delegation like the others."

Nearby, one of her sisters held Romano's 2-year-old son, predictable restless after a long worship service.

The boy is named Asaf Yesef, his second name for the grandfather he never knew who was killed at a time when a team from Palestine was as distant as the boy's birth.

Mr. KINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield the floor to the gentleman from Utah [Mr. HANSEN].

SECRETARY BABBITT'S STRAINED RELATIONSHIP WITH CONGRESS

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate my friend from Georgia and the kindness and courtesy he has shown me in allowing me to use part of his hour. I appreciate the sensitive nature of the issue which he has been discussing, and many folks realize that in 2002 Utah will also be a recipient of the Olympic games.

The thing I would like to discuss tonight is predicated on the idea that I chair the Subcommittee on National Parks, Forests and Land in the Committee on Resources, and I have been very disturbed, more so than in the 36 years that I have been an elected official. I have never been more disturbed with an individual as I am with the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Bruce Babbitt. I would like to go over some of the problems that we are experiencing here in Congress in our relationship with the Secretary.

Over the last 3 years, the travels of Secretary Babbitt have been quite impressive. In fact, he has spent over 40 percent of his time in office crisscrossing this country. Many of those trips consisted of politically inspired activities of the highest order, including photo-ops and rigged roundtable discussions to get President Clinton re-elected by distorting the Republican record.

Every Secretary plays politics for their President, you say? Well, this Secretary's political trips have included mistruths and distortions like no other. This has, in turn, allowed neglect of management problems at the department to fester. In some instances, it has resulted in the Secretary failing to meet his legal obligations to Congress.

In addition, it has recently come to light in press reports that the Secretary's trips in 1995, the start of his

"Natural Heritage Tours," were part of an orchestrated effort engineered by the White House and its allies in the environmental community. In other words, raw politics plain and simple.

Earlier this year, while the Secretary was campaigning across the country, doing the bidding of the Clinton-Gore 1996, the Committee on Resources Chairman, the gentleman from Alaska, Mr. DON YOUNG, discovered that the Department of the Interior had failed to ask for or receive reimbursement for costs stemming from appearances by Babbitt on behalf of Democratic candidates during his travels.

Under a policy that each White House has used for decades, the Government must seek reimbursement from each campaign for that portion of the Cabinet Secretary's travel related to a political event. Yet the Department of the Interior failed to bill a single one of the campaigns or organizations until Chairman YOUNG began an investigation into the travels of Mr. Babbitt.

These costs stem from two dozen mixed trips, part political, part official, involving 35 events for campaigns or political organizations that Mr. Babbitt took in 1994 and 1995. This includes 4 organizations and 28 candidates. Virtually none of the campaigns were billed until March or April of this year.

The administration claims that as of June 15, 1996 all campaigns have reimbursed the Government. This complete collapse of the billing process resulted in at least one case, that of a gubernatorial candidate in Nebraska, where the campaign's address was no longer valid by the time the department billed it. In the real world, what kind of business could get away with not collecting money owed it for so long? This would be unheard of.

Yet, what did Mr. Babbitt and his propaganda machine do when they were caught? Listen to this. They blamed failure to reimburse campaigns on a young special assistant in the Secretary's office. Well, all I can say is, thank God Bruce Babbitt is not in charge of the Department of Defense. Imagine what kind of excuse that would be in that big organization.

Chairman YOUNG and the gentleman from California, Chairman HORN, of the Committee on Government Reform and Oversight, have asked GAO to look into what went wrong with the reimbursement process. The total cost of these trips, both political and official, have been estimated at well over \$100,000, including costs of staff, meals, lodging and transportation.

He is at it again. Even as we speak, today he appeared in Portland and Eugene, OR, attacking Republicans on the Clean Water Act, a law which he has very little jurisdiction over. While Mr. Babbitt was canoeing at the taxpayers' expense today, a senior official from the Fish and Wildlife Service testified on Capitol Hill that if the \$386 million maintenance backlog that has accumulated in wildlife refuges to date were

the responsibility of a private company, it would be bankrupt.

□ 2030

As if irresponsibility was not enough for Secretary Babbitt and his staff, they have, like their teachers at the White House, continued to obstruct the Committee on Resources Republican efforts to get the truth about the nature of Mr. Babbitt's travel conduct. In a letter earlier this year, Chairman YOUNG sent several follow-up questions to the Secretary regarding the reimbursement issue. Yet, Secretary Babbitt refused and continues to refuse to answer several questions posed in that letter.

Of particular importance to the American people, we believe, is his refusal to provide the chairman with documents regarding direct communications between the Secretary and the White House regarding the Natural Heritage tours.

This conduct is particularly troubling now in light of media reports which indicate Mr. Babbitt was personally involved in White House orchestrated efforts to attack Republicans on environmental issues for political purpose through creation of the Natural Heritage tours. These reports indicate that Mr. Babbitt and the President discussed the political impact of the Secretary's attacks.

Also of note is Mr. Babbitt's credibility regarding the planning of the Natural Heritage tours. For instance, Mr. Babbitt said in his March 21 letter to the chairman that the Natural Heritage tours were not planned in advance; however, the evidence suggests otherwise. In addition to media reports, the Secretary and the staff words speak for themselves on June 12, 1995, in *Inside Energy*, the following was reported, "Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt is committed to visiting various regions of the country during the coming months to make a case against the GOP-led congressional assault on environmental programs, a department spokeswoman said. Babbitt plans to travel at least twice a month on what the department is billing as a Natural Heritage Tour to talk about environmental success stories, the spokeswoman said."

In a speech on December 13, 1995, in which the Department paid to put the speech on the AP wire, the Secretary said: "On Earth Day 1995, I set out on a journey, a series of 11 Natural Heritage Tours all across this country."

"And while in the 1994 election campaign, the environment was not an issue, I can assure you, by November, 1996, in each county, State, congressional, and in the Presidential election, the environment will be right at the core of every single debate."

In the press conference a short time later, Mr. Babbitt went still further and personalized the issue. In response to a question regarding environment as a political issue, he said: "I absolutely intended to make it a political issue."

So there you have it. The Secretary admits to playing politics as he continues to state mistruths about Republican positions.

Tonight we will begin to discuss the true size of the mismanagement at the Department, the scope of the misstatements, and give a distortion-free look at the misguided policies.

Secretary Babbitt has been running around the country claiming that the Congress is engaged in some attempt to close down or auction off units of the Park System.

However, his own director of the Park Service has testified under oath, when I put him under oath, that he was unaware of any bills that would auction off or close down the park system. Further, Director Kennedy states that he was not aware of a list contrary to what the Secretary of the Interior said, about the Park System being closed.

While the 104th Congress has taken no legislative action to close down any unit of the Park System, the Secretary has already closed some areas and is considering closing numerous park areas.

Last year, while leveling unfounded attacks against Congress claiming that this budget resolution without the force of law would have closed 200 park areas, the Clinton administration announced plans to close three parks in the Washington area. Again in the fiscal year 1997 budget submittal for the Park System the administration has begun to withdraw all funding for these three park areas.

At the same time, the Secretary is considering turning over as many as 30 park areas to Native Americans. These are not small isolated park areas but some of the best known parks in the country. According to an internal National Park Service document dated November 1995, Secretary Babbitt has under consideration turning over to Indian tribes such areas as the Redwoods National Park, Great Basin National Park, and Lake Clark National Park.

Just 2 months ago in May, the Secretary turned over management of City of Rocks to the State of Idaho.

Do any of Secretary Babbitt's park closures have public support? No one really knows since none of them have been subject to public review or scrutiny.

Further, last year during the lapse in appropriations, Secretary Babbitt shut down every single concession in the National Parks and closed off access to millions and millions of persons. By comparison, bless his heart, Secretary Glickman of the Forest Service did not shut down a single concession on Forest Service lands even though he had no budget.

Well, what is clear is that they are duplicitous at best because the Secretary is so busy running around the country claiming that Congress in attempting to close parks because the Committee on Resources reported a bipartisan bill which requires a public review of the National Park System.

As further evidence of his desire of this administration and Secretary Bruce Babbitt in particular to play politics with parks and disrupt the lives of persons who wish to visit and enjoy our Federal lands, consider how the Secretary has dealt with park concessioners.

The Assistant Attorney General memorandum of August 16, 1995 provides guidance on the scope of permissible Government operations during a lapse in appropriations, including explicit detail on the process to be used in determining who are the emergency employees which should be retained on duty during a budgetary shutdown. The memorandum states that such a determination should be made on the basis of assuming the continued operation of the private economy.

The opinion goes on to State that such an assumption is the reason for determining that air traffic controllers, Federal meat inspectors, and other such personnel are emergency.

Using those criteria in the Attorney General opinion, Secretary Babbitt could permit the private businesses which operate park concessions to remain open to serve the public, and then declare those persons necessary for safe operation of the concession as emergency personnel.

That is precisely what the Forest Service has done. Not one single Forest Service ski area, resort, or even a single outfitter or guide on Forest Service land has been told to shut down. Every single one of them is open, serving the public as we debate this bill today.

Even the concessions at the Smithsonian Institution remain open on the same basis.

However, Secretary Babbitt is so driven to public disservice that not only has he shut down park concessioners, but last week he tried to get the Forest Service to close all their ski areas and other concessions fearing it would expose his unnecessary closure of park concessions. I pay strong tribute to the former Member of this body, Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman, for rejecting those attempts by Mr. Babbitt to further disrupt the American people and attempting to serve the public in the best possible way during this difficult period.

There is one final irony to this issue of closing park concessions. Secretary Babbitt has closed these concessions primarily because he felt he did not have adequate personnel on duty to supervise their safe operations.

Yet, when we, our committee, called a dozen parks around the country during the shutdown last November, we found just as many park rangers on duty during the peak of that shutdown as there was prior to the shutdown. The only difference was that none of these rangers were serving the public because the parks had been shut down by Secretary Babbitt.

I hope this country will never again have a Secretary of the Interior so driven to public disservice as Secretary

Babbitt, but as long as there is the possibility that we will have another Secretary more interested in playing politics than carrying out his duties and serving the public in the best way possible, this legislation is essential that we are working on.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

MAKING POLITICS FOR THE RICH ONLY

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

Mr. OWENS. Mr. Speaker, today the common sense of the ordinary American people came home here to the Chamber, and a fraudulent campaign reform bill was voted down by the majority of the Member of this House. It was a fraudulent bill. It was an insult. It was an insult to common sense, and I think most of the Members joined the American people in exercising some common sense.

It was a bill to make politics the province of the rich in America. Under the guise of campaign reform, we would have had advantages all given to the richest Americans while disadvantages would be compounded for the poorest. I think that the majority of the Members did not see themselves going back and facing their constituents with that kind of fraudulent construction. So common sense came home and common sense is rising from the great masses out there and more and more is beginning to infiltrate into Washington and infiltrate into this Chamber. People are beginning to understand that the mass of Americans have this quality of understanding of what is really going on.

They understand that they are in an economy which is booming for a handful of people, relatively speaking, the top 20 percent in America, while it is stagnating or even declining for the bottom 80 percent. They understand this. There is no way you can get around that with your statistics and your charts and your graphs. That cannot get you around the basic common sense understanding of the people of this Nation that the economy is locked into a number of contradictions.

They understand that something different ought to be happening. They do not know what it is, but they understand.

They understand that the Republican majority which came into power at the beginning of this session has moved in very extreme ways to make life more difficult for the average American out there. They understand this. They understand that at this point as we are nearing the end of the most active part of the 104th Congress, we still do not have a minimum wage bill. We do not have a minimum wage bill yet.

They understand something is radically wrong if you cannot increase

minimum wages by 90 cents over a 2-year period from \$4.25 an hour to \$5.15 in a 2-year period. If we cannot do this as leaders of this great Nation in a time of great prosperity where corporate profits are higher than ever before, something is radically wrong. Common sense tells the American people something is wrong here in this Chamber.

They understand that a group of leaders who took control of Congress and chose to wage war, and I am using the Speaker's terminology, that politics is war without blood. Speaker GINGRICH has said that several times. The way this House has proceeded in the 104th Congress, it certainly is evident that there is a belief that politics is war without blood, and war is being made on the least powerful in our Nation.

The people who are the most vulnerable, the poorest, they are the victims of this war. They understand that the Republican majority first declared war on schoolchildren who needed lunches, fee lunches. Federally funded free lunches were attacked first, and the American people understand that that was the beginning of a highly visible exposure of where the mean-spirited Republican majority was coming from.

□ 2045

It was a mean-spirited act. They understood that. They understood later on when proposals were made to eliminate the Department of Education, because education is for poor people. Public education is for poor people, and for the majority of the people, the 80 percent. The preoccupation of this particular leadership in Congress is not with the 80 percent, it is with the 20 percent of the elite who can afford to go to private schools. They understand that war on the Department of Education hurt the vast majority of our people.

They understand that when you cut title I, the \$7 billion Federal aid program, the only major aid program of the Federal Government that goes to elementary and secondary education, a program that impacts and has some small part of its benefits in 90 percent of the school districts in America, they understand that when you attack that kind of a program, you do not have the best interests of the average American at heart. Common sense has come home to illuminate what other people have shrouded in very complex statistics.

We have heard the majority of Republicans stand up with their charts and show how they are really not cutting school lunches. We have heard the majority stand up and say education will not suffer if you cut title I. They even went as far as to cut Head Start about \$300 million. Ronald Reagan, that was one of his favorite programs. No other President since the inception of Head Start had ever proposed cuts in Head Start. In fact, as I said before, Ronald Reagan increased the Head