

# EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## PRESIDENTS' DAY

### HON. STENY HOYER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1999

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, this long week-end millions of children will have a day off from school—and many of their parents will have a day off from work.

How many children, and how many of their parents will pause over this long weekend to reflect on the two great Presidents whose birthdays we will celebrate?

George Washington translated a fragile, untested document—our Constitution—into a working system of government in which no branch appropriated unto itself powers beyond what the framers of our Constitution envisaged.

Where George Washington could easily have chosen to be a monarch or a despot unaccountable to no one but himself, he, instead, devoted his twin terms as President to putting into practice the ideals of the American Revolution.

President Washington never lost sight of a basic tenant of the Revolution that Government's power ultimately resides in the people, and that public officials are the servants of the public.

Assuming office at a time of great peril and uncertainty, President Washington returned to Mount Vernon eight years later having proven through his example of restraint and leadership that the great American experiment had succeeded.

But unfortunately, seven decades later, our country was wracked by division, anger and, eventually, a bitter civil war. The American experiment was suddenly imperiled.

At times of great crisis, the American people have had the genius of entrusting the Nation's fate to great leaders.

Abraham Lincoln, by navigating our country through the crucible of civil war, preserved the nation and extended Washington's vision of the American experiment. By bringing those previously enslaved under the protection of the Constitution and Bill of Rights, Lincoln promoted the concept that for democratic government to truly succeed, all Americans must be able to participate. Just last week we underscored the significance of full citizen participation by commemorating the 35th anniversary of the ratification of the 24th Amendment to the Constitution, which finally put an end to the poll tax.

President Lincoln himself so eloquently described the American experiment as a "government of the people, by the people, for the people".

On this holiday weekend, I urge all Americans to reflect on the wisdom, courage and leadership of Presidents Washington and Lincoln.

## TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM FRIEDLANDER, A GREAT LIVING CIN-CINNATIAN

### HON. ROB PORTMAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1999

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to William Friedlander, a friend and community leader, who will be honored as a Great Living Cincinnatian on February 19, 1999 by the Greater Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce. He was selected based on his volunteer activities, business and civic accomplishments, awareness of the needs of others, and achievements that have brought favorable attention to the Cincinnati area. Bill has enriched the lives of all Greater Cincinnatians through his dedication, leadership, and love for our community.

Bill graduated from Walnut Hills High School and Amherst College. After serving 2 years in the Army, he attended Harvard Business School. He began his career at Bartlett & Company in 1957, rising to the position of Chairman. Bill is known for his tireless volunteer work and fundraising for local organizations. He served on the boards of Jewish Hospital and the Greater Cincinnati Foundation, where he served as both a board member and the Volunteer Director. During his very successful tenure at the Foundation, assets grew from \$40 million to \$140 million.

Bill has been especially active in the arts, serving as a board member for the Cincinnati Association for the Arts. He and his wife, Susan, also chaired the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra's Second Century Fund, raising \$37 million—thought to be the largest amount ever raised for an arts organization in Greater Cincinnati. All of us in Cincinnati are grateful for his commitment to our community.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

### HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1999

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 12, (H.R. 440), I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

## GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT IN PERIL

SPEECH OF

### HON. VITO FOSSELLA

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 11, 1999

Mr. FOSSELLA. Mr. Speaker, I stand here today as an American of Irish descent and as

a Representative from Staten Island and Brooklyn, New York which is the home of many Irish Americans. I am very happy to see that the peace process in Ireland has progressed to the point we are at now—nearing the one year anniversary of the Good Friday agreement. It is a significant accomplishment that the violence has ended, that those who wish to further violence are not in power and are no longer winning their battle.

Last fall, I had the opportunity to travel to Ireland and to see the wonderful country from which my descendants came. I was able to meet with leaders from both sides and to witness for myself what the toll that violence has taken on this beautiful country. Now is a time to work together, to rebuild, to look towards a future with a peaceful Ireland. We must ensure that peace in Northern Ireland becomes a long-term, irreversible reality and the almost year old Good Friday agreement remains enforced.

In closing, I would like to commend Congressman WALSH from New York on his leadership on this issue and to thank him for giving me the opportunity to speak today.

## APPRECIATION TO THE TRIDENT FOUNDATION

### HON. MAC COLLINS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, February 12, 1999

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to acknowledge and thank the Colorado-based Trident Foundation for its tireless work in communities across the United States. The Trident Foundation is a network of highly skilled men and women from around the world, who come together as volunteers, bringing specialized equipment and the latest technology to offer water recovery support.

Recently, that commitment brought the group to Columbus, Georgia, to solve an unsuccessful three month search for the body of 14-year-old Kelvin Moreland. Kelvin, a resident of the Carpenter's Way Ranch, a Cataula home for boys who cannot live with their natural families, drowned while on a supervised outing.

The Trident Foundation's recovery of Kelvin's body provided the community needed closure with use of specialized sonar equipment and its team of volunteers from law enforcement agencies, fire departments, the medical profession, the U.S. Navy, and technical and scientific diving fields. Although their operations generally cost about \$50,000 a day, the group provides the services free of charge. In addition, services for the divers were provided by area companies.

Kelvin's body could not have been found and properly buried if not for the efforts of the Trident Foundation and local organizations. I commend their commitment and service to Columbus and other communities across our nation. Their work has allowed Columbus and

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

the Carpenter's Way family to mourn, and Kelvin Moreland to rest in peace.

TRIBUTE TO M.J. KLYN, A GREAT  
LIVING CINCINNATIAN

**HON. ROB PORTMAN**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Mary Jeanne (M.J.) Klyn, a dear friend and community leader who will be honored as a Great Living Cincinnati on February 19, 1999 by the Greater Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce. She was selected for her exemplary community service, business and civic accomplishments, awareness of the needs of others, and achievements that have brought favorable attention to the Cincinnati area.

M.J. grew up in Illinois and attended Northwestern University. She was successful in banking, retailing and advertising in Cleveland, and was named the first female vice president of the University of Cincinnati. Among her duties was to work with the state legislature on funding and other issues. During her 23 years with the University of Cincinnati, she played a pivotal role in bringing the university into the state system and helped obtain more than \$2 billion for important capital projects. Among M.J.'s accomplishments were obtaining funds for the Shoemaker Center and the Barrett Cancer Center. She also led the drive to obtain the designation of the U.S. College of Engineering as one of ten NASA Federal Research Centers.

M.J. also served for 20 years on the Board of the Greater Cincinnati Convention and Visitor's Bureau, and earned its first Spirit of Cincinnati Chairman's Award. Women in Communications honored her with its Movers and Shakers Award. M.J. makes friends wherever she goes, and I feel lucky to be among them. All of us in Cincinnati are grateful for her leadership, service, and commitment to our Greater Cincinnati community.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

**HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 13 (H.R. 439), I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

PACKERS AND STOCKYARDS ACT  
AMENDMENTS

SPEECH OF

**HON. BOB ETHERIDGE**

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, February 9, 1999*

Mr. ETHERIDGE. Mr. Speaker, I want to commend Mr. LATHAM for introducing this important legislation and Chairman COMBEST for bringing it to the floor today. As has been well

documented, our pork producers have been devastated by record-low prices for their products over the past year. While live hog prices have fallen dramatically, consumer prices are virtually unchanged. Somebody is getting rich at the expense of our farmers. Pork producers need better and more up-to-date information on prices to ensure that they are being treated fairly, and I hope the investigation into pork prices prompted by this legislation will go a long way towards protecting their interests.

For too long, the processing and distribution of swine has been concentrated in too few hands. This concentration could be dangerous for our farmers, and I urge the Senate to move quickly to pass this important legislation. Too many small farmers and their families in North Carolina depend on swine production for their livelihood for us not to take action now. This investigation is a small but important step in the right direction and I urge the House to adopt this important bill today.

REJECT THE LEGAL "END  
AROUND" ON GUN MAKERS

**HON. JOHN E. SWEENEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mr. SWEENEY. Mr. Speaker, in the wake of the tobacco lawsuits, many in our nation's legal profession have fallen into the wrong-headed idea that courts, rather than legislatures, should decide all public policy issues. Nowhere is this more notable than in the lawsuits recently filed by several cities against the firearms industry.

Mr. Speaker, even many publications that support restrictive gun control laws have spoken out against this trend. The Schenectady *Daily Gazette*, a newspaper that serves many of my constituents in upstate New York, blames violence on the lack of gun laws. I strongly disagree with that view—in fact, our nation has tens of thousands of gun laws at every level of government, and the laws in New York state are particularly strict.

However, I do agree with the *Daily Gazette's* conclusion that the lawsuits are "hugely misguided" and nothing but an "absurd money grab" designed to make a scapegoat of a highly regulated industry that manufactures a lawful product. Mr. Speaker, I urge the nation's courts and legislatures to reject these ridiculous lawsuits, and I insert the *Daily Gazette* editorial for printing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

[From the *Daily Gazette*, Nov. 5, 1998]

DON'T SUE GUN MAKERS

New Orleans is a great destination for music lovers and gourmets, but it's also a good place to get shot. In fact, until a law-and-order mayor took office there four years ago, it had the dubious distinction of being "the murder capital of the United States." Now the city has filed a huge—and hugely misguided—lawsuit against 15 gun manufacturers. Numerous other large cities reportedly want to join the suit. Unbelievable.

A cousin to the numerous lawsuits pending against the tobacco industry, the suit attempts to make manufacturers a scapegoat for products that are wholly lawful and used primarily for their intended purpose. (Granted, guns aren't supposed to be used to commit murder, but there's little ambiguity

about their primary function as weapons for killing and maiming, whether for hunting or self-defense.)

The lawsuit focuses on the product liability angle, claiming that because gun makers fail to use enough safety devices, their weapons are "unreasonably dangerous." This might be arguable if most gun deaths were accidental—if typical lines like "I didn't know it was loaded," or "It just went off" were true. But in New Orleans—as in most cities—the killings are intentional. And most adults who handle guns know to take at least a little care to guard against accidents.

Are the gun makers to blame when some drug dealer steals a pistol and wastes his rival with it? Not unless they're handing out the weapons, or glamorizing this sort of behavior with advertising, etc. And if some kid gets his hands on his parents' gun and accidentally blows his friend away, aren't the parents really at fault for not doing a better job securing the weapon?

Where cigarette manufacturers can be accused of promoting irresponsible usage, gun makers almost never advertise—at least not handguns. And where the cigarette's primary function is to provide smokers with pleasure—with illness an unfortunate consequence—guns are inherently lethal.

So let's stop this absurd money grab. Gun makers may not be completely devoid of responsibility for this country's gun problem, but a government that allows guns to be made and people to buy and possess them seems a lot more culpable.

STATES' INITIATIVE

**HON. TOM BLILEY**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced H.J. Res. 29. I have sponsored this legislation with Congressmen KOLBE, GOODE, STUMP, GILLMOR, METCALF, SHADEGG, and MANZULLO. This constitutional amendment symbolizes what in Virginia we call the States' Initiative.

When the Founding Fathers wrote the Constitution in Philadelphia in 1787, they drew upon life's experiences and history to perfect the ideas and ideals the Constitution embraces. After they finished writing the Constitution, the Founding Fathers were wise enough to know they could not foresee the future. As a result, Article V provides for a mechanism to amend the Constitution.

We all know the Constitution is not perfect, even after 27 amendments. The Constitution has, although, protected the individual liberties all Americans have enjoyed for over 200 years.

As the proud holder of the seat first held by James Madison, my first objective is to never do any harm to the Constitution. However, the Founding Fathers acknowledged a need to amend the Constitution. The States' Initiative is a direct descendant of Madison's writings.

In Federalist paper 43, James Madison wrote,

... useful alterations will be suggested by experience. The Constitution moreover equally enables the general and the state governments to originate the amendment of errors as they may be pointed out by the experience on one side or on the other.

At present, Article V provides for two ways to amend the Constitution.

The first involves the presentation of an amendment by Congress to the states for ratification.

The second is by constitutional convention, convened at the request of the State legislatures.

Even with both methods available, to date, all amendments to the Constitution have been enacted following passage by the Congress and ratification by three-fourths of the States.

Some have asserted that the second method has not been as effective as intended by the Framers.

On the Op/Ed pages of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, my local newspaper, Edward Grimsley wrote about the dilemma which would be remedied by the States' Initiative. Edward Grimsley wrote, "In the hands of the people the amending process could produce some truly wonderful results."

By allowing the States an effective mechanism to amend the Constitution, more power can be returned to the people. After all, "We the People" are the first 3 words of the Constitution.

Why is the States Initiative necessary? Persuasive arguments have been made that a constitutional convention might alter the Constitution more expansively than intended by proponents of a specific proposed amendment. This is known as the fear of a "run-away" convention.

The States Initiative implements a more effective method by which states could take the initiative in the process by which the Constitution is amended. This bill allows the States to initiate the amendment process that is devoid of the perils of a "run-away" constitutional convention.

Another problem with a constitutional convention is that even if it isn't a "run-away" convention (that is, even if the constitutional convention met to adopt only one amendment), the mere fact that the States met could have a far-reaching jurisprudential impact. Would the Supreme Court view a constitutional convention which kept the pre-existing Constitution as an implicit ratification of prior Supreme Court rulings? This would cause those on the left (who oppose certain Rehnquist Court rulings) and those on the right (who oppose certain Warren Court rulings) a considerable amount of trouble.

To restore the Framers' design, that is a design where the states could initiate the amendment process, our proposal would allow a constitutional amendment to be presented to Congress after two-thirds of the States indicated approval of an identical amendment via their State legislatures.

If two-thirds of each House of Congress does not agree to disapprove of the proposed amendment, it would be submitted to the States for ratification.

Upon ratification by three-fourths of the States legislatures, the amendment would become part of the Constitution.

I am proud to sponsor this constitutional amendment which will return power back to States, where the Framers intended it to be.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

**HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 14 (H.R. 435), I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

TRIBUTE TO JOHN RUTHVEN, A  
GREAT LIVING CINCINNATIAN**HON. ROB PORTMAN**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to John Ruthven, a longtime friend and leader in my community, who will be honored as a Great Living Cincinnati on February 19, 1999 by the Greater Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce. He was selected based on his community service, business and civic accomplishments, awareness of the needs of others, and achievements that have brought favorable attention to the Cincinnati area.

As a child of the Depression, John says his family didn't have much—except of lot of love. He grew up in Walnut Hills and graduated from Withrow High School. After serving in the Navy during World War II, he graduated from the Cincinnati Art Academy and opened a commercial art studio. John won the prestigious Federal Duck Competition in 1960 with "Redhead Ducks," and his work began to be known across the country. In 1971, he founded Wildlife Internationale to produce limited edition lithographs. He has earned numerous awards, including Ducks Unlimited's First Artist, and Trout Unlimited Artist of the Year. John's art is displayed in the White House, in the Congress and in other prominent places around the world.

He has given generously of his time and extraordinary skill to benefit numerous charities over the years. He is a modern day Audubon who is both an internationally known wildlife artist and a committed naturalist. John Ruthven is also a warm and caring person who brightens the lives of those he meets. He is a truly great Living Cincinnati. All of us in Cincinnati are proud of his accomplishments and are grateful for his service to others.

## IN MEMORY OF JERRY FELDMAN

**HON. PETER DEUTSCH**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mr. DEUTSCH. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor the memory of Jerry Feldman, a generous and ground-breaking community leader who will be greatly missed in South Florida.

After spending a large portion of his life in New York as a highly successful corporate executive and private business owner, Jerry and his wife Jacqueline retired to Century Village in South Florida. Adding to his already extraordinary list of accomplishments, Jerry Feldman plunged himself into community service in the

hopes of improving the lives of his new neighbors and friends. As his wife so eloquently expressed, "He felt that God put him on this earth to make things better for people, and his reward would be a better life," she said. "If you cast your bread on the water, he felt, it would come back twofold."

Jerry Feldman became involved in many community organizations in his attempts to galvanize the community and create an open dialogue between South Florida's citizens. Besides being the President of the Condominium Owners of the Pembroke Pines Association, Mr. Feldman also served as Chairman of the Pembroke Pines Board of Adjustment, President of the Pembroke Pines Seniors and Law Enforcement Working Together (SALT) Council, and President of the Cambridge 4 Condominium Association in Century Village. As the Mayor of Pembroke Pines, Alex Fekete, noted, "he was a great community leader \* \* \* he helped to resolve issues \* \* \* there is a more harmonious relationship in Century Village now because of it."

In summary, Jerry's genuine leadership is rare in this age and he will be surely missed by the Century Village Community, as well as by the Pembroke Pines community at large. Jerry was an extraordinary human being who went above and beyond what he needed to be, because of his sincere desire to help his fellow man. We will all miss Jerry, but we are lucky to have so many wonderful memories of his life and work.

## PERSONAL EXPLANATION

**HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 15, Boehlert amendment to H.R. 350, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

## HONORING SUSAN B. ANTHONY

**HON. BARBARA CUBIN**

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mrs. CUBIN. Mr. Speaker, one hundred and seventy-nine years ago, on February 15, a remarkable woman was born. Her passion for establishing equal rights for women led her to champion the rights of others dispossessed as well.

That woman is Susan B. Anthony. Today she is mainly, and rightly, remembered as one of our greatest foremothers in the drive for women's rights. And this drive for women's rights led her to champion the rights of others as well. Anthony was a fierce opponent of slavery. And she also championed the rights of those who today have become the most dispossessed of all: the unborn. Although she herself was childless, she considered amongst her greatest achievements, to have saved the lives of the unborn. She said, ". . . Sweeter even than to have had the joy of caring for children of my own has it been to me to help bring about a better state of things for mothers generally, so that their unborn little ones could not be willed away from them."

Mr. Speaker, it is fitting that we take the anniversary of her birth as an opportunity to remember this great woman, Susan B. Anthony, and to rededicate ourselves to her life's work of guaranteeing full rights for both women and their unborn children.

TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM F. BOWEN,  
A GREAT LIVING CINCIANNATIAN

**HON. ROB PORTMAN**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mr. PORTMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to William F. Bowen, an outstanding individual who will be honored as a Great Living Cincinnati on February 19, 1999 by the Greater Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce. He was selected based on his exemplary community service, business and civic accomplishments, and achievements that have brought favorable attention to the Cincinnati area. Bill has enriched the lives of all Greater Cincinnatians through his dedication, leadership and love for our community.

William Bowen, the eldest of seven children, was born before the American civil rights movement. He likes to tell people, "I spent my time fighting the battles; I worked full time at fighting for civil rights." His long history in the civil rights movement includes the presidency of the Cincinnati Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Bill grew up in Cincinnati's West End, graduated from Woodward High School and studied business administration at Xavier University. His career as a legislator began when he was elected to the Ohio House of Representatives in 1966. During his tenure, he served as House Minority Whip. In 1970, Bill was appointed to the Ohio Ninth Senatorial District seat. He was elected to the seat later that year and reelected in 1974, 1978, 1982, 1986 and 1990.

He is known for his commitment and for being a good friend to his hometown. All of us in Cincinnati are grateful for his leadership and service to our community.

EXTENSION OF THE RESEARCH  
AND DEVELOPMENT TAX CREDIT:  
H.R. 760

**HON. F. JAMES SENSENBRENNER, JR.**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mr. SENSENBRENNER. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill to permanently extend the Research and Development Tax Credit.

A permanent extension of the R&D Tax Credit is necessary to assuring those who conduct long-term research and development that the federal government values their efforts and will continue to provide support for the type of research that is the foundation of our economic prosperity. Failure to permanently extend the credit has created uncertainty in the research community. This uncertainty has created a disincentive for private industry to conduct long-term research projects to the detriment of our national welfare.

We must find ways to leverage our Nation's resources to support Research and Development. Even with a \$70 billion federal budget surplus, the Administration indicates that discretionary spending for science research and development programs will not be increased. As federal discretionary spending for R&D is squeezed, incentives must be used to maintain America's investment in private sector innovation so that we can maintain our global leadership in high-technology, high-growth industries that help to keep our economy the strongest in the world.

Congress realizing the need for such a credit, has extended the R&D tax credit eight times over a period of 17 years. It is clear that the repeated extensions demonstrate Congressional support. However, it has become apparent in recent years that this approach does not allow for industry to plan their R&D in ways that increase the level, and efficiency of research spending.

There is clear bipartisan support for permanent extension of the R&D Tax Credit and I urge my colleagues to support this important piece of legislation.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

**HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 16, Waxman amendment to H.R. 350, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

BENJAMIN WOMICK—NATIONAL  
VOLUNTEER AWARD RECIPIENT

**HON. JIM DeMINT**

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mr. DeMINT. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate and honor a young South Carolinian from my district who has achieved national recognition for exemplary volunteer service in his community. Benjamin Womick of Spartanburg has just been named one of my state's top honorees in The 1999 Prudential Spirit of Community Awards program, an annual honor conferred on the most impressive student volunteers in the nation.

Ben, a senior at Daniel Morgan Vocational Center, is the youngest commissioned state fire marshal in South Carolina history. He has helped to save three houses from destruction, aided in medical assistance calls, and helped many people injured in accidents as a firefighter with a volunteer fire department. Since joining the department at age 17, he has dedicated an average of 2 hours a day to his responsibilities, recruited five friends to become firefighters, and signed up for nearly 350 hours of training.

In light of numerous statistics that indicate Americans today are less involved in their communities than they once were, I believe it's vital that we encourage and support the kind of selfless contribution this young citizen has made. People of all ages need to think more about how we, as individual citizens, can

work together at the local level to ensure the health and vitality of our towns and neighborhoods. Young volunteers like Ben are inspiring examples to all of us, and are among our brightest hope for a better tomorrow.

The program that brought this young role model to our attention—The Prudential Spirit of Community Awards—was created by The Prudential Insurance Corporation of America in partnership with the National Association of Secondary School Principals in 1995 to impress upon all youth volunteers that their contributions are critically important and highly valued, and to inspire other young people to follow their example. In only 4 years, the program has become the nation's largest youth recognition effort based solely on community service, with more than 50,000 youngsters participating.

Ben should be extremely proud to have been singled out from such a large group of dedicated volunteers. I heartily applaud Ben for his initiative in seeking to make his community a better place to live, and for the positive impact he has had on the lives of others. He has demonstrated a level of commitment and accomplishment that is truly extraordinary in today's world, and deserves our sincere admiration and respect. His actions show that young Americans can—and do—play important roles in our communities, and that America's community spirit continues to hold tremendous promise for the future.

ECUADOR TRIP REPORT

**HON. FRANK R. WOLF**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I want to share with my colleagues a report on my recent trip to Ecuador. I traveled to that South American country January 9–15. I spent two days in the rain forest, one day traveling in country, and two days in Quito, the capital. With the spread of populations and industry into the Amazon Basin, tribal groups are having to come to grips with the realities of 21st century life and I was asked to visit in order to better understand those challenges.

The world was stunned 43 years ago, in January of 1956, when the speared bodies of five young men, Jim Elliot, Pete Fleming, Ed McCully, Nate Saint and Roger Youderian, were discovered in the Curaray River of southeastern Ecuador. These were evangelical missionaries from three different missions, who, in their attempt to make meaningful contact with the Auca tribe, had been murdered. Aucas (the Spanish word for "savage") had a long history of killing outsiders, friendly or not. In their desire to make contact, these young men—from age 28 to 32—had known the risk. The response to their deaths was broad and immediate, as other young men and women followed in their steps, led by a wife and a sister of two of the men who had died. As a result of the continued contacts, most of the tribal members stopped their killing within two years of that incident, and for the most part they have lived peacefully since.

A few months ago, however, the son of one of the original five men, Steve Saint, contacted my office regarding some of his humanitarian concerns for the people in this tribe, now

called in their native language, the Huaorani. As a result, I journeyed with a friend to the Ecuadorian rain forest and also Quito, the capital, between Saturday, January 9, and Friday, January 15, for the purpose of meeting the people, becoming acquainted with the region, and assessing whether I could be of any assistance by understanding the particulars of their situation.

The challenges of tribal life in the Amazon Basin, particularly with the inroads of industry, are not small and have been well documented by sociologists, anthropologists, and others. This huge area of rain forest, which is home to as few as 175,000 people in various tribal groups scattered throughout it, has received much attention from the scientific, industrial and religious communities.

Upon arrival at Quito airport Saturday evening, we were met by Peter Harding, political officer at our embassy, and Alicia Duran-Ballen, daughter of a former president of Ecuador. She acted as host and interpreter for us while we were in Quito. We left the next morning early by private plane for Nemompade, a very small village in the Amazon Basin, 150 miles southeast of Quito, a few miles from the site on the Curaray where the young men had been killed. We were met there by Steve Saint and spent the next two days and nights with the Huaorani learning how they lived, being shown their ways, and talking with them about their concerns for the future.

Generally, we observed their way of life, their culture and their interactions with each other and learned what it is like to live on a day to day basis in the rain forest. A group of high school students from Wheaton Academy, a private school in the Chicago suburbs, were there at the same time.

The challenges facing the Huaorani are not on the same order as other groups which I have visited and for which I have expressed great concern previously. However, they are faced with learning to live interactively with hi-tech civilization in the coming years, and learning to do so while maintaining their own identity. Historically, they have been a highly egalitarian group, without much vertical social order. That has been moderated some in the last 40 years to include community elders, who help guide life in the tribe. They have also become somewhat less nomadic in recent years.

Government requirements for personal registration, voting at designated venues which may be several days away by jungle trail, and other things necessary to interact with the national culture are matters which are currently under discussion with the Ministry of Government in Quito, and more specifically the Office for Indigenous Affairs. As hunter-gatherers in the rain forest, the national language, use of money, and means of transportation all critical to engagement with the outside world are foreign to the Huaorani and all need to be addressed. Additionally, the request for a radio frequency from the government by which to communicate and educate within the tribal region was in process.

Steve Saint's approach has been to understand that the people in this region will continue to interact more and more with interests outside their local environment. The question is not "When will this process happen?, but "with whom and can they survive it as a tribal group?" The people feel that they need to

learn to be both independent and interdependent within the national culture, avoiding the pitfalls of becoming welfare recipients. To assist then in that journey, he has invited groups—such as the Wheaton Academy students—to visit for a few days in the rain forest at a neutral site constructed like a village, not an actual settlement. In that manner, the visitors can interact with the Huaorani without interrupting village life. Each person pays a fee and the profits are put into an account in the nearest large town in the names of the village elders. In that way, the Indians are creating a productive economy which they can control.

Additionally, health-care skills are being practiced to improve their health without having to journey outside their territory. A simple, but ingenious, form of dentistry is in place so that they can fill teeth, again without journeying long distances. Although sickness does not seem to be prevalent, except diseases that might be "brought" from the outside, the Huaorani do have significant problems with decaying teeth. Much of this malady, apparently, stems from their eating staple—manioc roots. Manioc is a starch that converts to sugar readily, hence, tooth problems abound. I use this illustration only to highlight the fact that every effort is being made to help them be self-sufficient on their own terms and with their own resources.

Transportation is another significant factor as relates to commerce and healthcare. Although rivers abound in the rainforest, in this area their serpentine characteristic prohibits speed in travel. We traveled 40 minutes by dugout canoe and ended up 100 yards from where we began. The rule of thumb is "one minute in the air is two hours on a jungle trail." Therefore, an attempt is being made to procure an accommodation in the regulations to allow for a plane in the tribe and a "designated pilot."

When we returned to Quito, we were able to spend time with our ambassador, Leslie Alexander, and his colleague, Peter Harding. We discussed the nature of our visit and other topics of mutual concern and interest. The following day we visited the persons responsible for the Office of Indigenous Affairs and articulated why we had come to Ecuador and what we had seen. They were grateful for the interest and assured us that they would marshal whatever resources at their disposal to address the issues raised.

We then had the opportunity for a good discussion with the president of Ecuador, Jamil Mahuad, joined by Ambassador Alexander. Not only were we able to discuss the situation of the Huaorani, we were also able to invite the president to the National Prayer Breakfast, which he subsequently attended on February 4.

In the words of Steve Saint, what the Huaorani need are the following:

1. The right to vote and establish their citizenship within their own territory, which would include a place to register their birth, marriage and death, and to acquire the "cedulas" (identity cards) that are required of all citizens.
2. The right to develop their own means of disseminating information throughout their own territory, in their own language, without meeting stringent communication requirements that were established for densely populated territories. They need favorable concession in the acquisition or radio frequencies.

Although much of my interest has focused over the years on the violation of human rights

around the world, it was encouraging to see a situation in which thoughtful assistance in a timely way could nurture self-determination and the democratic process. I am grateful for the efforts of our Foreign Service Corps in Ecuador for their skill and dedication in the public sector, as well as the work of private U.S. citizens in the humanitarian arena, which enhances the lives of peoples in both countries.

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#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

### HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 17 (H.R. 350), I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "nay."

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#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

### HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 18 (S. Con. Res. 7), honoring the life and legacy of King Hussein of Jordan, I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

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#### HUMAN RIGHTS

### HON. JOSEPH R. PITTS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mr. PITTS. Mr. Speaker, this week, I chaired a Congressional Human Rights Caucus Briefing in which expert witnesses from Indonesia showed photographic evidence and reported on the situation facing their people.

Attacks on ethnic and religious minorities, particularly Chinese minorities, are continuing and in some instances appear to be orchestrated. Ninety-five churches have been burned or destroyed since May of 1998.

Today I am submitting record and statements from this week's briefing. These statements help to note the severity of acts being committed in Indonesia.

#### STATEMENT FOR MEMBERS BRIEFING ON CURRENT HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN INDONESIA

Good morning ladies and gentlemen. It is a privilege for me to welcome you to the Congressional Human Rights Caucus Briefing on Current Human Rights Abuses in Indonesia. The extreme nature of the recent human rights abuses in Indonesia has shocked the world. Reports show that churches and mosques have been burned, businesses of ethnic minorities have been looted and destroyed, students were arrested and killed, and women and girls have been brutally raped and sometimes murdered.

Today's hearing is sponsored by the Congressional Human Rights Caucus. The Caucus, co-chaired by Congressman John Porter and Congressman Tom Lantos, is a bipartisan group of members dedicated to advocating for the protection of human rights

worldwide. The situation in Indonesia has long concerned Human Rights Caucus Members and many American people because of the long-standing human rights violations in East Timor. It was not until more recently, however, that the world watched as the horrors perpetrated in East Timor spread throughout Indonesia.

As you may know, early last year, riots broke out in major cities in Indonesia. As people stood and watched in horror, rioters looted and destroyed businesses, burned churches, and caused mass destruction. Then, last May, the world stood horrified as it learned of the perpetration of mass rapes. Well-documented reports suggest a systematic plan on the part of the rapists to terrorize the Chinese ethnic community. Groups of unknown assailants would descend on a community, enter businesses, demand money, rape women who were present (often while uttering anti-Chinese rhetoric), and loot and sometimes burn the businesses.

Despite the change in the leadership of Indonesia's government, human rights abuses continue. Unfortunately, the stories of situations similar to last year's tragedies have not ceased in Indonesia. Killing and rioting is still occurring. In January of this year, 40 people were murdered in a village in Ambon. Attackers in other areas of the island of Ambon stopped individuals in the streets, asked them what their religion was, and upon the admittance of Christian beliefs, killed the individuals. Reports suggest that approximately "20,000 people sought refuge in military bases, police barracks, churches and mosques" in riots in which "seven mosques, nine churches, and 570 buildings were burned." Similar reports have come from Banyuwangi, Ketapang, Poso, and other regions of Indonesia.

Other reports give details that during the rioting in the region known as the "Spice Islands," in one week 15 churches and 11 mosques were badly damaged or completely destroyed. Local inhabitants of attacked areas often state that villagers lived in harmony until outsiders came to their homes and, armed with various weapons, instigated the various riots and attacks on ethnic and religious minorities. These attacks continue throughout Indonesia.

Many human rights reports suggest that the riots of 1998 and 1999 were orchestrated by a particular individual or group of individuals. The question in people's minds is who or what is behind the terrible violence sweeping through the various regions of Indonesia?

Unfortunately, a large portion of the Indonesian population is afraid to report what they have seen. However, today, we will hear from some courageous individuals who desire to see justice and national reconciliation in their country so that stability, based on democracy, will be the norm in Indonesia.

The actions of the perpetrators of rape, murder and other crimes and human rights abuses are cowardly and should be internationally condemned. In addition, the government of Indonesia must engage in a thorough investigation to bring to justice those who are responsible for the horrifying human rights abuses occurring even today.

I applaud the courage of today's panel and thank them for their willingness, though possibly putting their own lives in danger, to share their knowledge about current human rights violations in Indonesia and who or what might be behind those abuses. The Congressional Human Rights Caucus encourages you in your pursuit of justice and protection of fundamental human rights for the Indonesian people.

#### IN A NUTSHELL: LAW AND SOCIO-POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN INDONESIA

Many articles have been published by the media related to the regime of Suharto. At that time, violations against human rights happened frequently. Aside from the cases in Aceh, East Timor, Irian, Java and other areas, there were many other violations of human rights. At that time people were afraid of speaking out about the violations of human rights, especially related to the abduction of some activists who spoke out on human rights and democracy. After Suharto collapsed the mass media finally revealed the kidnapping committed by certain personnel of Kopassus (the case of General Prabowo).

The law enforcement during Suharto's reign was so worisome. The judges were influenced by the authorities, although they denied it. They were even "bought" which is very difficult to prove legally. However, this can be witnessed empirically and it has been an open secret through the publication of the press. The violations against human rights such as the cases of Marsinah in East Java, Hanoch Ohee in Irian Jaya, Ghandi Memorial School, Kedungombo Dam, Bintang Pamungkas, Mochtar Pakpahan, and other cases, published by the mass media speak for themselves. The law at that time seemed to be upright but justice and human rights were neglected.

The socio-political condition was overpowered by Suharto. Nobody dared to express their disagreement except a few people, such as Budiman Sudjatmiko, Bintang Pamungkas as well as Mochtar Pakpahan. The political parties at that time endorsed all the actions of Suharto. However, recently, they have started opening their mouth and honestly admitted that they did not have the courage to speak out at that time because they were frightened of Suharto's power. In brief, Suharto was a dictator.

Thus is the short explanation about justice, socio-political and human rights during the regime of Suharto. It is indisputable that corruption, collusion and nepotism were committed in all sectors of public life as the truth has now been disclosed by the press. To say that all government officials were involved, including the Armed Forces is not an exaggeration at all, though it is hard to prove legally.

What happens after Habibie comes on stage (de facto), because judicially Suharto's decree as President, has not been revoked. Essentially and fundamentally, it can be said that there has been no meaningful change occur except the freedom of the press. The freedom of democracy has been born with the permission to establish a hundred political parties. Despite all of this, the pattern of thinking and behavior of President Habibie keeps following the pattern of Suharto, with several exceptions. Some observations have to be given to the socio-political conditions. Another point needs to be discussed related to the religious life in Indonesia.

The law enforcement related to political issues it really ambivalent. After Shuarto stepped down, more and more breaches of law were committed by the masses, let alone robbery and other violent crimes. They invaded the places such as fertilizer and rice warehouses, as well as plundering stores selling basic daily needs. Places of worship (churches) were destroyed and burned down. The government officials "accused" of committing corruption, collusion and nepotism were picketed by the people, who do not respect and acknowledge the authority of the local government officials. Even government and police offices were destroyed and burned, as happened to Lakarsanti in Surabaya (1999)

and in some other places. People have acted the way they liked because they are fed up of being treated unfairly, and also because the spreading rumors were incorrect, manipulated and distorted. The law enforcement and the security agencies seem hesitant to take action or if they act, it is too late. It is unsurprising if small-scaled social anarchy takes place. In this reformation era during which the law and human rights should be enforced, what happens is the other way around.

Apparent transgression of human rights took place in Aceh in the past and recently (in Lohkseumawe), as well as mass murder against those accused of black magic by ninjas in Banyuwangi (East Java). These incidents seemed to be directed against NU supporters and it was argued that some military persons were involved in the murders. The military personnel who were said to have been involved committed desertion. It seems that there is a phenomena of social anarchy happening, where the jungle law prevails.

The security forces usually arise when riots and anarchy are almost completely done and too late to be stopped. The same thing happened during the Ketapang incident where human slaughter and the destruction and burning of Ketapang Churches (Nov 22, 1998) in Jakarta took place. Similar patterns like in Ketapang reoccurred in Kupang (Timor) and soon after that in Ambon (19-22 January 1999) sacrificing more lives and enormous loss of property. The data of casualties has not been confirmed yet. Some say 500 people were murdered. Thirteen religious buildings were burned. Those incidents indicate that there is a relation in the engineering pattern blown-up by SARA rumors during which churches and mosques were burned in Ambon. The most destructive things have happened to churches in many places since 1996. Those who are not friendly to Christians look for social and economic scapegoats.

During the reign of Sukarno, only two churches were burned while during the 32 years regime of Suharto, 455 churches were burned, destroyed and closed down. It means each month, an average of 1.18 church destroyed and burned. Within 7 months of Habibie's reign, 76 churches were destroyed and burned. In other words, each month an average of 10.85 churches were destroyed and burned.

The condition of security in Indonesia is annoying. Economic conditions are getting worse, unemployment is increasing while the law seems to have lost its power. In addition, the development of socio-political conditions is still confusing and the people who pretend to fight for democracy accuse each other, making the condition more uncomfortable and unsecured. Moreover the stipulation of new regulations related to the general election, and the prediction that chaos or social revolution prior or after the general election will take place, have caused anxiety in people's hearts, especially the poor ones who are concerned with their life and belongings.

Indonesia is at the edge of ruin. There are unhappy voices coming from places such as Irian and Aceh to separate themselves from this country. Their rich natural resources were enjoyed and used to enrich authorities in Jakarta. All of this creates the potential for disintegration to become true. In other words, civil war is at the doorstep, especially with the latest development in East Timor.

It can be summarized that anyone can make a different diagnosis, but the therapy seems difficult to carry out, considering the present socio-political and economic conditions. There are more than one hundred small political parties, besides PKB, PAN, PDI Megawati and Golkar. There are parties

which are not sensitive to the pluralistic conditions in Indonesia, which sharpens the potential of polarization. Unity is often talked about as a ceremonial thing only to maintain the status quo status. In a pluralistic society, where different cultures and religions are not understood in the context of democracy and human rights, can things get worse. It has been forgotten that human beings with different cultural backgrounds and religions, are created by (one) God.

If the economy does not improve and unemployment keeps on increasing, not only will crime get higher, but the law will not be respected and obeyed. If the Armed Forces do not consolidate, the disintegration process will come to reality. Chaos will emerge among ethnic groups or religions. Democracy and the freedom of human rights are being rhetorically talked every day, but it is doubtful all the leaders and their parties, except a few ones, could live peacefully in this pluralistic society.

To end this short writing, let us ponder the saying of the late President John F Kennedy: "And even if we are not able to agree, let us do so in such a way, that make the world safe, still in its diversity."

J.E. SAHETAPY,  
*Emeritus Professor of Unair.*

POLITICAL AGENDA BEHIND THE RIOT OF POSO  
(By Kie-Eng Go)

[Presented in the Briefing on The Current Human Rights Issues in Indonesia with the US Congressional Human Rights Caucus, Feb 9, 1999]

The tragedy of Poso, which is also known as the "Poso's Gray Christmas" on December 23-31, 1998, resulted in the following: 183 people were injured, some seriously, 267 houses were demolished or burned down (1,632 people, representing 364 Christian households, lost their homes), 5 stores were burned down, 7 cars were burned or destroyed, 10 motorcycles were destroyed, 4 hotels were destroyed and 4 entertainment centers (karaoke) were damaged.

Beyond the physical destruction, the tragedy has brought about deep trauma in the life of the people of Poso.

INDONESIA: FUNDAMENTALISM AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE

From the Surabaya incident, June 9, 1996 to the Situbondo, then to the Tasikmalaya, on and on and up to the Ambon, there are several things, which should not go unnoticed:

1. There are three groups of people being attacked and marginalized: the ethnic Chinese, the Christmas and the moderate Muslims.

2. The incidents were well planned, and provocateurs from outside were sent in to create riots.

3. There seems to be linkage among the incidents, although they took place in different places. There seems to be progression between one incident to the next; for instance, from the harassment of the right to worship, to the closing of the places of worship, to the attack and burning of the places of worship, to the attack and burning of the home of religious followers.

4. The increase of brutality has turned into sadistic killing. Mr. Meiky Sainyakit, according to the eyewitnesses who survived, was burnt alive to death, after his two arms were chopped off, in the Ambon case.

5. The authorities, the police, the military, and the central government itself have done very minimal, if anything at all. The security forces would probably arrest those who were caught in the act, and that has been as deep as the kind of initiative done by them, as some cases have indicated. Not only are

they not responding, often times, as reports suggest, not only are they very slow in following up leads, but they also are involved in discrediting the sources of the leads. When the whole situation is viewed and assessed as a totality, it should raise a very serious question about the cover up.

The core issue in Indonesia is trust; the erosion of trust amongst a pluralistic society. The kind of trust that has been emerging is the kind of trust that would only exist if everyone in Indonesia speaks the same language, wears the same cloths and colors, prays the same prayer. There is no longer trust toward government and its leaders, political and public figures, public and private institutions, business and banking system, media, community leaders, religious leaders, even one another.

ALTERNATIVES AND RECOMMENDATION

Therefore, in everything we do, we the Indonesians, and we the international community, we have to move with one thing in mind and that is to bring trust back into a culture which was originally built and based on the principle of a pluralistic society. Below are some thoughts and alternatives that I like to recognize to this panel:

1. *Stop the madness and killing.*—We recommend that the International Community demands full accountability on the rapes and killing of many Indonesians. Why does the International community have to be involved in domestic acts of crimes in Indonesia? The kind of crime and killing in Indonesia should not be looked at any longer as a domestic affair, rather it is an attack and an insult to mankind on earth. When civilians are attacked by professional, trained, and army-like personnel, and the attacks are done systematically and repeatedly, and they are done in a pursuit of a certain ideology, should we not consider that as a war.

2. *The victims.*—We are the International Community for an immediate and decisive initiative to provide full rehabilitation for the victims and the families. Despite all the good and nice rhetoric by the government officials of Indonesia, including the head of the current government, victims, families members, and medical workers are still being terrorized and intimidated. Phone lines are still being tapped. Such conditions have made any kind of rehabilitation impossible.

3. *Persecution.*—On the issue of persecution against certain ethnic and religious groups, we all need to stop listening to the rhetoric of the leaders, and state looking into the dynamic of how the culture of suspicion is being carried out. Today, when you are Chinese and/or Christian in Indonesia, you do not have any guarantee of physical safety on the street, nor protection under the law. The government, the police, and the military, including the leader of the government himself, are not interested in protecting the rights of the citizen, despite of all their nice and good rhetoric.

4. *Social safety net.*—A Social safety net program is very urgent at this moment in Indonesia. Total chaos and massive killing could take place anywhere and at anytime, without being provoked by anybody. The social safety net programs in Indonesia have not been very successful so far. It seems that everyone has to rob in order to survive. The international community has to be prudent and creative in developing the social safety net programs.

5. *Election.*—The upcoming, June 7, 1999, election will be very instrumental in giving an opportunity to the Indonesians to move to a better civil society. We should not expect any law and order in Indonesia without a clean and fair election. The UN, the organizations such as IRI, NDI, IFES and even The Carter Center have to take more creative

initiatives, beyond the given normative ways of the international political economy. The people who are interested in a better Indonesia in a context of global community have to take serious interest in the dynamic and culture of money-politics being played going into the election. Out of this horrible damnation, one good thing comes out is a stronger desire by the people to establish a nation and a system of government that are clean and trustworthy. Such desire which exists very vividly in certain groups (NGOs and even political parties) has to be supported and strengthened by all means possible.

We trust that this briefing will create a more open-minded and positive discussion among us and with those who are longing to see an improvement in Indonesia.

Thank you very much for allowing us to come and share information with you.

MASS RIOTS IN INDONESIA

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

Generally, there are three social symptoms that are usually called "riot" in late 90's Indonesian press literature. The first is insurrection (unarmed popular uprising), the second is mob looting, and the third is widespread gang-fights that cause much destruction.

These three social symptoms begun to make their heavy presence after the 27th of July 1996 forced takeover of the PDI Headquarter in Jl. Diponegoro, Jakarta.

There were riots around the 1997 election. After that, until May 1998, situation seemed calm and under control.

But in May 1998, riot came back and took many victims. The riot broke after the military gunned down four Trisakti students demonstrating on the May 13th. The mass came in thousand in spirit of revenge. After small scale clashes with the police, the mass began burning and looting buildings.

What makes the May 14th-16th riot significant is the allegation that there were organized rapes done while riot was in progress. The facts show that there were a lot of rapes, while it remains to be proven legally that the rapes were organized deliberately.

The second fact that is quite shocking is that the military did admit that they have known all along that the riot was going to happen. The Chief Director of the BIA (Army Intelligent Service), Zacky Anwar Makarim said so (KOMPAS, September 3rd, 1998). Zacky also said that the presence of "local agitators" was known.

Riots broke again in July 1st-7th, 1998 in Jayapura, West Papua. A riot also broke in Kebumen, Central Java, on September 7th as a result of a personal quarrel between a shop owner and a local gangster (reports from local correspondent). Riot also broke in Bagansiapi-api, North Sumatra, on September 15th, as a result of personal quarrel between gangsters.

Then came the famous "ninja" rumors that said that several organized killers disguised as ninjas were on the loose and taking liberty to kill alleged "dunkun santet" (a kind of evil shaman). The rumors that begun spreading in Banyuwangi, East Java, in September 1998 has took lives of innocent kyais (Muslim religious leaders).

The most significant series of riots begun after the November 13th-14th uprising. On November 14th, a small-scale clash between the people and some military personnel nearly incite a riot. But the students managed to prevent it (KOMPAS, May 15th, 1998). But the student were caught by surprise when in Ketapang, North Jakarta, on November 15th, a riot broke. Riot of the same kind also occurred in Kupang, West Flores Island.

Another riot broke in Porsea, North Sumatra, on November 23rd. This time, the captured provocateurs revealed that they were

paid and at the same time threatened not to rebuke the wish of the men that paid them (ANTARA, November 24th, 1998).

At the end of the year, a riot broke in Poso, Central Sulawesi, which occurred between December 25th and 30th. There are not many data on this riot.

At the same time, riot broke in Belawan, North Sumatra, which was incited by a personal quarrel between two of the population over a pair of shoes.

Then came the real shock when a usually peaceful city, Karawang, West Java, broke its tradition and fell into riot.

The second most significant area is Ambon, capital of Maluku islands, where a riot broke on January 19th, 1999.

What interesting is that one of the alleged provocateur confessed that there is an involvement of "people from Jakarta", though the local Police Commander won't disclose further (ANTARA, January 25th, 1999).

The systematic use of violence by intelligent services can be summed up if we read the manual (Vademecum of Defense and Security) issued by SESKOAD (Academy for Army Staff of Command) which usually produces top agents for those services. One of the chapters deals with the rule when using tortures on captured prisoners.

It is also well known that these intelligent services also make a full use of local gangster to intimidate the oppositions. There are paramilitary groups supervised directly by local army commands: AMS (Siliwangi Youth) trained, armed, and supervised by the 3rd Military Region (code-named Siliwangi), AMD (Diponegoro Youth) same treatment by 4th Military Region (code-named Diponegoro). When counter demonstration (which shows support to the government) arose, the participants usually came from these Youths or other Youths such as Pemuda Pancasila (Pancasila Youth) or Pemuda PancaMarga, the foremost-two whose leaders have personal relation with Suharto himself. This so-called "counter-demonstrations" usually aims for a violence physical contact between group making rally. These Youths always carry weapons, at occasions they carry guns.

It feels a little uncomfortable when we read that some of the riots were instigated by quarrels between local gangster. Or in Banyuwangi case, indicates a direct involvement of those criminals. Or in Porsea case, paid thugs carried out the whole job. It is also very possible that the ones starting looting the shops are also those criminals. They have guts to rob people in broad daylight, surely they would be the first to see that chaos is the best time to loot.

There has been a proof that there were provocateurs in May 14th-15th Riot. The possibility is very high that all other riots are also results of provocations. And Intelligent Services are the best in this business.

Washington, DC, Feb. 8, 1999.

Solidaritas Nusa Bangsa.

ESTER JUSUF, SH,  
*Chairwoman.*

#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

### HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 19 (Kucinich amendment to H.R. 391), I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."

#### TRIBUTE TO HOUSE IMPEACHMENT MANAGERS

### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, as the impeachment trial to President Clinton approaches its final act, I want to pay tribute to the managers on the part of the House, led by my distinguished friend from Illinois, HENRY HYDE. I thank them for enduring vitriolic attacks by the media, the President's minions, their constituents, and, sadly, some of their colleagues as they defended the law. Few of us have been put to a such a severe test as these manager-colleagues to prove allegiance to our sworn oath to "protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

I worry about the moral health of our country when the modern-day justice system seems incapable of holding accountable celebrities who murder and presidents who lie. As has been asked so many times in recent weeks: "What do we tell our children?" Thankfully, we can hold up to the children men like our House managers as examples of Americans willing to sacrifice themselves for the benefit of our great nation.

I was unable to witness the closing arguments made by Mr. HYDE, but instead read his script. I consider him to be the House's finest orator and, as I read his statement, I imagined with my mind's eye his passionate call to duty. I only hope that his speech similarly stirred our Senate colleagues to "Let right be done."

I commend the entirety of Mr. Manager HYDE's closing argument to the attention of my colleagues.

CLOSING ARGUMENT OF REPRESENTATIVE  
HENRY J. HYDE, IMPEACHMENT TRIAL MANAGER

Mr. Chief Justice, learned counsel, and the Senate, we are blessedly coming to the end of this melancholy procedure, but before we gather up our papers and return to the obscurity from whence we came, please permit me a few final remarks.

First of all, I want to thank the chief justice not only for his patience and his perseverance but for the aura of dignity that he has lent to these proceedings, and it has been a great thrill really to be here in his company as well as in the company of you distinguished senators.

Secondly, I want to compliment the president's counsel. They have conducted themselves in the most professional way. They have made the most of a poor case, in my opinion.

Excuse me. There's an old Italian saying, that has nothing to do with the lawyers, but to your case, and it says: "You may dress the shepherd in silk, but he will still smell of the goat."

But all of you are great lawyers and it's been an adventure being with you.

You know, the legal profession, like politics, is ridiculed pretty much, and every lawyer feels that and understands the importance of the rule of law—to establish justice, to maintain the rights of mankind, to defend the helpless and the oppressed, to protect innocents, to punish guilt. These are duties which challenge the best powers of man's intellect and the noblest qualities of the human heart. We are here to defend that bulwark of our liberty, the rule of law. As for the House managers, I want to tell you and our extraordinary staff how proud I am of

your service. For myself, I cannot find the words to adequately express how I feel. I must use the inaudible language of the heart. I've gone through it all by your side, the media condemnations, the patronizing editorials, the hate mail, the insults hurled in public, the attempts at intimidation, the death threats, and even the disapproval of our colleagues, which cuts the worst.

You know, all a congressman ever gets to take with him when he leaves this building is the esteem of his colleagues and his constituents. We've risked that for a principle and for our duty as we've seen it.

In speaking to my managers of whom I am terminally proud, I can borrow the words of Shakespeare's "Henry V," as he addressed his little army of longbowmen at the battle of Agincourt, and he said: "We few—we happy few, we band of brothers. For he who sheds his blood with me shall be my brother. And gentlemen in England now abed will curse the fact that they are not here and hold their manhood cheap when any speaks who fought with us on St. Crispin's Day."

As for the juror judges, you distinguished senators, it's always a victory for democracy when its elected representatives do their duty no matter how difficult and unpleasant, and we thank you for it.

Please don't misconstrue our fervor for our cause to any lack of respect or appreciation for your high office. But our most formidable opponent has not been opposing counsel nor any political party. It's been cynicism—the widespread conviction that all politics and all politicians are by definition corrupt and venal. That cynicism is an acid eating away at the vital organs of American public life. It is a clear and present danger because it blinds us to the nobility and the fragility of being a self-governing people.

One of the several questions that needs answer is whether your vote on conviction lessens or enlarges that cynicism. Nothing begets cynicism like the double standard—one rule for the popular and the powerful and another for the rest of us.

One of the most interesting things in this trial was the testimony of the president's good friend, the former Senator from Arkansas. He did his persuasive best to maintain the confusion that this is all about sex.

Of course it's useful for the defense to misdirect our focus toward what everyone concedes are private acts and none of our business, but if you care to read the articles of impeachment, you won't find any complaints about private, sexual misconduct. You will find charges of perjury and obstruction of justice which are public acts and federal crimes, especially when committed by the one person duty bound to faithfully execute the laws.

Infidelity is private and non-criminal. Perjury and obstruction are public and criminal. The deliberate focus on what is not an issue here is the defense lawyer's tactic and nothing more. This entire saga has been a theater of distraction and misdirection. Time-honored defense tactics when the law and facts get in the way.

One phrase you have not heard the defense pronounce is the "sanctity of the oath," but this case deeply involves the efficacy, the meaning and the enforceability of the oath. The president's defenders stay away from the word "lie" preferring "mislead" or "deceived," but they shrink from the phrase "sanctity of the oath," fearing it as one might a rattlesnake.

There is a visibility factor in the president's public acts, and those which betray a trust or reveal contempt for the law are hard to sweep under the rug, or under the bed for that matter.

They reverberate, they ricochet all over the land and provide the worst possible example for our young people. As that third

grader from Chicago wrote to me: "If you can't believe the president, who can you believe?"

Speaking of young people, in 1946 a British playwright, Terence Rattigan wrote a play based on a true experience that happened in England in 1910. The play was called "The Winslow Boy." And the story, a true story, involved a young 13-year-old lad who was kicked out of the Royal Naval College for having forged somebody else's signature on a postal money order.

Of course, he claimed he was innocent, but he was summarily dismissed and his family of very modest means couldn't afford legal counsel, and it was a very desperate situation. Sir Edward Carson, the best lawyer of his time—barrister I suppose—got interested in the case and took it on pro bono, and lost all the way through the courts.

Finally, he had no other place to go, but he dug up an ancient remedy in England called "petition of right." You ask the king for relief. And so Carson wrote out five pages of reasons why a petition of right should be granted. And lo and behold, it got past the attorney general and got to the king. The king read it, agreed with it, and wrote across the front of the petition: "Let right be done—Edward VII."

And I have always been moved by that phrase. I saw the movie, I saw the play, and I have the book, and I am still moved by that phrase "let right be done." I hope when you finally vote that will move you, too.

There are some interesting parallels to our cause here today. This Senate chamber is our version of the House of Lords, and while we managers cannot claim to represent that 13-year-old Winslow boy, we speak for a lot of young people who look to us to set an example.

Ms. Seligman last Saturday said we want to win too badly. This surprised me, because none of the managers has committed perjury, nor obstructed justice, nor claimed false privileges. None has hidden evidence under anyone's bed, nor encouraged false testimony before the grand jury. That's what you do if you want to win too badly.

I believe it was Saul Bellow who once said, "A great deal of intelligence can be invested in ignorance when the need for illusion is great." And those words characterize the defense in this case—the need for illusion is great.

I doubt there are many people on the planet who doubt the president has repeatedly lied under oath and has obstructed justice. The defense spent a lot of time picking lint. There is a saying in equity, I believe, that equity will not stoop to pick up pins. But that was their case. So the real issue doesn't concern the facts, the stubborn facts, as the defense is fond of saying, but what to do about them.

I am still dumbfounded about the drafts of the censures that are circulating. We aren't half as tough on the president in our impeachment articles as this draft is that was printed in the New York Times. "An inappropriate relationship with a subordinate employee in the White House which was shameless, reckless and indefensible."

I have a problem with that. It seems they're talking about private acts of consensual sexual misconduct, which are really none of our business. But that's the lead-off.

Then they say the president "deliberately misled and deceived the American people and officials in all branches of the United States government." This is not a Republican document. This is coming from here.

"The president gave false or misleading testimony and impeded discovery of evidence in judicial proceedings." Isn't that another way of saying obstruction of justice and perjury? "The president's conduct demeans the office of the president as well as the president himself, and creates disrespect for the laws of the land."

Future generations of Americans must know that such behavior is not only unacceptable, but bears grave consequences, including loss of integrity, trust, and respect—but not loss of job.

"Whereas William Jefferson Clinton's conduct has brought shame and dishonor to himself and to the office of the president; whereas he has violated the trust of the American people (see Hamilton Federalist Number 65), and he should be condemned in the strongest terms." Well, the next-to-the-strongest terms—the strongest terms would remove him from office.

Well, do you really cleanse the office as provided in the Constitution? Or do you use the air-wick of a censure resolution? Because any censure resolution, to be meaningful, has to punish the president—if only his reputation. And how do you deal with the laws of bill of attainder? How do you deal with the separation of powers? What kind of a precedent are you setting?

We all claim to revere the Constitution, but a censure is something that is a device, a way of avoiding the harsh Constitutional option, and it's the only one you have, either up or down on impeachment.

That, of course, is your judgment, and I am offering my views for what they're worth. Once in a while I do worry about the future. I wonder if after this culture war is over that we're engaged in, if an America will survive that's worth fighting to defend. People won't risk their lives for the UN or over the Dow Jones averages, but I wonder in future generations whether there'll be enough vitality left in duty, honor and country to excite our children and grandchildren to defend America.

There's no denying the fact what you decide, will have a profound effect on our culture as well as on our politics. A failure to convict will make a statement that lying under oath, while unpleasant and to be avoided is not all that serious. Perhaps we can explain this to those currently in prison for perjury.

We have reduced lying under oath to a breach of etiquette, but only if you are the president. Whenever and whenever you avert your eyes from a wrong, from an injustice, you become a part of the problem. On the subject of civil rights, it's my belief this issue doesn't belong to anyone. It belongs to everyone. It certainly belongs to those who have suffered invidious discrimination and one would have to be catatonic not to know that the struggle to keep alive equal protection of the law never ends.

The mortal enemy of equal justice is the double standard and if we permit a double standard, even for the president, we do no favor to the cause of human rights. It's been said that America has nothing to fear from this president on the subject of civil rights.

I doubt Paula Jones would subscribe to that endorsement. If you agree that perjury and obstruction of justice have been committed, and yet you vote down the conviction, you're expanding and expanding the boundaries of permissible presidential conduct. You're saying a perjurer and an obstructor of justice can be president in the face of no less

than three precedents for conviction of federal judges for perjury. You shred those precedents and you raise the most serious questions of whether the president is in fact subject to the law, or whether we are beginning a restoration of the divine rights of kings.

The issues we're concerned with have consequences far into the future, because the real damage is not to the individuals involved, but to the American system of justice and especially the principle that no one is above the law.

Edward Gibbon wrote his magisterial "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" in the late 18th century. In fact, the first volume was published in 1776. In his work, he discusses an emperor named Septimus Severus who died in 211 A.D. after ruling 18 years. And here's what Gibbon wrote about the emperor: "Severus promised only to betray; he flattered only to ruin: and however he might occasionally bind himself by oaths and treaties, his conscience, obsequious to his interest, always released him from the inconvenient obligation."

I guess those who believe history repeats itself are really onto something. Horace Mann said: "You should be ashamed to die unless you have achieved some victory for humanity." To the House managers, I say your devotion to duty and the Constitution has set an example that is a victory for humanity. Charles de Gaulle once said France would not be true to herself if she wasn't engaged in some great enterprise. That's true of us all. We spend our short lives as consumers, space occupiers, clock watchers, spectators—or in the service of some great enterprise.

I believe being a Senator, being a congressman, and struggling with all our might for equal justice for all is a great enterprise. It's our great enterprise. And to my House managers, your great enterprise was not to speak truth to power, but to shout it.

And now let us all take our place in history on the side of honor, and oh yes, let right be done.

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#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

**HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 20 (H.R. 391), I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "nay."

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#### PERSONAL EXPLANATION

**HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, February 12, 1999*

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, during rollcall vote No. 21 (H.R. 437), I was unavoidably detained. Had I been present, I would have voted "yea."