

of the fifties exploited the nativist impulse, which identifies the foreign with the radical and the immoral.

In the days of the domestic cold war it meant Hoover, McCarthy, Nixon, HUAC, et al.—cheered on by such as the Rev. Billy Graham and the American Legion—arguing that to be a Communist (or fellow traveler) was to be a “dirty Red,” an agent of an international conspiracy, a spy. The reason Arthur Miller’s play *The Crucible*, about the Salem witch trials of the 1600s, spoke so eloquently to the 1950s was that just as there were no witches in Salem, there was no internal Red menace in the United States of the fifties—no Enemy Other that justified the hysteria that resulted in the wholesale invasion of the rights and liberties of citizens.

Today we have independent counsel Kenneth Starr, Representatives Henry Hyde and Newt Gingrich, with Chief Justice William Rehnquist waiting in the wings to preside over impeachment proceedings in the Senate—cheered on by such as the Christian Coalition and William Bennett—arguing in effect that to have (dirty) sex in the Oval Office means one should be thrown out of office. The Enemy Other is sexual rather than political deviance, the target of opportunity is the President rather than the CP. Arthur Miller’s image of a witch hunt fueled by repressed sexuality leading to a form of cultural hysteria survives from the fifties to link the two episodes.

Second, the Red hunters of the fifties succeeded in deploying the legal process to punish people for activities that may have been politically and culturally anathema, but in and of themselves were not crimes. During the fifties, that meant summoning accused members of the Communist Party (a legal organization) before official tribunals and asking them questions the investigators knew would be difficult or impossible for them to answer, thereby forcing them to choose among silence (which landed the Hollywood Ten in prison for contempt of Congress), blacklisting (which was visited on anyone who invoked the Fifth) or betrayal (former comrades who answered the \$64 question—“Are you now or have you ever been . . . ?”—were next asked to name the names of others).

Today Starr uses Clinton’s unwillingness to testify about the intimate details of his (perfectly legal) sex life, and his inability—for reasons of *Realpolitik*—to invoke his Fifth Amendment right not to incriminate himself, to try to trap him into the crimes of perjury, obstruction of justice and the abuse of power. When is the last time a “target” was forced to answer questions, especially intimate ones, before a grand jury?

Third, in the fifties, under the rubric of national security, the FBI and other investigative agencies routinely violated the privacy and civil liberties of alleged subversives via legally dubious wiretapping, bugging, the use of informers and intrusive interrogations. Today, Linda Tripp, acting in tandem with the independent counsel and perhaps lawyers for Paula Jones, tries to induce Monica Lewinsky to say things that can be used to entrap the President in contradictory testimony. This may or may not qualify as perjury or grounds for impeachment but is calculated to cause personal and political embarrassment and shame.

The parade of analogies marches on. There were secret grand jury leaks then; now the special prosecutor, in league with the Republican majority, arranges for the entire grand jury transcript to be circulated on the World Wide Web. The press then was complicit with the McCarthyites in the sense that it passively reported irresponsible charges on the front page and didn’t get around to publish-

ing corrections until days later, usually on page 47. These days the conglomerated and highly technologized media are anything but passive. They are leading the posse, attempting to whip up a political hysteria that thus far the public seems disinclined to indulge. We are lucky in that, for it would be a disastrous precedent—far beyond what McCarthy wrought—to drive a President out of office as a result of a public hubbub over his private conduct.

My own study of the McCarthy era led me to conclude that the purpose of the Congressional and other investigations of those years was not to write legislation or to develop new information (HUAC, for example, already had obtained from undercover agents all the names it was insisting witnesses recite in public). Rather, the hearings and trials and investigations of those years were for the most part degradation ceremonies. One shudders at the prospect of Congressional hearings or a Senate trial that recycles the pornographic materials Starr claims it was necessary to assemble. In the long run history has decided that it was not HUAC’s or McCarthy’s targets that were degraded. It was the country itself. Let us not let it happen again.—VICTOR NAVASKY.

TRIBUTE TO THE UKRAINIAN CULTURAL CENTER IN WARREN, MICHIGAN

HON. SANDER M. LEVIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 9, 1998

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to honor the Ukrainian Cultural Center, Warren, Michigan, as they celebrate 20 years as the heart of the Ukrainian community in Michigan. The Center will commemorate this occasion with a banquet and cultural celebration on October 18, 1998.

The Ukrainian Cultural Center is home to more than forty arts, civic, cultural, educational, social, sports and youth organizations. Included in these are the member organizations of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of American branch for Southeastern Michigan.

In addition to lending financial support in grants and aid to community organizations and individuals, the Center’s beautiful conference halls, classrooms, gym and social club host a variety of programs and special events throughout the year. The Ukrainian Cultural Center is not only a showpiece in the community but serves as a key site for instruction on Ukrainian literature, history, language, arts and leisure activities.

The Ukrainian Cultural Center houses the Ukrainian Museum, which collects and displays historical artifacts and religious relics. The Ukrainian Library makes available to all many Ukrainian language books and periodicals. Additionally, the Center publishes print, audio and video material relevant to Ukraine American community.

The Ukrainian Cultural Center is key to assuring the strength of the Ukrainian ethnic identity and to all teach fellow Americans about the rich Ukrainian Culture. The Center also serves as an important forum to ring to others the history of Ukraine’s successful struggle for independence.

The Center is integral part of not only the Ukrainian community, but all of metropolitan

Detroit and Michigan. It remains as one of the best examples of the many colorful ethnic backgrounds that weave such a wonderfully diverse community profile.

The Ukrainian Cultural Center has hosted many distinguished guests in the past 20 years, including two sitting U.S. Presidents and the first President of Independent Ukraine.

I have had the distinct pleasure to attend a wide variety of functions at the Ukrainian Cultural Center. Some have been meetings with leaders of Ukraine; others have been social or cultural events; and still others have been for exchanges of ideas with a wide range of leaders and other members of the Ukrainian-American community which thrives in the 12th Congressional District.

On so many of these occasions, I have seen the particularly effective endeavors of Borys Potapenko, the Center’s Director of Operations, Bhodan Fedorak, President of the Center’s Board of Directors, and other officers who all devote so much of their time to the Center’s unique position in the Ukrainian-American and the broader community.

So, I ask my colleagues to join me as we extend our sincere congratulations to the Ukrainian Cultural Center for their 20 wonderful years, and our hopes for continued success in the future.

IN HONOR OF GEORGIA AND DIMITRIOS KALOIDIS

HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 9, 1998

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Georgia Dimitrios Kaloidis. Mr. and Mrs. Kaloidis will be honored by Hellenic Public Radio-COSMOS FM at the Phidippides Award Dinner for their passionate advocacy of Hellenism on Friday, October 9.

Dimitrios Elias Kaloidis and Georgia Christou Kaloidis (nee Manolakos) were born in Laconia, Greece. They graduated from high school in Athens. Dimitrios emigrated to the United States in 1955, followed by Georgia in 1963. Once in the U.S. Dimitrios became involved in the restaurant business and Georgia studied computers and business administration. They married in 1974.

Together they founded a chain of restaurants and initiated major real estate ventures. Currently, the Kaloidises are developing the Terrace on the Park in Flushing Meadow, Queens, and one of the largest multiplex cinemas in the country.

Georgia and Dimitrios Kaloidis’ charitable endeavors are wide and varied. Most notably, the Kaloidises have made a strong investment in our youth, most specifically in their education through multimillion dollar gifts to primary schools, cultural and educational centers and scholarship trusts.

His Eminence, Archbishop Spyridon, has charged Dimitrios to head the committee for the unification of the four Greek parochial schools in Brooklyn.

The Hellenic Public Radio COSMOS FM Phidippides Award is presented to persons in recognition of their efforts in the advocacy of Hellenism.

Recipients of this prestigious award have worked to sustain vitality of Hellenism.