

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

IMF REFORM REQUIRES THOUGHTFUL CONSIDERATION

HON. JIM SAXTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. SAXTON. Mr. Speaker, recently a blue ribbon commission set forth its bipartisan recommendations on reform of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. The commission's chairman, noted economist Allan Meltzer, worked for months in the most accommodating and fair way with all of the commissioners to maintain a process of honest intellectual inquiry and collegiality. Votes were taken along the way that established overwhelming bipartisan consensus on all of the major issues. The resulting report addresses some of the most difficult and challenging issues in international economics, and proposes a number of serious and substantive reforms of the IMF, World Bank, and regional development banks. Reasonable people can and do disagree on these highly complex issues, but generally do so on the basis of facts, evidence, and analysis.

Unfortunately, however, even before the report was released, a highly coordinated political effort was initiated to attack the commission's report with outlandish charges and inflammatory rhetoric. These attacks generally were uninformed by any familiarity with the substance or tone of the majority report, not to mention the difficult financial issues related to the IMF and World Bank. These attacks only serve to discredit those who made them, and the use of such issues as a political football reflects a lack of responsibility and concern about the future of these institutions. The following article published in the prestigious Financial Times recently shows how these deplorable attacks on the commission have been perceived, and do no credit to those who make them.

[From the Financial Times (London),
Mar. 10, 2000]

POLITICS OF AID

It is occasionally difficult for outsiders to grasp just how poisonously partisan U.S. policymaking has become. That this should be the case in domestic matters is neither surprising nor particularly worrisome. But the collapse of bi-partisanship in crucial areas of foreign policy is another matter. The response in Washington to the report from the international financial institutions advisory commission is a perfect—and disturbing—case in point.

Take, for a moment, not the politics of the majority report, but its substance. It does not propose the abolition of the International Monetary Fund. Nor does it suggest the end of foreign aid. On the contrary, it defines a role for the IMF as lender-of-last resort and suggests deep debt relief and a significant increase in U.S. budgetary support for the poorest countries, "if they pursue effective programmes of economic development".

Though simplistic in important respects, the report does represent an attempt to de-

fine a role for the international institutions and a case for aid that makes sense today. Since this comes from a group dominated by Republicans, the rational response must be that this represents progress. Maybe there could even be a new bi-partisan consensus. At least there would be no harm in exploring that possibility.

That is not happening. In an egregious example of Washington politics at its worst, Richard Gephardt, the notoriously protectionist House minority leader, complained that the report "illustrates an extreme neo-isolationist attitude" towards the IMF and the World Bank. "Pots", "kettles", "calling" and "black" come to mind.

True, this is a radical report. The most controversial recommendations on the IMF are that it should cease long-term lending to the poorest countries and should provide emergency assistance almost exclusively to countries that have pre-qualified for it. Similarly, it suggests that the World Bank should cease to be a lender to middle-income countries with access to private markets.

These ideas do go too far, but they are not crazy. Given willingness to compromise, they could be the basis for discussion between the two sides. The alternative is certainly worse. Continued bitter partisan disagreement, with one side committed to defense of the status quo and the other to radical transformation, must make the environment for these institutions extraordinarily difficult.

The world urgently needs a U.S. consensus on policy towards the international financial institutions. This report is at least the basis for a discussion—and jaw jaw is certainly better than yet more partisan war war.

SATELLITE REFORM LEGISLATION (S. 376)

HON. SAM GEJDENSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the conference report on S. 376, international satellite reform. This bipartisan compromise legislation will reform 1960s era satellite policy and promote competition in international and domestic satellite services and technology. This 1962 Communications Satellite Act is woefully outdated. The time for overhaul is now.

The 1960s were a time when the telecommunications sector was dominated by monopolies. We had no cell phones, no pagers, no personal computers and no viable commercial satellite industry. Our international satellite policy reflected the times. It was believed that only government-sponsored entities could provide global satellite services. That may have been true then, but in the past forty years we have seen enormous change. With the passage of this bill, our global satellite policy will finally enter the new millennium.

INTELSAT and INMARSAT are cast in the old mold. For example, INTELSAT is an intergovernmental treaty organization dominated by 143 member-nations, largely through gov-

ernment-controlled telecommunications monopolies. As an intergovernmental organization, INTELSAT is not subject to U.S. or any other country's laws.

At the same time, we have many private satellite companies that offer high-quality international services. Two such companies have corporate ties to Connecticut—GE Americom and PanAmSat. These companies have launched private sector ventures that must compete with these intergovernmental organizations which enjoy advantages such as legal immunities which the private sector does not.

I commend Mr. BLILEY and Mr. MARKEY for their long work over the last few years to bring competition and privatization to U.S. global communications policy. This legislation eliminates the privileges and immunities that these intergovernmental organizations enjoy. The bill offers incentives for INTELSAT and INMARSAT and their successors to privatize in a pro-competitive manner. As a result, we can expect to see improved access to foreign markets for the U.S. satellite communications industry.

I am particularly pleased that the final conference bill contains definite, clear criteria for the FCC to use in determining if INTELSAT, INMARSAT and their spin-offs have privatized in a pro-competitive manner. If they don't, there are real consequences in terms of U.S. market access. This feature of the legislation provides meaningful incentives to these two organizations to privatize properly. It also governs the market entry of their spin-offs, such as New Skies Satellites, a Dutch company that is a wholly-owned subsidiary of INTELSAT and its signatories. Although we welcome New Skies into the U.S. market, strict compliance with the criteria of S. 376 is necessary to ensure that its market entry will benefit competition and will not serve as a Trojan horse for the INTELSAT cartel.

I am also pleased that the bill prohibits all satellite operators serving the U.S. from enjoying the exclusive right to handle telecommunications traffic to or from the U.S. and any other country—no matter how the exclusive relationships were derived.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation promises to benefit the American public with lower costs, more innovative services, and more high tech jobs. I urge my colleagues to support S. 376 and to bring the full benefits of competition to consumers.

PRIVATE PROPERTY RIGHTS IMPLEMENTATION ACT OF 2000

SPEECH OF

HON. DOC HASTINGS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 16, 2000

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 2372) to simplify and expedite access to the Federal courts for

• 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.

injured parties whose rights and privileges, secured by the United States Constitution, have been deprived by final actions of Federal agencies, or other government officials or entities acting under color of State law; to prevent Federal courts from abstaining from exercising Federal jurisdiction in actions where no State law claim is alleged; to permit certification of unsettled State law questions that are essential to resolving Federal claims arising under the Constitution; and to clarify when government action is sufficiently final to ripen certain Federal claims arising under the Constitution:

Mr. HASTINGS of Washington. Mr. Chairman, I rise today in strong support of H.R. 2372, the "Private Property Rights Implementation Act of 2000." This commonsense legislation makes it easier for landowners that have had the use of their property taken by the Federal Government to get their day in court.

While the fifth amendment requires the Government to compensate citizens for the taking of their private property, these property owners have found it almost impossible to gain access to the Federal courts to pursue their claims. Quite simply, H.R. 2372 would provide a way out of the regulatory limbo that requires property owners to seek a "final" answer at the local level before pursuing this constitutional issue in Federal court. Contrary to claims that the bill would circumvent local authority, it outlines specific requirements that claimants must pursue before receiving action from the Federal courts. These include an appeal to the local planning commission, an application from the local zoning board, and an appeal to the local board of elected officials. Thus, the bill protects local authority while ensuring that justice is done in a timely manner.

Mr. Chairman, we in the Pacific Northwest are being inundated with new Federal requirements and restrictions relating to salmon and other species protected under the Endangered Species Act. The impacts of these new Federal actions on private property owners are only beginning to be felt, but promise to be significant. This legislation will ensure that the victims of Federal takings do not have to wait 10 years—the current average time it takes to get access to a Federal court—to seek just compensation. Private property owners in my district need to know that there is a clear and fair process in place for them to defend their fifth amendment rights. That is exactly what H.R. 2372 provides.

I commend the gentleman from Florida, Mr. CANADY, for bringing this legislation before the House and I urge my colleagues to support it.

GREATER PITTSTON FRIENDLY
SONS OF ST. PATRICK HONOR
WILLIAM McFADDEN

HON. PAUL E. KANJORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. KANJORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to William P. McFadden. This year, the Greater Pittston Friendly Sons of St. Patrick will honor Bill with the W. Francis Swingle Award at their annual St. Patrick's Day Banquet. I am pleased and proud to have been asked to participate in this event.

The Swingle Award is named in honor of Professor Frank Swingle, a noted and re-

spected educator and orator, active in civic organizations locally. Bill McFadden will be the eleventh recipient of this prestigious award.

Mr. McFadden has had an exemplary career in nursing for more than thirty-two years. He specialized in industrial nursing at Bethlehem Steel, Lebanon, Pennsylvania, and also the Ford Motor Company, Chester, Pennsylvania, and San Jose, California. Administratively, Bill was Staff Nurse and Supervisor at Wilmington Veterans Administration Hospital, Director of Nursing at Fresno Community Hospital in California and a nursing home supervisor in New Jersey. Until his retirement in 1985, he served as Nursing Supervisor at East Orange Veterans Hospital, New Jersey.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. McFadden is a native son of Northeastern Pennsylvania, having been born and raised here. He attended St. John's High School in Pittston, went on to St. Joseph's School of Nursing in Philadelphia and received his degree in nursing from Villanova University in 1959. He served in the Navy Reserves from 1945 to 1947.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to congratulate William McFadden on this prestigious award. I join with his wife Ann, family, and his many good friends in sending him my most sincere best wishes as he accepts this honor.

ROBERT MILLER, JR.: MAN OF
THE YEAR

HON. NICK SMITH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. SMITH of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I honor today Robert B. Miller, Jr., of Battle Creek, Michigan, Scene Magazine's 1999 Man of the Year.

"Bob," as he likes to be called, is one of Battle Creek's best known citizens due in large measure to his legacy of personal and financial commitment to the greater Battle Creek community. Today, the community will show its appreciation and gratitude for Bob's many years of philanthropy and dedication, as they gather to pay tribute to him as the 1999 Man of the Year.

Robert Miller, Jr. is a naval veteran and graduate of Michigan State University, with degrees in marketing and English. He has spent most of his professional life in the print media, working for such newspapers as the Lansing State Journal, Idaho Statesman and the Daily Olympian, before making his mark on Battle Creek as publisher of the Battle Creek Enquirer and News, a position he inherited from his father, the late Robert Miller, Sr.

Robert Miller, Jr. epitomizes the word philanthropy. He has been as much involved in civic duties as he was in professional journalism. He's served as a trustee of the Miller Foundation and as a member of its Grants Review Committee, as well as being a member of the local Red Cross, United Way and numerous other boards and committees. Most recently, he can be found working on behalf of the Humane Society and as an advocate for Big Brothers/Big Sisters.

As a professional, Bob has led by example, blending strength, drive and determination with tremendous character, devotion and kindness. I admire Bob for his professional involvement and dedication to civil activities and service to

the community. He exemplifies what it means to be a citizen, having set a standard of excellence which serves as an example for others in the community.

I commend Robert B. Miller, Jr. for his many years of hard work and tireless devotion in making his community a better place to live, work and raise a family. And I congratulate him on being named Scene Magazine's 1999 Man of the Year.

INDO-AMERICAN HI-TECH LINKS

HON. JIM McDERMOTT

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. McDERMOTT. Mr. Speaker, we can all be justifiably proud of the fact that our nation is continuing its unparalleled record of economic growth. We can also be proud of the fact that our growth, which has benefited so many American citizens, rests in large measure on our hi-tech industries.

But how many of us recognize that our prosperity also rests in part on the intelligence, entrepreneurship and skills of many thousands of Indians, and Indo-Americans?

Let me provide my colleagues with some facts about how Indian trained software engineers, computer programmers and designers contribute to America's prosperity.

Indians own or run over 750 Silicon Valley firms that collectively employ over 16,000 people and have achieved over \$3.5 billion in sales.

Of the 115,000 visas given by the United States for skilled workers in 1999, 35,000 went to Indians.

The vast majority of India's \$4 billion in software sales last year went to American companies.

American firms like Hewlett-Packard, Microsoft, IBM and Oracle increasingly are looking to invest in India or purchase hi-tech products from India.

President Clinton recognizes the contributions India has made to America's economic growth. When he visits India later this month, he is expected to stop in the city of Hyderabad, one of the centers for India's growing hi-tech industry. His stop will dramatize India's rapid development as a cutting edge hi-tech nation and it is a confirmation that India and the United States have both greatly benefited from the business acumen of Indian entrepreneurs. It is also a recognition that our ties to India are far broader and far deeper than most observers believe.

Mr. Speaker, India is important to the United States. Our policies in that region should reflect this. That is why I am pleased to have had this opportunity to share the reason for being optimistic about the future of U.S.-Indian relations.

RETIREMENT TRIBUTE TO SYLVIA
McLAUGHLIN

HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to invite my colleagues

to join me in congratulating Sylvia McLaughlin on the occasion of her retirement after thirty-eight years of service to The Save San Francisco Bay Association and its Board of Directors, and recognizing her for her many years of dedicated public service.

In 1962 Sylvia McLaughlin was one of three founders of The Save San Francisco Bay Association, now called Save the Bay, which has worked for nearly four decades to protect and restore the Bay and Delta and to improve public access along its shoreline. The San Francisco Bay is one of the natural wonders of the world, where saltwater meets freshwater from the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers to form the largest estuarine system on the West Coast of North America. The Bay and Delta have suffered from 150 years of hydraulic mining, fresh water diversion, pollution, fill and shoreline development. For four decades Save the Bay has worked to reverse this trend, to keep the Bay alive and make it healthier. The Bay-Delta defines our region and contributes greatly to the San Francisco Bay's high quality of life, providing economic benefits as well as drinking water for more than two-thirds of California's population and irrigation for hundreds of crops.

Sylvia's work led to the creation of the Bay Conservation and Development Commission in 1965 and the adoption of the Bay Plan in 1969, inspiring several generations of grassroots conservationists. Sylvia has received international recognition for her efforts to protect and restore the San Francisco-Bay Delta and its shoreline—a rich web of natural life where hundreds of species of fish, birds, and other animals make their homes. Save the Bay is rededicating itself to a Century of Renewal as the year 2000 begins, restoring water quality, habitat, fisheries and public enjoyment of the Bay for generations to come.

Sylvia is retiring after thirty-eight years of service to Save the Bay and its Board of Directors. I know I speak for all the Members when I wish Sylvia McLaughlin a very happy and healthy retirement, and when I thank her for her unparalleled contributions to environmental protection and for her tireless efforts on behalf of the Bay and its residents.

INTERNATIONAL POPULATION ASSISTANCE

HON. SAM GEJDENSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. GEJDENSON. Mr. Speaker, soon we will be debating one of the most important foreign policy questions to come before the House this session—international population assistance.

This is a very important matter that will directly affect the quality of life of individuals and families around the world. It deserves careful attention by all Members. A recent issue of the magazine *Insight* included an article by Warner Fornos, the President of the Population Institute, that discusses this issue. The Population Institute is a nonprofit organization that seeks to bring the world's population into balance with our resource base and environment through equitable and voluntary means.

I believe the article by Mr. Fornos makes points that should be considered in the up-

coming appropriations debates. As a result, I am including it in the RECORD for the benefit of all Members.

[From the *Insight* magazine, Jan. 31, 2000]
QUESTION: SHOULD POPULATION CONTROL BE A PRIORITY FOR THE THIRD WORLD?

YES: VANISHING FORESTS AND WIDESPREAD FAMINES ARE SIGNS OF CRISIS IN MANY NATIONS
(By Warner Fornos)

The term "population control" has an unfortunate and misleading connotation. "Control" seems to infer force and coercion, which I categorically oppose on moral and ethical grounds. My opposition goes beyond mere semantics. There are those who would have us believe that all population and family-planning programs are rooted in force and coercion; that simply is untrue. At least some of those who peddle that particular bill of goods are snake-oil salesmen who know better or should.

Fertility rates have declined during the last 40 years, from six children per woman to slightly less than three. Anyone who honestly thinks that this is the result of force and coercion simply does not understand human nature or the limitations on the ability of governments to make people do—or, perhaps in this case, not do—something against their will. The magnitude of the power that would have to be exercised to influence the most personal of decisions so successfully during the last four decades simply defies the imagination.

Voluntary family-planning information, education and services should be universally available and accessible. According to the United Nations, there are some 350 million couples throughout the world who lack access to, or the means to acquire, modern contraceptives. An estimated 120 million of those couples would use safe and effective family-planning methods immediately if they were available. The Population Institute strives for universal access to a variety of family-planning methods.

In the last year, world population surpassed the 6 billion mark. World population is growing annually by nearly 80 million the equivalent of the population of Germany. Ninety-five percent of that growth takes place in the developing world, by definition the poorest countries in the world. There are 62 countries with populations on course to double in 30 years or less and 84 countries whose governments officially have stated that their birth rates are high.

There are a number of environmentalists who can produce voluminous scientific data to demonstrate that our planet already has exceeded its sustainable limits. Just for starters, they point to such chilling statistics as the following: 1.3 billion people live in absolute poverty on the equivalent of one U.S. dollar or less per day, 1.5 billion people lack access to an adequate supply of clean water and 790 million people go to bed hungry every night.

There are those who say that poverty, hunger and water issues really are social, economic, technological and political problems—not population problems. Certainly politics, economics and technology all fit into the poverty/hunger/misery equation, but when you see abandoned children begging for a scrap of bread in the streets of Lagos, Nigeria, or Lahore, India, or Lima, Peru, can anyone deny that these are children whose parents were unable to care for them? And think back to the 350 million couples who are unable to regulate their own fertility because they lack access to, or the means to obtain, family-planning information, education and services.

Almost from the inception of the development of national family-planning programs

some 40 to 45 years ago, the argument surfaced that there must first be economic stability before there can be a smaller-family-size norm. And, generally speaking, industrialized countries do tend to have fertility rates that are lower than those in less-developed countries.

I am a strong believer in the free-market system, though I have never been convinced that capitalism is the best contraceptive. But those who believe development must precede fertility reductions nearly always haul out the examples of Singapore and Hong Kong, two islands of capitalism in a less-developed region that have lowered their fertility rates. A little more homework reveals that both of those states were among the first to adopt family-planning programs back in the 1950s and 1960s. Meanwhile, Thailand, Indonesia and Sri Lanka are examples of countries where there have been considerable fertility declines before the advent of industrialization.

Pronatalists seem to view the Earth through a peculiar prism that blocks out human activity as a factor in forests vanishing, water scarcity, topsoil erosion, desert expansion, unprecedented global climate change and diminishing finite resources.

There is, however, a preponderance of solid evidence to refute claims that population growth no longer is a significant issue. For example, while world population climbed by 75 percent in the 20th century, an estimated 75 percent of global forested area was lost—much of it for living space, farmland and firewood, which still is the leading source of cooking and heating fuel in the developing world. In addition:

Nearly half a billion people around the world face water shortages and, by 2025, the number is expected to grow to 2.8 billion—35 percent of the projected world population of 8 billion for that year.

The 15 warmest years on record have occurred during the last 21 years and all major scientific bodies acknowledge that climate change now is under way. According to the International Panel on Climate Change, a two-thirds reduction in global carbon-dioxide emissions would be required to avoid a doubling of atmospheric concentrations that may jeopardize food production, the Earth's biodiversity and entire ecosystems, as well as human health.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture notes that since the mid-20th century the world's population has soared by 132 percent, while the world's cropland has increased by only 19 percent.

Complications relating to pregnancy and childbirth are among the leading causes of mortality among reproductive-age women in many parts of the developing world. Nearly 600,000 women die each year of pregnancy-related causes—about one every minute—99 percent of them in developing countries.

An estimated 160 million children today are considered to be malnourished. A recent report by the International Food Policy Research Institute estimates that 20 years from now the number of malnourished will decline to 135 million—a decrease of only 15 percent.

Ten million children died before reaching their fifth birthday in 1998, and nearly 8 million of them did not reach their first birthday. About 98 percent of child deaths occurred in developing countries, with the least-developed countries accounting for a third of all deaths under age 5.

Thirty million new jobs must be found each year for the next 50 years in order to keep pace with projected population growth, according to a special report by the Worldwatch Institute.

At the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, or ICPD, 179 nations approved the Cairo Program of Action, a blueprint for preventing world population from doubling again as it has in the

last 40 years. To achieve a sustainable future, it is important to implement the Cairo document—especially in the areas of ensuring universal access to family planning; achieving greater male responsibility in sexual and reproductive behavior and parenthood; and eradicating female illiteracy and increasing employment opportunities for women, both of which would lead to gender equality and smaller family size.

They key to implementing the ICPD Program for Action is the mobilization of resources for population and family planning programs. It appears unlikely that the ICPD goal of raising \$17 billion for reproductive health and family-planning activities by this year will be reached. According to a report by the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health, the consequences of the failure to meet this goal include: an estimated additional 42 million unintended pregnancies, 17 million induced abortions and 90,000 maternal deaths.

By cutting back on its international population assistance from nearly \$600 million in fiscal 1995 to \$385 million in the current fiscal year, the U.S. government has ill-served the cause of stabilizing world population. As the world's only remaining superpower, the United States has abrogated its leadership in one of the most crucial issues of our time. The result has been a domino effect, with other nations choosing to follow the U.S. lead and reduce their population-assistance budgets. There is a ray of hope that the situation will change. The White House has signaled that it will seek to restore U.S. international population spending to its fiscal 1995 level of nearly \$600 million. Additionally, Congress, after failing to appropriate any contribution at all to the U.N. Fund for Population Activities in fiscal 1999, has voted to contribute \$25 million to the fund in fiscal 2000 and again in fiscal 2001.

In the final analysis, it is the childbearing decisions of 3 billion young people—who will reach their reproductive years within the next generation—that ultimately will determine whether world population will level off at the lowest possible figure that can be reached through voluntary family planning and humane interventions. At stake will be the kind of world they want for themselves and their children.

MEDICARE BOARD—HISTORY SHOWS IT'S A BAD IDEA

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, S. 1895, the Premium Support Medicare reform bill being pushed by PhRMA, many HMOs and private insurers proposes a revolutionary change in the administration of the program. It proposes to set up a seven-person board to administer the program and to control the existing Medicare Program within the Department of Health and Human Services. Presumably many of the people pushing the idea expect to be on the board, as part of a plan to turn Medicare over to private interests.

Guess what? A Board of seven people doing the job now done by one administrator will not be as efficient or cheap as the current program.

Who says? History.

Following is a portion of a memo from the Library of Congress's Congressional Research Service that describes our Nation's experience

with a Social Security board between 1935 and 1937. As the memo reports,

* * * The board system led to indecision, delay, and guerrilla warfare among certain of the top staff and their followers within the bureau.

Those who don't learn from history are condemned to repeat the mistakes of the past. A board is a bad idea of a way to run a \$220 billion government agency.

SOCIAL SECURITY BOARD AS CASE STUDY

The Social Security program is unusual in that throughout its more than half century of existence it has been administered by a full-time, three member board and by a single administrator. It has enjoyed a status as an independent agency, as that term is used in this report, a unit within an independent agency, and finally, an agency within an executive department. It is also unusual in that there is a study available on the administrative history of its brief period being managed by a full-time board, a situation not unlike that being proposed in S. 1895. What follows briefly outlines the complex of events and decisions related to its early organization and operations.

During the 73rd Congress, the first of the New Deal, various pension and unemployment bills were introduced. President Franklin Roosevelt, in response to this interest, established (by Executive Order 6757) a Committee on Economic Security (CES). The Committee consisted of federal officials and was chaired by the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins. The Committee was supported by a Technical Board headed by Arthur Altmeyer, and an Advisory Council consisting of 23 labor, employer, and public representatives. Both the Technical Board and the Advisory Council had subcommittees. The CES had a research staff, headed by Edwin Witte, that was used jointly by the full committee, the Technical Board, and the Advisory Council.¹⁸

The CES and its support groups met for six months and submitted its report to the President.¹⁹ While not all the recommendations of the CES were ultimately to be included in the Social Security Act, the Act did incorporate the basic recommendations of the Committee.

The bulk of CES's discussion and its report was concerned with substantive matters respecting old-age insurance and unemployment compensation. Relatively little discussion was forthcoming on administrative organization. On the administration of the Social Security program, the CES recommended the following to the President.

The creation of a social insurance board within the Department of Labor, to be appointed by the President and with terms to insure continuity of administration, is recommended to administer the Federal unemployment compensation act and the system of federal contributory old age annuities.

Full responsibility for the safeguarding and investment of all social insurance funds, we recommend, should be vested in the Security of the Treasury.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration is recommended as the most appropriate existing agency for the administration of non-contributory old-age pensions and grants-in-aid to dependent children. If this agency should be abolished, the President should designate the distribution of its work.

It is recommended that all social welfare activities of the Federal Government be coordinated and systematized.²⁰

The President submitted a bill to Congress in January 1935, and it was given immediate consideration. When the bill emerged from the House Ways and Means Committee, there had been major alterations. As related in Paul Douglas's extended legislative history:

The administrative responsibilities were, in certain vital respects, altered. The Social Security Board was removed from the Department of Labor and was given independent powers of appointing and fixing the compensation of members of its staff. This was, of course, a defeat for the secretary of Labor. The administration of the grants for old age pensions, or old age assistance, was taken from the Federal Relief Administration, as was originally proposed, and was given instead to the Social Security Board. This board was also entrusted with the work of supervising and directing the systems of old age insurance and unemployment insurance. A relative unification of social insurance functions in an independent body was, therefore, proposed. The Board's powers were also increased by giving to it, rather than the Relief Administration, the administration of the allowances for dependent children, and the so-called mother's pensions. The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, however, was still kept in charge of grants for the health care of mothers and infants and of those for crippled children.²¹

When the bill was considered by the Senate Finance Committee, the Social Security Board was again placed under the Department of Labor instead of being independent. Justification for this switch was that in most other nations the administration of old age insurance was under a labor department and because administrative costs would be less under a department. The Committee was opposed to creating new, independent agencies with functions closely related to those of an existing department.²²

In conference committee, the location of the agency was shifted once again, this time to an independent status, a status that remained in the finally approved bill. The social Security Board (Board) was outlined in Title VII of the Social Security Act (49 Stat. 620). The Board consisted of three members, not more than two were to be from the same political party. They were to be full-time officers of the federal government. Their staggered terms were to be six years in duration. The chairman of the Board was to be appointed by the President. The Board was to organize its own staff and fix necessary compensation.

The CES stated, in its backup papers, that:

The advantages of an independent board were considered numerous and important. The membership of the board should include outstanding persons in the field of social insurance administration whose services could be procured with difficulty if they were offered positions as lesser officials in any department. In the interests of the insured population, both in the formulation of regulations and in the development of new policies and practices, the board should be a non-political organization, protected as far as possible from political influence, even such as might arise from an executive department under a politically minded administration.²³

²⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

²¹ Paul E. Douglas, *Social Security in the United States: An Analysis and Appraisal of the Federal Social Security Act* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1936), pp. 105-06.

²² Ibid., p. 114.

²³ U.S. Social Security Board [for the Committee on Economic Security], *Social Security in America: The Factual Background of the Social Security as*

¹⁸ For a discussion and diagram of the organization of the Committee on Economic Security, consult: Mary Trackett Reynolds, *Interdepartmental Committees in the National Administration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939), pp. 28-43.

¹⁹ U.S. Committee on Economic Security, *Report to the President* (Washington: GPO, 1935).

In point of fact, a reading of the major writings of the formative period of the Social Security program provides little evidence as to why the decision was made to have the agency be "independent" or be administered by a three-member board.²⁴ The impressionistic view emerges that the Board concept was simply a way to continue the plural leadership that had led the supporting groups coalition in gaining political support for the Committee's legislation.²⁵ "The Social Security Board was in a double sense a continuation of the Committee on Economic Security," according to McKinley and Frase. "Not only were its activities an application of the new functions envisaged by that investigating committee, but the staff with which the board began was carried over from the committee."²⁶

The Social Security Board was established more than a year after the three-member full-time Board of the TVA had been in operation. The SSB had observed and assessed the early experience of the TVA Board. According to McKinley and Frase:

The three members of the SSB decided early that they would avoid the mistakes apparently being made by the directors of the TVA, who had parceled out functions among themselves. Instead they would confine their activities to policy problems, delegating administrative tasks to a chief administrator who would report to and be responsible to the board.²⁷

From the outset, however, there was no clear demarcation of responsibility between the Board and the executive director, so that conflict ensued. "The board consistently violated its own decision to stick to policy questions. This was particularly true in the appointment of personnel."²⁸ Changes in Board membership did not alter this situation. McKinley and Frase assert that the early board members never seriously regarded the executive director as the administrative head of the organization with a distinct administrative authority of his own. Board members felt it was their right and duty to intervene directly in administrative matters.²⁹ The intervention of the Board notwithstanding, there was a general shift of powers toward the executive director's office during the first two years.³⁰

Among the closest students of the early years of the Social Security Board were McKinley and Frase. While they were reluctant to offer conclusive statements on most elements of the Social Security programs, they were not reticent in their opinion of the Board structure:

By the end of March 1937, only one major administrative conclusion appeared clearly warranted: namely, that the board structure was inadequate for operating the social security program. Winant, Miles, and Bane were emphatic in their judgment that a board was unsuited to this task, and even Altmeyer

joined in a formal board conclusion to this effect. The authors had reached the same conclusion.³¹

A detailed assessment of the Board's operations was offered by McKinley and Frase and deserves to be printed in full:

As an administrative device for making policy decisions and directing operations during this period, the board system led to indecision, delay, and guerrilla warfare among certain of the top staff and their followers within the bureau. The frequent and interminable board meetings during the first eight months particularly reflect the difficulty of three men reaching conclusions that were often about small matters. A single administrator may carry within his breast many conflicting desires and vacillating impulses; but he resolves these without the necessity of revealing the full extent of his uncertainty or confusion. But a three-man board undertaking such a function cannot escape the exhibition of conflict or vacillation in long discussions which threaten to become endless if the men are, as these were, particularly sincere in their desire to launch successfully the administration of an agency charged with duties they regarded as of the highest public importance. * * *

There were two other possibilities of board organization that might have avoided existing and potential difficulties. Both involved the abandonment of the distinction between policy and administration. The first would have been to parcel out the duties among the three members, making each responsible for the administration of one segment of the board's functions. Something like this had been done in the Railroad Retirement Board, and Latimer though it worked very well. It had also been followed in the case of the TVA which was, however, experiencing widely publicized difficulty on that account during 1936-1937. It is not clear what kind of tripartite division the board might have attempted with the best hope of administrative success, and this system requires a great deal of mutual trust if action is to be expedited. But if such trust is mutually accorded their arise difficulties that have dogged the path of the commission form of city government—a tacit conspiracy to refrain from scrutinizing the acts of each other resulting in no central responsibility for administrative behavior.

The second possibility presented more likelihood of success. That would have been an arrangement by which the chairman became the recognized administrative head of the organization, with the other members content to play minor roles. But that plan would need a peculiar combination of personalities which the original board did not have. * * *

One other observation about the board as an administrative device may be made here. During the closing weeks of this study [Chairman] Winant's resignation left the board with only two members. This gap was unfilled for some months because Latimer, whom the President had nominated, was not confirmed by the Senate. During this time, differences between the two remaining members threatened the board with stalemate on important questions. This check-and-balance system, with its concomitant delay or horse-trading agreement, was implicit in an incomplete board structure, as was the carrying of tales to the Hill by Miles when he became sufficiently vexed or disappointed to want to indulge in that form of pressure.

Our account of the executive director has shown there was an accretion of power in

that office not only because of his position of command over the regional office organization but also because of the gravitation of functions from various bureaus into his hands. This last development seemed to be an indication of the faulty division of duties promulgated by the board in its last organization chart of December 4, 1935. * * *³²

The problems associated with the Social Security Board and the TVA board as an organizational category led to something of a counterthrust in the late 1930s. As he entered his second term, Franklin Roosevelt became more interested in organizational management. "The administrative management of the Government," he said, "needs overhauling." The President, in his message to Congress transmitting the Report of the President's Committee on Administrative Management (Brownlow Committee), complained of the difficulties of supervising the activities of over 100 separate departments, boards, corporations, commissions, authorities, and agencies.

The Brownlow Committee Report attacked not only the proliferation of independent agencies, "a fourth branch of government," but the concept of boards as well.

For purposes of management, boards and commissions have turned out to be failures. Their mechanism is inevitably slow, cumbersome, wasteful, and ineffective, and does not lend itself readily to cooperation with other agencies. Even strong men on boards find that their individual opinions are watered down in reaching board decisions. * * *

The conspicuously well-managed units in the Government are almost always without exception headed by single administrators.³³

The Report then called for a regrouping of independent agencies under departments.

A high point for the concept of departmental integration was reached in 1971 when President Richard Nixon proposed to create four new domestic departments in the place of the existing seven programmatic departments and integrate into these new departments a number of existing independent agencies and their programs. One of the new departments would have been a Department of Human Resources which would have been based on the Department of Health, Education and Welfare but would have been expanded through the transfer of several agencies and programs to the new department. The key administrative element of the new Department would have been three Administrations, one for Health, another for Human Development, and a third for Income Security. Under the Administration for Human Development would have been Education, Manpower and Social Services. No action by Congress on these presidentially initiated legislative proposals was forthcoming.

Since 1971, the majority of proposals for changing the structure of the executive branch have been away from greater departmental integration. Most proposals have been to create more, and generally smaller departments, breaking up existing departments, creating new agencies, generally outside the departmental structure, new government corporations and enterprises, and relatively unaccountable entities in the quasi government. The pendulum has definitely swung away from departmental integration and toward agency dispersion.

Summarized from Staff Reports of the Committee on Economic Security (Washington: GPO, 1937), p. 209.

²⁴ "It can be said with assurance that in the collection of information and the drafting of the suggested legislation, the Committee on Economic Security had been much less concerned with foreseeing administrative problems and devices than with the substantive content of law." Charles McKinley and Robert W. Frase, *Launching Social Security: A Capture-and-Record Account, 1935-1937* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), p. 17.

²⁵ Jerry R. Cates, *Insuring Inequality: Administrative Leadership in Social Security, 1935-1954* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1963), pp. 25-26.

²⁶ McKinley and Frase, *Launching Social Security*, p. 18.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 382.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 386.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 389-90.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 474. John G. Winant, chairman of the Social Security Board; Vincent Miles, member of the Social Security Board; Arthur Altmeyer, member of the Social Security Board; and Frank Bane, Executive Director, Social Security Board.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 477-78.

³³ U.S. President's Committee on Administrative Management, *Report with Special Studies* (Washington: GPO, 1937), p. 32.

IN HONOR OF RABBI ARTHUR SCHNEIER ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 70TH BIRTHDAY

HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay special tribute to Rabbi Arthur Schneier, an international leader for religious freedom and tolerance and a role model and inspiration to the world. I ask my colleagues to join me in celebrating his 70th birthday by expressing our nation's deep appreciation and gratitude for his life and work.

Rabbi Schneier has displayed an unshakable dedication to human rights and religious freedom, and a deep devotion to justice and decency for all people. Spiritual leader of the historic landmark Park East Synagogue since 1962, Rabbi Schneier has acted as a diplomat and envoy for four U.S. Presidents. He has served as Chairman of the U.S. Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad. He was selected by President Clinton to be one of three U.S. religious leaders to meet with President Jiang Zemin and top leaders of the Chinese Government to enter into the first official dialogue on religious freedom in China. Among many other contributions to U.S. diplomacy, Mr. Speaker, Rabbi Schneier negotiated and successfully completed bilateral agreements with the Czech and Slovak Republics, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia, and Ukraine.

Rabbi Schneier is certainly one of this century's great human rights leaders, Mr. Speaker. In 1965, he established the Appeal of Conscience Foundation, an ecumenical coalition of business and religious leaders, advocating mutual understanding, tolerance and peace. Rabbi Schneier has contributed greatly to the peaceful emergence of new democracies in Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe. Through spiritual wisdom, perseverance, and leadership, Rabbi Schneier has quelled ethnic conflict the world over, protecting minorities and securing the reign of peace.

I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that those in the midst of chaos and destruction, in the aftermath of earthquakes in Turkey and Armenia, floods in Romania, and natural disasters around the globe, rejoiced in the aid Rabbi Schneier was able to provide through organization, inspiration, and faith. His work provided hope to thousands and saved lives in times of great need and suffering.

Rabbi Schneier is an inspiration to all who aspire to lives of hope, peace, and understanding. His convictions are noble and immutable. His faith and his devotion to peace remain undeterred. His influence around the world is a blessing to human kind. Mr. Speaker, I salute the life and work of Rabbi Arthur Schneier and I ask my fellow Members of Congress to join me in recognizing Rabbi Schneier's contributions to the New York community, to our great country, and to the world.

HONORING MR. THOMAS W. FISCHER

HON. STENY H. HOYER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize the dedicated service of Special Agent Thomas W. Fischer to the people of the United States. Mr. Fischer entered the Naval Criminal Investigative Service in 1977 and demonstrated early in his career that he possessed ambition and integrity that would lead him into a successful lifelong career. Special Agent Fischer began his enforcement career on February 27, 1967, with the Baltimore City Police Department. He served honorably and with valor for 10 years. Due to his considerable skills, tact, courage, and dedication to duty, he was promoted from patrolman to detective, tactical sergeant, detective sergeant, and lieutenant (select). While serving with the Baltimore City Police Department, Thomas W. Fischer received nine official commendations for valor and meritorious service.

In 1977 Thomas W. Fischer began a career in Federal law enforcement as a Special Agent with the Naval Criminal Investigative Service. His first assignment was at the Maryland State Capitol in Annapolis. As a seasoned law enforcement veteran he was quickly recognized as a rising star and leader. Continuing in his remarkable career, during the Iranian crisis, Thomas W. Fischer was assigned as the only civilian Federal agent aboard the U.S.S. *Dwight D. Eisenhower*. Tom set the NCIS Special Agent longevity record for at-sea time as a Special Agent Afloat (SAA), with 247 days at sea out of 255 days on deployment. This record remains to this day.

Following his exploits at sea, Special Agent Fischer was assigned briefly to the NCIS office in Washington, DC. In 1981 Special Agent Fischer, ever in search of a challenge, transferred to NAS Cubi Point, the Philippines. After only a year, he was promoted to Squad Leader for the Foreign Counterintelligence (FCI) Squad, Subic Bay. He was subsequently promoted to the position of Assistant Regional Director (FCI) for the Regional NCIS Office, Philippines. In June 1985 Special Agent Fischer accepted an assignment as the Assistant Special Agent in Charge for FCI at the NCIS office at Long Beach, CA. In August 1986, Tom transferred to NCIS Headquarters where he served as a Senior Staff Assistant to the Director as the Special Agent Afloat Program Manager.

In 1987, Special Agent Fischer made history while assigned to the Bobsled Task Force investigating Marine Security Guard espionage activity. Special Agent Fischer traveled to Moscow, U.S.S.R. where he conducted interviews and other inquiries at the American Embassy.

In September 1987, continuing supervisory ascent, Mr. Fischer was named Deputy Special Agent in Charge of the NCIS office in Washington, DC. In October 1988, Special Agent Fischer was named Special Agent in Charge of the Regional Fraud Unit, National Capitol Region, Washington DC. During June 1991, Special Agent Fischer assumed duties as the Deputy Regional Director of the NCIS European Region London, United Kingdom.

He was then promoted to Regional Director where he served with distinction until his selection as Assistant Director for Inspections in May 1994.

During the past 6 years, Mr. Fischer, as an Assistant Director, has brought vision, candor, and insight to many issues instrumental in building the NCIS of today. Special Agent Fischer served honorably and served as a role model and leader for an entire agent corps, who by living according to his high standard, remains as his lasting legacy to the organization he so nobly served.

Special Agent Fischer's career, which includes active duty service in the U.S. Armed Forces from March 1962 to September 1965, spans five decades of service to the people of the United States.

COMMENDING ANTI-DRUG EFFORTS OF STATIONS KEZI, KMTR, KVAL, KEVU AND KLSR

HON. PETER A. DeFAZIO

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. DeFAZIO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to call attention to an unprecedented cooperative campaign by several television stations in my congressional district. Earlier this year, stations in Eugene, OR, set aside competition and simulcast a half-hour documentary on the effects of drug abuse, "Drug Wars: One Family's Battle." The documentary was produced by Medford Oregon-based Crime Prevention Resources.

In addition, three stations—KEZI, KMTR and KVAL—also sponsored and simultaneously broadcast a special 1 hour town hall meeting that featured individual stories, a panel of experts and telephone call-ins, all discussing the impacts of drug abuse and methods to combat the problem. This locally simulcast townhall was a first in our community and possibly the nation.

I congratulate and commend these stations and the community on this collaborative and innovative endeavor to combat the serious problem of drug abuse. By saturating our local airwaves for a short time, they were able to ensure this anti-drug message reached the widest possible audience. This impressive feat should be a model for the nation.

Winning the war on drugs requires an extraordinary effort from the grassroots level up. I encourage my colleagues to pursue a similar effort with television stations in their respective congressional districts. It is a unique and rewarding opportunity to work together towards the common goal of ending drug abuse in our communities.

Again, I salute the efforts of these television stations on their historic effort.

IN HONOR OF MAYOR ROBERT ROSEGARTEN

HON. GARY L. ACKERMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. ACKERMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Robert Rosegarten upon his

retirement as mayor of the village of Great Neck, NY, on Friday, March 24th.

Mayor Rosegarten's work in Great Neck has been recognized on both the national and State level. His work to revitalize the downtown Great Neck shopping area is a model for local municipalities nationwide. Under the mayor's dynamic supervision, the village of Great Neck has not only experienced financial success, but is also highly regarded for its aesthetic beauty. Mayor Rosegarten's service to the community will undoubtedly be used as a measuring stick for future Great Neck public officials.

Prior to his distinguished service as mayor of Great Neck for the past 8 years, Mr. Rosegarten held the position of deputy mayor of Great Neck for 8 years and was also a village trustee for 2 years. Mayor Rosegarten has further distinguished himself in the Great Neck community as president of the Great Neck Village Officials Association, commissioner of the Great Neck Central Police Auxiliary and member of the executive board of Great Neck's United Community Fund.

In addition to his work in the village of Great Neck, Mayor Rosegarten has been a successful executive in the advertising industry for over a quarter of a century.

Robert Rosegarten is an avid sculptor and painter, whose art works have gained wide attention by appearing in many local galleries on Long Island. Mayor Rosegarten is a dedicated husband, a loving father of three sons and a proud grandfather to six grandchildren.

Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues in the House of Representatives to join me today in honoring Robert Rosegarten as he completes another milestone in his career and in wishing him many more years of active service to his family and his community.

THE 44TH ANNIVERSARY OF
TUNISIA'S INDEPENDENCE

HON. FLOYD SPENCE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate the citizens of the Republic of Tunisia on the occasion of their 44th anniversary of independence. Despite its diminutive size, Tunisia has exerted a sizeable presence in North Africa, the Middle East, Europe, and North America for many centuries.

Indeed, the United States and Tunisia have enjoyed a remarkable relationship for over 200 years. In fact, we continue to honor a 1797 treaty with the Republic of Tunisia that calls for perpetual and constant peace.

Our relationship with Tunisia has survived civil, regional, and global conflict—growing stronger with every challenge. During World War II, Tunisia supported United States and allied forces as they landed in North Africa. In the ensuing cold war, Tunisia established itself as a steadfast ally in the strategically critical Mediterranean Sea. In the post-cold war years, the Republic of Tunisia has remained our friend and taken steps to develop closer military and economic ties with European allies and NATO.

Today, the Republic of Tunisia continues to make progress toward democracy. Tunisian citizens enjoy universal suffrage, and the na-

tion is considered by many to be a leader among Muslim nations in safeguarding the rights of women and children. Indeed, Tunisia has come so far, so fast, that it is sometimes easy to forget that Tunisia was a French protectorate as recently as 1954, and only gained full independence on March 20, 1956.

The United States was the first great power to recognize Tunisia's independence in 1956, and in keeping with this tradition I would like to be the first to congratulate the Republic of Tunisia on its 44th anniversary of independence this March 20th. I urge my colleagues to join me in honoring Tunisia on this momentous occasion.

WENDELL H. FORD AVIATION INVESTMENT AND REFORM ACT FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

SPEECH OF

HON. ELIJAH E. CUMMINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 15, 2000

Mr. CUMMINGS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of the rule and the underlying bill.

Chairman SHUSTER, Ranking Member OBERSTAR and Representatives DUNCAN and LIPINSKI have worked hard to ensure that funds collected in the aviation trust fund are protected and used to support our Nation's aviation system only.

This bill sends a strong message to the American people that we care about improving their lives.

Provisions in this bill:

- authorize desperately needed funds to improve airport infrastructure, to reduce congestion, delays and improve safety;
- enforce passenger's rights;
- establish whistle blower protections for airline employees; and
- improve airline competition.

Again, this bill sends a strong message to airline passengers, airline companies, and our States and that we as a Congress are committed to ensuring safe and efficient air travel.

LIFE AND DEATH: IT'S YOUR CHOICE IN SURGERY OR "HIGH VOLUME EQUALS BETTER RESULTS"

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, the March 1 issue of the Journal of the American Medical Association contains further documentation of life-saving importance: if you are going to have surgery, have it in a hospital that does a lot of it: your chances of survival and good health are much better.

Put another way: avoid hospitals that can't do the procedure in their sleep.

As public policy makers, we should encourage, in every way possible, our constituents and Medicare beneficiaries to seek out the high volume hospitals and avoid the low volume hospitals. The President's Medicare reform proposals move us in that direction.

It really is a matter of life and death. The JAMA article follows:

HIGH-RISK SURGERY—FOLLOW THE CROWD

(John D. Birkmeyer, MD)

Each year a large number of patients die following elective surgery. In the Medicare population alone, 17,000 patients died in 1995 after undergoing 10 types of elective procedures, such as coronary artery by-pass surgery, carotid endarterectomy, and lung resection.¹ Quality improvement initiatives at the local and regional levels may be important for reducing mortality at individual hospitals,^{2,3} but, for many procedures, choosing at which hospitals surgery is performed may be equally important for improving surgical quality.

The idea of concentrating high-risk surgical procedures in high-volume hospitals is not new. Since seminal work by Luft et al⁴ 2 decades ago, large, population-based studies have consistently demonstrated better outcomes at high-volume centers for cardiovascular surgery, major cancer resections, solid organ transplantation, and other high-risk procedures.^{5,8} Lower surgical mortality at high-volume hospitals does not simply reflect the presence of more skillful surgeons and fewer technical errors with the procedure itself. More likely, it reflects more proficiency with all aspects of care underlying successful surgery, including patient selection, anesthesia, and postoperative care.

In this issue of the Journal, Dudley and colleagues⁹ are among the first to estimate how many lives could be saved by regionalization ("selective referral") at the population level. Based on careful review of the extensive volume-outcome literature, they used explicit criteria to identify the single highest-quality study for each surgical procedure or clinical condition that could be considered for regionalization. (The volume-outcome literature is too heterogeneous for formal meta-analysis.) Statistically significant relationships between hospital volume and mortality were identified for 10 procedures and 1 medical condition (care for patients which human immunodeficiency virus infection/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome). For example, compared with those at high-volume hospitals, patients undergoing abdominal aortic aneurysm repair at low-volume hospitals (30 or fewer procedures per year) were 64% more likely to die following surgery; children undergoing heart surgery at low-volume hospitals (fewer than 100 procedures per year) were 42% more likely to die. The authors used 1997 California hospital discharge data to estimate the potential benefit of moving patients from low-volume hospitals to higher-volume centers. For 10 surgical procedures alone, it is estimated that regionalization would prevent as many as 500 deaths each year in California. If extrapolated to the nation as a whole, this estimate translates to more than 4000 deaths averted each year.

Two cautions are necessary in interpreting the findings of this study. First, the authors' estimates of the benefits likely to be achieved by regionalization are no more reliable than the volume-outcome studies on which they are based. Much of this literature is outdated or skewed by results from a small number of national referral centers. Additional generalizable, population-based studies are needed. Second, analysis of California data may overestimate the decrease in mortality rates likely to be achieved by regionalization elsewhere. Because California has few restrictions on where surgical care may be delivered, more patients may be

References at end of article.

undergoing high-risk surgery in low-volume hospitals there. In 1 study, 65% of coronary artery bypass graft operations performed in California in 1989 occurred at low-volume hospitals (<200 procedures/year).¹⁰ In New York State, which has stricter Certificate of Need regulations based in part on volume criteria, only 20% of these procedures were performed at low-volume hospitals that year.¹⁰ More information is needed about how other high-risk procedures are being delivered in other parts of the country.

Concentrating surgery in selected referral centers would facilitate the monitoring of outcomes at individual hospitals. Many high-risk procedures are performed too infrequently to achieve statistical precision with mortality rates, particularly at low-volume hospitals. For example, what inferences could be made about outcomes at a hospital performing 3 esophagectomies a year? By concentrating selected procedures in a relatively small number of high-volume hospitals, it would be more feasible to measure outcomes aside from mortality, such as nonfatal complications, patient functional status, and costs. The ability to monitor surgical outcomes systematically would make hospitals more accountable and create ideal platforms for quality improvement initiatives.

How can the proportion of elective but high-risk procedures being performed in high-volume hospitals be increased? The least intrusive approach may be to focus on educating patients about the importance of hospital volume for specific procedures and to recommend that patients acquire this information from the hospital that they are considering for surgery. Although many hospitals do not have data on their own procedure-related morbidity and mortality rates, all hospitals should be able to provide information on the number of procedures (of a given type) they perform each year.

More active strategies also could be implemented. Leaders of large, integrated health plans could designate referral centers for selected procedures and enforce their appropriate use. Professional societies also could take a role in regionalization. For example, the American College of Surgeons Committee on Trauma has established regional trauma networks, encouraging referral of the most severely injured trauma patients to designated trauma centers that meet established process and volume criteria.¹¹ Through reimbursement mechanisms, large payers (both government and private) have substantial leverage to limit surgery to high-volume hospitals. For example, the Health Care Financing Administration is currently exploring the development of exclusive contracts with "centers of excellence" for cardiac surgery and total joint replacement for Medicare patients.¹² In addition, through the Certificate of Need process, states can reduce the proportion of surgery being performed in low-volume hospitals by limiting the proliferation of new surgical centers.¹³

Many would argue that regionalizing high-risk surgery would have adverse effects, particularly in rural areas. For patients living far from referral centers, elective surgery could create unreasonable logistical problems for patients and their families. With excessive travel burdens, some patients may even decline surgery altogether.¹⁴ Regionalizing surgery also could interfere with continuity of care because many aspects of post-operative care, including dealing with the late complications or other sequelae of surgery, would be left to local physicians who were not involved with the surgery. Regionalization could reduce access to health care for rural patients by threatening the financial viability of local hospitals or their abil-

ity to recruit and retain surgeons. Even if regionalization had no effect on the availability of local clinicians, it could reduce their proficiency in delivering emergency care that must be handled locally. For example, the local general surgeon no longer allowed to perform elective repair of abdominal aortic aneurysms could be less prepared for emergency surgery involving a ruptured aneurysm.

However, these problems may not be as important as they were once assumed to be. Most low-volume hospitals are not located in sparsely populated rural areas; they are more commonly located in hospital-dense metropolitan areas, often in close proximity to high-volume referral centers.¹⁰ In the analysis by Dudley et al.,⁹ 75% of California patients undergoing surgery at low-volume centers in 1997 would have needed to travel fewer than 25 additional miles to the nearest high-volume hospital. In fact, 25% of patients traveled farther to undergo surgery at a low-volume hospital. These data suggest that a substantial degree of regionalization could occur without separating patients and surgeons or surgical centers by prohibitive distances.

With any regulatory attempt to regionalize high-risk surgery, policy makers need to be ready for a political firestorm. Many low-volume hospitals, already under significant financial pressures, would balk at relinquishing surgical revenue and would worry that regionalizing selected high-risk procedures would later lead to restrictions on other procedures. These hospitals also would worry about being branded as second class by patients. Many surgeons required to give up part of their practices—even a small part—would view regionalization as an affront to their professional judgment and competence.

Although some physicians and some institutions would resist regionalization, the potential benefits for patients are too large to ignore. Given the current ad hoc approach to delivering high-risk surgery, it seems that almost any effort aimed at concentrating these procedures in high-volume hospitals would be an improvement.

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IN HONOR OF MY FRIEND, THE
LATE DICK SELBY

HON. SAM FARR

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. FARR of California. Mr. Speaker, today I honor a man who dedicated his life to democratic causes and was an avid participant in local Democratic Party politics. Richard Selby passed away unexpectedly on January 6, 2000 at the age of 73.

A native of Oakland, Dick was involved in national as well as international affairs. He was a former representative of the International Monetary fund and also served as a U.S. Foreign Service Officer. On the national front, Dick was a retired lieutenant colonel in the Air Force Reserve and was active in both the National Association of Retired Federal Employees (NARFE) and the Retired Officers Association. In his capacity as legislative liaison for the local NARFE Chapter, Dick kept the membership well-informed about current federal legislative issues. Locally, Dick was the chairman of the Santa Cruz Veterans Memorial Building's board of directors.

Dick was a tireless volunteer in community affairs and Democratic campaigns. He was an avid letter writer and was known for his candor and wit.

Richard Selby will be greatly missed by those who knew him personally and professionally. Dick is survived by his wife Mary Selby of Aptos; five daughters, Leigh and Anne Selby, both of Aptos; Lynn Selby of San Francisco; Cindy Shaner of Wooster, Ohio; Robyn Barker of Sugarland, Texas and his brother Alan Selby of Santa Rosa.

FEC REFORM

HON. STENY H. HOYER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, today, with my fellow House Administration Committee Democrats, CHAKA FATTAH, and JIM DAVIS, I am introducing a new bill to accomplish FEC reform.

Let me be clear—this bill is not and does not pretend to be campaign finance reform. Instead it is about making the Federal Election Commission more efficient, effective and responsive, and providing the agency with full funding so it can properly carry out its congressional mandate. It is about FEC reform.

The bill consists of provisions sought by the bipartisan FEC Commissioners, including six legislative changes the Republican and Democratic Commissioners agreed were of the highest priority in a letter they sent to the President and the Congress earlier this month. This

is a consensus measure that also incorporates many of the excellent ideas put forth by House Administration Committee Chairman BILL THOMAS in his bill that was unanimously voted out of the House Administration Committee last summer.

In a letter I sent to the Speaker last September, I urged him to take up and pass the similarly bipartisan measure then before the Congress. I urge him again to quickly take up this matter. This bill is an opportunity for us to work together to achieve a type of reform we all agree is both necessary and important, by providing the FEC with the tools and funding to do its job.

TRIBUTE TO DYANNE LADINE

HON. ANNA G. ESHOO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a distinguished American and proud Californian, Dyanne Ladine, on the occasion of her induction into the San Mateo County Women's Hall of Fame.

For more than three decades, Dyanne Ladine has focused her energy and expertise on helping those in our community who have the fewest resources and face the greatest challenges. Her degrees in law, business and religion have made her an effective and resourceful individual. She practiced law for ten years and today is an Assistant Professor of Business at the College of Notre Dame and serves as a part-time staff member for Supervisor Rose Jacobs Gibson.

In 1986, Dyanne Ladine secured a State grant and created "Project Success", which focused on the economic and educational needs of the African-American, Latino and Pacific Islander communities. In 1988, when all but five of the participants had found employment, Dyanne Ladine sold her home in Palo Alto and invested the profit in her principles. She moved to East Palo Alto where she created "Lettuce Work", a culturally diverse community cooperative which has employed fifteen women over a six-year period. In 1990, Dyanne Ladine co-convened "EPA CAN DO", which continues today as a viable and important community organization. She recently organized a two-day event for 100 East Palo Alto Junior High School girls to tour the College of Notre Dame and participate with the student body in sports and discussion.

Dyanne Ladine has frequently been recognized for her extraordinary work. She is proudest about being chosen "Teacher of the Year—1998" by her students and peers. She continues to work on numerous projects aimed at improving the lives of those around her and she is always a voice of wisdom and reason as well as an untiring, passionate crusader for justice.

Dyanne Ladine's life of leadership and community involvement is instructive to us all. Her dedication to the ideals of democracy and public service stands tall and it is fitting that she has been chosen to be inducted into the San Mateo County Women's Hall of Fame. I ask my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, to join me in honoring this great and good woman whom I'm privileged to know and call friend. We are indeed a better county, a better country and a better people because of her.

A SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO DEFIANCE COLLEGE ON THE OCCASION OF ITS ONE-HUNDRED FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

HON. PAUL E. GILLMOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. GILLMOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay special tribute to an outstanding institution of higher education located in Ohio's Fifth Congressional District. Today, we mark the One Hundred Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of Defiance College in Defiance, Ohio.

Defiance College is an independent, coeducational institution dedicated to educating today's young people and providing them with a clear understanding of leadership, service, and knowledge. With personal attention and an environment designed to bring out the best in education, Defiance College instills the values of integrity, diversity, and professionalism in its students.

Chartered in 1850, Defiance College continues today as a four-year liberal arts college affiliated with the United Church of Christ. Its forty undergraduate majors and graduate degrees offer students in Northwest Ohio the opportunity to achieve superbly in the classroom while also preparing them to face the challenges of the workplace.

More than one thousand students attend Defiance College with the goals and dreams of learning and understanding more about the world that surrounds them. The faculty and staff at Defiance College work tirelessly to provide a rich academic atmosphere to develop the minds and the character of the student body. Clearly, Defiance College has developed a strong reputation for success in these areas.

Mr. Speaker, education is the foundation upon which the United States rests. Through education, we provide our young people with the tools they need to face the challenges of the future. Defiance College, for one hundred fifty years, has prepared its students to be the leaders of tomorrow. For that, we owe Defiance College our gratitude and congratulations. I would urge my colleagues in the 106th Congress to stand and join me in paying special tribute to Defiance College. May its next one hundred fifty years of service be as successful as its first.

THE SURFACE TRANSPORTATION BOARD

HON. TILLIE K. FOWLER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, the Surface Transportation Board (STB) announced Friday, March 17, 2000, a rulemaking to determine how future rail mergers will be judged. While a longer period of time might have been beneficial, I applaud the Board for taking this appropriate and thoughtful step in response to the concerns voiced by customers, rail employees, Wall Street and communities during its four day hearing on rail industry consolidation.

The Board, recognizing the need for updated merger standards, has moved expeditiously to provide for a much-needed pause in the industry's restructuring to permit these new standards to be developed and applied to all future mergers. The railroads are an important engine in our nation's economy—especially in the 4th District of Florida, which is a center for rail employment and activity. The STB is to be commended in for their action to ensure the industry's continued ability to fulfill that role.

LEGISLATION BENEFITS NEBRASKA AIRPORTS

HON. DOUG BEREUTER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. BEREUTER. Mr. Speaker, this Member highly commends the following March 17, 2000, Omaha World-Herald editorial to his colleagues regarding the recently approved, important aviation improvement conference report, also known as AIR21, the Aviation Investment and Reform Act for the 21st century. The editorial acknowledges that it is time for the Aviation Trust Fund to be used solely for airport improvements and maintenance, rather than being considered part of the general budget. This important change will greatly benefit Nebraska airports.

[From the Omaha World-Herald, March 17, 2000]

AIR JUSTICE

The U.S. House of Representatives' overwhelming passage of a bill to spend \$40 billion over three years for air-travel improvement is good for airports in general and good for airports in Nebraska and Iowa in particular. It also addresses a point of fundamental fairness.

For years Congress has bottled up money from the Aviation Trust Fund, which takes in about \$10 billion a year in user fees. The central purpose of the fund has been to finance airport improvements and maintenance, and in theory it was earmarked for that. But the money was left unspent as a piece of fiscal sleight-of-hand meant to make federal deficits appear smaller.

For Rep. Bud Shuster, R-Pa., chairman of the House Transportation Committee, it became almost a moral crusade to get the fund separated from the general budget, with its revenues to be used solely for airport projects. After years of impasse, the Senate agreed that, without actually separating the funds, spending on airports each year will equal or exceed the fund's revenues and interest.

That looks like a distinction without a difference, but so be it. That's politics. The cork is out of the bottle. At bottom, this was made possible by two factors: (1) The federal government, at least by some accounting methods, is now running surpluses, not deficits. (2) It's an election year—the House passed the measure by better than 3-to-1.

The legislation also raised the cap on airport-imposed passenger fees, from \$3 to \$4.50. This is mostly to the good, since local airports commonly use them for improvements to benefit those same passengers. For the record, that \$1.50 increase is going to look like \$6 on a lot of airline tickets.

That's because on a round-trip ticket, the fee gets you literally coming and going, and it can be imposed for a maximum of two segments on each flight. Thus, a passenger flying, say from Omaha to Orlando with a stop

in St. Louis and returning could rack up four of those \$1.50 increases. (That's up to the individual airports, but it's hard to imagine many of them forgoing the revenue.)

A dozen airports in Nebraska and Iowa, with Omaha's Eppley Airfield leading the way, will get their federal entitlements doubled over each of the next three years. For Eppley, this means more than \$7 million for construction that wasn't there before—just what is needed by an airport whose passenger boardings are expected to double in the next 11 years.

Some other aspects of the bill are equally welcome.

Of prime concern, modernizing the nation's decrepit air traffic control system will get a substantial boost, nearly \$1 billion per year. In addition, there are provisions to help airlines buy so-called "regional" jets, provided they use them to serve small airports. There are funds to help improve the training of airport security checkpoint personnel, as well as money to put emergency locator devices on smaller jets.

The measure also mandates collision-avoidance systems for cargo planes, adds protections for whistleblowers on safety-related issues, and increases penalties against unruly passengers.

Some critics say that by allowing more flights into some major airports, the bill will increase congestion and compromise safety, but the improved air-traffic handling system should largely address such concerns. And, realistically, it is hard to know how Congress could have put this off much longer in good conscience. By one FAA projection, during the next 11 years the number of large passenger jets needing access to the skies and gate space at airports is expected to grow by half.

It took too long, but justice has been done. In a practical sense, the money in the Aviation Trust Fund has belonged to air passengers all along. At last, they'll see it coming back.

INTRODUCTION OF THE FUEL ENERGY AFFORDABILITY AND CONSERVATION ACT

HON. JOHN ELIAS BALDACCI

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. BALDACCI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to introduce the Fuel Energy Affordability Act. I am pleased to have nearly two dozen of my colleagues joining me as original co-sponsors of this important legislation. The bill takes a two-pronged approach to address issues that have arisen as our constituents cope with dramatically increasing costs of diesel fuel, heating oil and gasoline.

In recent testimony before the House Subcommittee on Energy and Power, the Director of the Petroleum Division at the Energy Information Administration indicated that U.S. crude oil and gasoline inventories are at alarmingly low levels not seen in decades. In addition, we have seen the prices of these products rise over the last year from about \$12 per barrel to nearly \$34 per barrel in early March.

While there has been some slight moderation in this area, the combination of very high prices and very low inventories has had a severe impact on consumers in the State of Maine and across the nation. You may recall the sharp surge in home heating oil and diesel

prices the Northeast experienced in January. Today, gasoline prices still hover near the \$2.00 per gallon mark in many areas.

When you live in a state where temperatures in January frequently dip below zero, dramatic increases in heating oil prices are a very serious matter. For people on fixed incomes, it presented a life-threatening choice between paying for delivery of heating oil or buying medicine, between heating the house and buying groceries.

Maine's potato farmers have also seen their livelihoods threatened because trucks could not afford to make the trip to northern Maine to get the crop to market. This high price of diesel caused many truckers to stay off the roads, dramatically affecting delivery of goods throughout the country.

Finally, the high cost of gasoline presents a threat to Maine's tourism industry. Maine's natural beauty and scenic attractions bring in more than \$3 Billion of revenues to my state each year. As gas prices creep higher some families are being forced to postpone vacations or stay closer to home. This could have a devastating impact on Maine's economy, and on the more than 12,000 jobs that depend on tourism.

Since the beginning of the year, there have been a number of different options under discussion for dealing with increased fuel prices and low inventories. The Fuel Energy Affordability and Conservation Act which I am offering today seeks to get at the problem from two different angles.

First, my bill will address the problem of major spikes in fuel prices by giving the Secretary of Energy the clear authority to draw down the Strategic Petroleum Reserve when oil and gas prices rise sharply due to anti-competitive activity. This action provide the means by which the Administration can act to lower and stabilize prices, particularly during times of acute need.

Second, my bill will address the issue of consumption by encouraging conservation. It will provide a non-refundable income tax credit of 20% for expenses of up to \$10,000 incurred by the taxpayer for qualified energy efficient improvements to a principal place of residence.

This credit will also apply to small businesses with average gross receipts of up to \$10 million for the term of the credit. The credit would be available for expenditures made between January 1, 2000 and December 31, 2004.

The covered improvements either alone or in combination must improve annual energy performance by at least 30 percent and would include energy efficient building envelope components such as windows, walls, and roofs, and any energy efficient heating, cooling or water heating appliance. Certification of improved energy efficiency could be made by the contractor who made or installed the improvements, a local building regulatory authority, or a qualified energy consultant.

With continued price volatility expected through the summer, and possibly into the fall, we must take steps now to mitigate the impact this could have on the economy, commerce, tourism, and the states we represent. While this legislation does not have all the answers, I believe that it takes a good step forward. I urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this legislation.

44TH ANNIVERSARY OF TUNISIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to take this opportunity to inform my colleagues of the 44th anniversary of Tunisia's independence which occurred on Monday, March 20, 2000. I invite my colleagues to join in extending our congratulations to the leaders and people of this important ally. The Republic of Tunisia has been and continues to be a model of economic growth, while keeping Islamic fundamentalism at bay. Moreover, Tunisia has been at the forefront of normalization with Israel as the Middle East peace process progresses.

Tunisia has taken advantage of foreign aid better than any other nation in the world. The World Bank considers Tunisia to be one of its premier "success stories." With a per capita income of over \$2,000 (very high for a developing country without significant mineral resources), Tunisia boasts that over 60 percent of its population can be designated as "middle class". The latest bilateral cooperative effort is the U.S.-Magreb Economic Partnership, which is designed to strengthen our bilateral economic ties. And ever conscious of security concerns, our U.S.-Tunisia military relationship has strengthened as well.

Mr. Speaker, the Republic of Tunisia has made very significant strides over the years. As Tunisians celebrate this 44th anniversary of their nation's independence, we join in celebrating with them and honoring Tunisia's many achievements.

A TRIBUTE TO GERRY AND DORIS POPE

HON. JERRY LEWIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in tribute to Gerry Pope, retiring Executive Director of the California Marine Affairs and Navigation Conference (C-MANC) and his wife Doris.

To all of us in the California Congressional Delegation, the 38 federally sponsored ports and harbors in California are emblematic of why the State is today the seventh largest economy in the world.

For almost a decade now, Gerry and Doris have worked as a team as the full time administrators of this statewide association. They have aptly managed C-MANC's affairs so that today, California's maritime and marine infrastructure is a symbol of how to enable both domestic economic expansion and international trade development through strong ports and harbors.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure all of the members of our State's delegation join me in paying tribute to the work Gerry and Doris Pope have done to ensure the California maintains its prominent position in the Pacific Rim. All of our congressional districts on the coast and inland throughout the State benefit from California's ports. We thank the dedication of these

two people over the years to make it all happen.

I ask my colleagues to join in thanking Gerry and Doris for their lengthy service and send them best wishes on the occasion of their retirement from service to their State and country.

ALICE ZABOROWSKI IN RECOGNITION OF HER WORK AS DISTRICT ONE PRESIDENT OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS LADIES AUXILIARY

HON. PAUL E. GILLMOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. GILLMOR. Mr. Speaker, today I pay a very special tribute to an outstanding individual from the state of Ohio. On Saturday, March 25, 2000, the Liberty Center Veterans of Foreign Wars Post 6596 and the Ladies Auxiliary Post 2898 will honor Alice Zaborowski for her work as District One President of the VFW Ladies Auxiliary.

Alice Zaborowski is a member of the VFW Auxiliary Post 2898 in Toledo, OH, and has served as 1999–2000 District One President. As District One President, Mrs. Zaborowski has jurisdiction and responsibility for managing 28 Ladies Auxiliaries in eight counties in Northwest Ohio.

Alice Zaborowski has served in various positions during her time with the Ladies Auxiliary. She has served as President of the George Rill VFW Auxiliary No. 606 three times. During that time, she gave unselfishly of her time to work for veterans in our area. She then transferred her membership to the Lucas County Auxiliary No. 2898 in Toledo where she is a Life Member and currently holds the office of Secretary.

Alice's commitment to our nation's veterans runs very deeply as her husband, Edward Zaborowski, is a World War II veteran. She has been very active in various VFW Auxiliary groups and gives freely of her time to many volunteer organizations. Clearly, Alice Zaborowski lives each day by the theme she employed during her Presidency—"Protect the rights of those who fought for our freedom."

Mr. Speaker, our nation's veterans have paid the ultimate sacrifice in protecting the very freedom and liberty that we enjoy today. Alice Zaborowski has spent much of her life serving and working on behalf of our veterans. Her efforts are a true testament to her patriotism and her affection for those who served our country. I would urge the members of the 106th Congress to stand and join me in paying special tribute to District One President of the VFW Ladies Auxiliary, Alice Zaborowski. We thank her for all of her work and we wish her the very best in the future.

TRIBUTE TO ROSALIE GANN

HON. ANNA G. ESHOO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a distinguished American and proud

Californian, Rosalie Gann, on the occasion of her induction into the San Mateo County Women's Hall of Fame.

Rosalie Gann began her volunteer service at the young age of thirteen as a Recreation Leader. As a Camp Fire Girl she was honored for her leadership in both service and citizenship oriented activities. While attending Mills College she established the Mills Community Outreach Corps, an organization which encourages Mills students to become involved in community action. She has also volunteered at Oakland Children's Hospital where she worked with chronically and terminally ill children.

Rosalie Gann has focused her professional life as an employee of Oracle Corporation on social welfare, championing community service through founding Oracle's Corporate Giving and Volunteer Programs. Because of Ms. Gann's leadership, Oracle's Corporate Giving Program has donated millions of dollars to causes that improve the quality of life of those whose communities are beset by problems and challenges. Oracle's Volunteer Program enables employees to donate service hours in the Bay Area and has recently expanded to other Oracle field offices.

In 1992, Rosalie Gann was honored as a San Mateo County Outstanding Volunteer for her work with the Center for Domestic Violence. Her vision for social change, her personal volunteer experiences and her professional achievements in corporate community relations serve as a role model for all women and our entire community.

Rosalie Gann's life of leadership and community involvement is instructive to us all. Her dedication to the ideals of democracy and community commitment stands tall. It is fitting that she has been chosen to be inducted into the San Mateo County Women's Hall of Fame and I ask my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, to join me in honoring a great and good woman. We are indeed a better county, a better country and a better people because of her.

HONORING GENERAL WILLIAM F. MOORE ON HIS RETIREMENT FROM THE U.S. AIR FORCE

HON. CHARLES W. "CHIP" PICKERING

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. PICKERING. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize and say farewell to a distinguished Air Force officer, Major General William F. Moore, upon his retirement from the Air Force after more than thirty years of commissioned service. Major General Moore has served with distinction, and it is my privilege to recognize this Meridian, Mississippi native for his many accomplishments, and to commend him for the superb service he provided to the Air Force and the Nation.

Major General Moore entered the United States Air Force Academy from Meridian, Mississippi in 1965. He received his commission as a Second Lieutenant in 1969 from the U.S. Air Force Academy. Since then, Major General Moore's assignments have made untold contributions to national security. Upon his graduation, General Moore served with the Drone and Remotely Piloted Vehicles System Program Office, Aeronautical Systems Division, at

Wright Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio. He subsequently served in the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Development Plans, Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland. In 1976, General Moore received a Master's Degree in Business Administration from the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce, University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia.

General Moore's career is reflective of his commitment to our country. He served as Executive Officer with the Peacekeeper ICBM Engineering Directorate in California, and as Director of Program Control for the Advanced Medium Range Air to Air Missile, at Eglin Air Force Base, Florida. From there General Moore made many more contributions to our national security, serving as small ICBM Deputy Program Director, Norton Air Force Base, California, and deputy director of Strategic, Special Operations Forces and Airlift Programs, at the Pentagon, Washington, D.C. General Moore then served as the vice commander at San Antonio Air Logistics Center, Kelly Air Force Base, Texas. General Moore finished his illustrious career with another stay in Washington serving as the director of special programs in the Office of the Undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology and as the deputy director of Defense Threat Reduction Agency both at the Pentagon.

General Moore is a fully certified acquisition professional whose awards include two Defense Distinguished Service Medals, the Legion of Merit with oak leaf cluster, the Defense Meritorious Service Medal with service star, the Armed Forces Expeditionary Medal, and the Vietnam Service Medal.

During his long and distinguished career, General Moore served the nation with excellence and distinction. He is a visionary leader, and a true warrior who profoundly impacted the United States Air Force, and made significant contributions to the strategic defense of the United States and its allies.

General Moore will retire from the Air Force on May 1, 2000, after more than thirty years of exceptionally distinguished service. On behalf of my colleagues on both sides of the aisle, I would like to recognize this Meridian, Mississippi native for his accomplishments and his service. Congratulations on the completion of a long and distinguished career.

PRESIDENT'S VISIT TO SOUTH ASIA

HON. TIM ROEMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. ROEMER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to congratulate the Administration for its decision to travel to South Asia. I strongly share its position that closer ties with the countries of the region, particularly India, will greatly benefit the United States. The President will be visiting the home to one-fifth of the world population and home to the world's largest democracy—India. The Subcontinent is a strategic part of the world for the United States. I have encouraged the Administration to use this opportunity to send a clear and strong signal to underscore India's great potential to be a leader in the international community. The trip will pave the way for a stronger and enduring relationship that highlights our common democratic traditions and values.

For the past three decades, India and Pakistan have been engaged in a nuclear rivalry that reflects a long history of conflict including three wars and a long-standing territorial dispute over Kashmir. U.S. nonproliferation policy faces a major challenge as an all-out nuclear arms race threatens to break out in South Asia. For these reasons, I submit the following policy brief entitled, "Preventing a Nuclear Arms Race in South Asia: U.S. Policy Options." This concise and insightful paper was written by David Cortright, guest lecturer in the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies of the University of Notre Dame, which is located in my district, and Samina Ahmed, fellow at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

Among its recommendations are that the United States demand that India and Pakistan both join the Non-Proliferation Treaty; that punitive sanctions, including curbs on the sale of military hardware and other technology, be deployed against those Indian and Pakistani entities responsible for the expansion of nuclear weapons programs; that such incentives as debt forgiveness and increased financial assistance for development programs in both countries be offered in exchange for concrete steps toward military and nuclear restraint; and that the U.S. fulfill the still unmet obligations to which it is committed by the NPT. I request that the enclosed copy be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly encourage my colleagues to review these policy recommendations as the President prepares to visit South Asia in the coming weeks.

PREVENTING A NUCLEAR ARMS RACE IN SOUTH ASIA: U.S. POLICY OPTIONS

By Samina Ahmed and David Cortright
RECOMMENDATIONS

The United States must unequivocally demand that India and Pakistan join the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) as non-nuclear weapon states.

The United States should retain punitive sanctions which target Indian and Pakistani institutions and policymakers responsible for their nuclear weapons programs.

Targeted incentives should be provided that seek to diminish internal support for nuclear weapons in India and Pakistan.

The United States should fulfill its obligation under Article VI of the NPT to achieve global nuclear disarmament.

U.S. nonproliferation policy faces a major challenge as an all-out nuclear arms race threatens to break out in South Asia. An Indian draft nuclear doctrine released by an officially constituted advisory panel to the Indian National Security Council on August 17, 1999 envisages a nuclear triad in which nuclear weapons would be delivered by aircraft, submarines and mobile land-based ballistic missiles. While it is not certain that New Delhi will opt for such broad capabilities, the current direction of policy is clearly toward nuclear weapons deployment. Since Pakistan's nuclear policy is India-centric and reactive in nature, the introduction of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems within the Indian armed forces would greatly increase the likelihood of a retaliatory Pakistani deployment. Operational nuclear weapons and delivery systems will result in a South Asian nuclear arms race that could have serious consequences for regional stability, the stability of the Middle East, and global peace.

For the past three decades, India and Pakistan have been engaged in a nuclear rivalry that is both a symptom and a cause of their

bilateral discord. India and Pakistan have a long history of conflict including three wars and a long-standing territorial dispute over Kashmir. Each Indian and Pakistani step up the nuclear ladder introduces new tensions in their troubled relationship. India's decision to acquire nuclear weapons and to demonstrate its nuclear weapons capability in 1974 resulted in the Pakistani adoption of a nuclear weapons program. As their nuclear weapons capabilities grew, so did their mutual suspicions and animosity. In May 1998 as India and Pakistan held nuclear tests, abandoning nuclear ambiguity for an overt nuclear weapon status, relations between the two states were seriously strained. From May to July 1999, India and Pakistan came perilously close to war during a major military clash near Kargil in the disputed territory of Kashmir, a conflict that had the potential of escalating into a nuclear exchange. Since mistrust and hostility continue to mar their relationship, as the recent controversy over the hijacked Indian airliner underscored, the potential for a conventional war remains high. Nuclear weapons deployment will fuel a nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan and at the same time heighten the chances of an intentional or inadvertent nuclear exchange.

Since a nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan will further destabilize a violent and conflict-prone region, there is a pressing need for the U.S. to dissuade India and Pakistan from deploying nuclear weapons and to reverse their nuclear course. Beyond the immediate threats posed by such an arms race to the one-fifth of humanity which resides within South Asia, nuclear weapons deployment in India and Pakistan would also have a far-reaching impact on the nuclear dynamics in the region and beyond, threatening vital U.S. national security interests. The deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems in Pakistan, for instance, would strengthen the position of nuclear advocates in neighboring Iran. The deployment of nuclear weapons and nuclear-capable ballistic missiles by India would influence China's nuclear doctrine. An India-Pakistan nuclear arms race could therefore result in a parallel Pakistan-Iran and Sino-Indian nuclear arms race. A South Asian nuclear arms race would also erode the global non-proliferation regime, embodied in the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), undermining the confidence of signatory states in the treaty's ability to buttress their security. For all these reasons, the U.S. must prevent the incipient nuclear arms competition in South Asia from becoming an all-out arms race.

U.S. POLICY AND NUCLEAR SOUTH ASIA

Some analysts and policymakers argue that the United States has failed to prevent nuclear proliferation in South Asia because of flawed policy directions and an over-reliance on sanctions as an instrument of U.S. influence. Since the initial U.S. emphasis on the rollback and elimination of Indian and Pakistani nuclear weapons capabilities failed to contain South Asian nuclear proliferation, these analysts contend, the U.S. should accept nuclear weapons in South Asia and adopt the more realistic goal of "arms control," which merely seeks to limit their number and sophistication. According to this view, Washington should concentrate on encouraging India and Pakistan to refrain from a nuclear arms race and seeking ways to reduce the risk of nuclear war. At the same time, incentives should replace sanctions as the primary means of influence. U.S. interests would be best served, according to this view, by a policy of engagement with India and Pakistan that goes beyond the one-point agenda of nuclear non-proliferation.

To prevent India and Pakistan from embarking on a nuclear arms race, it is indeed important to examine the previous shortcomings of U.S. nonproliferation policy in South Asia and to identify alternative policy options. This must not mean, however, abandoning non-proliferation goals in favor of arms control. Any U.S. attempt to promote an India-Pakistan arms control regime is unlikely to succeed. Aside from the challenges posed by conventional and nuclear asymmetries between India and Pakistan and the integration of a reluctant China into a South Asian arms control arrangement, a formal India-Pakistan nuclear restraint regime requires at the very least the absence of war and a modicum of mutual trust. On the contrary, relations between India and Pakistan are shaped by an ongoing, decade-old, low-intensity conflict in the disputed territory of Kashmir and three near-war situations since the 1980s. It is imperative for the United States to dissuade India and Pakistan from going further down the nuclear road. Washington cannot achieve this goal through the abandonment of non-proliferation, and the tacit acceptance of India and Pakistan's nuclear weapons status.

Proliferation may have occurred already in South Asia, but India and Pakistan can be convinced to cap, rollback and even abandon their nuclear weapons programs if the reasons that prompted them to acquire nuclear weapons are addressed. Indian and Pakistani decisions to acquire nuclear weapons were the outcome of cost-benefit analyses of the presumed benefits of nuclearization. The United States can play a major role in influencing the present and future directions of nuclear proliferation in South Asia by convincing Indian and Pakistani decision makers that the costs of nuclearization far exceed its benefits. This will require clearly defined non-proliferation goals and the use of the most appropriate instruments to reverse the nuclear directions of India and Pakistan.

In the past, U.S. policy goals and objectives were contradictory. As a result, the tools of U.S. policy, sanctions or incentives, failed to dissuade Indian and Pakistani decision makers from pursuing their nuclear ambitions. Cold War strategic considerations often took precedence over non-proliferation objectives. U.S. policy shifted from elimination to rollback and then to the current emphasis on a cap on Indian and Pakistani nuclear weapons capabilities. Each shift in U.S. policy emboldened India and Pakistan's nuclear advocates.

Washington's use of policy instruments was also ineffective. Sanctions and incentives only succeed if they are properly targeted and consistently applied. These preconditions were not present in South Asia. Washington's reluctance to sanction India after its nuclear test in 1974 motivated Pakistan to follow the Indian nuclear example. In the 1980s Washington again sent the wrong signal to Indian and Pakistani decision makers. The United States not only failed to sanction Pakistan for its nuclear development but showered billions of dollars of military aid on the Zia ul Haq dictatorship as part of the struggle against Soviet involvement in Afghanistan. In the 1990s Washington offered incentives to India and Pakistan to encourage nuclear restraint, despite accumulating evidence of each country's continuing nuclear weapons development.

Following the May 1998 nuclear tests in South Asia, Washington imposed mandatory sanctions on India and Pakistan and identified five benchmarks for their removal: curbs on the further development or deployment of nuclear-capable missiles and aircraft, Indian and Pakistani accession to the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), participation in Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT) negotiations, curbs on the transfer of nuclear

technology and hardware, and an India-Pakistan dialogue on normalization of relations. The imposition of sanctions initially led to Indian and Pakistani concessions, including their declared willingness to accede to the CTBT and the resumption of an India-Pakistan dialogue. The United States subsequently failed to sustain these punitive measures, however. India and Pakistan backed away from their earlier pledges to join the CTBT, while their normalization dialogue became the casualty of the May-July 1999 undeclared war in Kashmir and the presence of hardline governments in both states.

With tensions in South Asia remaining high, the United States must clearly state its opposition to the presence of nuclear weapons in South Asia. Washington must demonstrate its resolve through targeted, consistently applied sanctions and incentives designed to influence the cost-benefit analysis of Indian and Pakistani nuclear decision makers. A failure to do so will result in the deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems in India and Pakistan and the likelihood of the first use of nuclear weapons since 1945.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. In its policy toward India and Pakistan, the United States must unequivocally demand that India and Pakistan join the NPT as non-nuclear-weapon states. The current U.S. emphasis on South Asian nuclear restraint is being misconstrued or deliberately misrepresented by the Indian and Pakistani governments as a tacit acceptance of their nuclear weapons status.

2. In an amendment contained in the U.S. Defense Appropriations Bill, Congress has given the President indefinite waiver authority to lift military and economic sanctions, including those imposed automatically under earlier legislation on Pakistan and India. This waiver authority must be used judiciously. Broad and sweeping economic sanctions that adversely affect the weaker segments of Indian and Pakistani society should be removed. But Washington should retain those punitive measures that target Indian and Pakistani institutions and policy-makers responsible for their nuclear weapons programs. These include curbs on the sale and supply of military hardware to Pakistan, the transfer of dual-use technology to India, and military and scientific exchanges with nuclear entities and actors in both states.

3. Targeted incentives should be provided, conditional on progress towards non-proliferation, that would seek to diminish internal support for nuclear weapons in India and Pakistan. These could include the partial forgiveness of India and Pakistan's external debt, increased U.S. assistance for social sector development, and enhanced U.S. support for developmental loans and credits from international financial institutions to India and Pakistan. Such assistance should be linked to concrete steps toward military and nuclear restraint.

4. In re-committing itself to the goals of non-proliferation, the United States should fulfill its own obligation, under Article VI of the NPT, to achieve global nuclear disarmament. This will encourage the advocates of denuclearization in both India and Pakistan and strengthen the norm against the development and use of nuclear weapons not only in South Asia but throughout the world.

CHILDREN'S HOME SOCIETY OF VIRGINIA CELEBRATING 100TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. TOM BLILEY

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. BLILEY. Mr. Speaker, the Children's Home Society of Virginia was chartered in 1900 by an act of the Virginia General Assembly and is celebrating its 100th anniversary this year. When Children's Home Society of Virginia began its work, orphaned children were numerous. The society's founders believed that the dependent and neglected children of the Commonwealth would be better off in a family situation than in alms houses or orphanages. The stated purpose was for "finding homes for homeless, indigent, or dependent poor children in the State of Virginia, and other purposes incident thereto." This belief continues to inspire the work of Children's Home Society of Virginia today.

In the society's early days, children came to us through court commitment or direct parental release. The first head of the society, the Reverend William J. Maybee, described its work as being "on behalf of the most dependent, the most unfortunate, and the most deserving children, including orphans, half orphans, abandoned and grossly abused." And he stated furthermore that, "civilization may be quite correctly measured by their treatment of childhood."

By the 1940's the programs had changed from primarily boarding care for dependent and neglected children to a specialized adoption program for children under 2 years of age. The staff, initially comprised of untrained "family visitors" had become a staff of trained social workers.

During the 1970's the society began to see its major initiatives as adoption services, pregnancy counseling, and foster care. There was also a movement to a new policy of accepting infants over the age of 6 months as well as the placing of children of minority or mixed racial background into adoptive homes. In the 1980's and 1990's Children Home Society began to work on behalf of many special medical-needs children, and was successful in placing them into new homes.

Children's Home Society of Virginia will celebrate 100 years of service to the children of Virginia this year. As the needs of children have changed since 1900, the services of Children's Home Society have changed to meet those needs. The agency is devoting more and more of its resources to the care and adoptive placement of children with special needs—babies with medical problems, older children, sibling groups, and infants and youngsters of mixed race. I am pleased to report the Children's Home Society is working in a collaborative effort with Chesterfield County Department of Social Services to place older children and teenagers into loving homes.

One of the most successful stories Children's Home Society of Virginia can share is a 100 percent success rate—every child that has come into their care has been placed into a permanent home. If a child needed to be placed in foster care, the average duration has been 85 days—far below the national average. Children's Home Society of Virginia looks forward to meeting the special needs of children

in the 21st century and I commend them for their 100 years of hard work.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. HELEN CHENOWETH-HAGE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mrs. CHENOWETH-HAGE. Mr. Speaker, on March 16, 2000, I missed three rollcall votes at the end of the day because of unavoidable obligations in Idaho. Had I been present, I have voted "nay" on rollcall vote 53 (Mr. BOEHLERT's substitute amendment to H.R. 2372), "nay" on rollcall vote 54 (on motion to recommit with instructions), and "yea" on rollcall vote 55 (on passage of H.R. 2372).

A SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO ROBERT E. FULLER IN RECOGNITION OF HIS WORK AS DISTRICT ONE COMMANDER OF THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

HON. PAUL E. GILLMOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. GILLMOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise with great pleasure today to pay special tribute to an outstanding individual from Ohio's Fifth Congressional District. On Saturday, March 25, 2000, Robert E. Fuller will be honored for his work as District One Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States of America.

Robert Fuller was elected as District One VFW Commander for 1999–2000. During his tenure as District One Commander, he has unselfishly given of his time to benefit our nation's veterans. Commander Fuller holds responsibility for directing forty-two VFW Posts in Northwest Ohio. A lifelong resident of Henry County, he has spent much of his life working for the benefit of his friends, neighbors, and fellow veterans.

Robert Fuller served in the United States Army from 1951–1954. His service took him to Korea, where he served with the 23rd Regiment of the 2nd Indian Head Division from 1952–1953. For his honorable military service, Commander Fuller earned the Combat Infantry Badge, the National Defense Medal, the U.N. Service Medal, and the Korean Service Medal with three Bronze Stars, the Good Conduct Medal, and the Korean Presidential Unit Citation with two overseas bars. After returning from Korea, Mr. Fuller joined VFW Post 6596 in Liberty Center, Ohio, and became a Life Member in 1986.

Mr. Speaker, Robert Fuller has served in many positions within the VFW ranks including Post Commander, Hospital Chairman, and District Chaplain. Mr. Fuller is also a Life Member of the American Legion, AMVETS Post 1313, and the VFW National Home for the children of deceased or disabled Veterans. Commander Fuller chose "Second to None" as his theme for 1999–2000. His efforts and work on behalf of veterans indicate that he carries those words with him every day.

Mr. Speaker, our veterans put their lives on the line and are called upon to make the supreme sacrifice in the preservation of freedom.

Robert Fuller served his country with distinction and has worked tirelessly on behalf of our veterans. I would urge my colleagues of the 106th Congress to stand and join me in paying special tribute to District One VFW Commander Robert Fuller. He is a true American patriot. We wish him the very best in the future.

TRIBUTE TO EDYTHE MILLER

HON. ANNA G. ESHOO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Ms. ESHOO. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a distinguished American and proud Californian, Edythe Miller, on the occasion of her induction into the San Mateo County Women's Hall of Fame.

Edythe Miller has held numerous offices in the Redwood City Women's Club, the Golden Gate District of Women's Clubs, and the California Federation of Women's Clubs. She has participated in fund raising activities for the organizations and she has also provided food, clothing, and shelter for the Battered Women's Organization. Edythe Miller has served as President of San Mateo County's American/Italian and Historical Associations and as the past President of the Association of Republican Women.

Since she survived ostomy surgery more than 34 years ago, Edythe Miller has given tirelessly of herself to the San Mateo Ostomy Association and has led the organization as President. She has taught ostomy care, speaking in retirement homes and hospitals, training nurses, raising money, appearing on TV and working with the media to educate the public about this disease.

Edythe Miller is the loving wife of the now retired Superior Court Judge Robert Miller, and they are the proud parents of four, and grandparents of fourteen. The Miller family was given the "Family of the Year" award from San Mateo County. In addition, Edythe Miller has received an award recognizing 50 years of extraordinary service to the General Federation of Women's Clubs. She has been honored many times by the Cancer Society, Stanford Hospital and U.C. San Francisco for her volunteer work with the Ostomy Association. Edythe Miller is widely admired for her endless energy and effective work and serves as a model for both young and old, healthy or ill.

Edythe Miller's life of leadership is instructive to us all. Her dedication to the ideals of democracy and community service stands tall. It is fitting that she has been chosen to be inducted into the San Mateo County Women's Hall of Fame, and I ask my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, to join me in honoring this great and good woman whom I am proud to call my friend. We are indeed a better county, a better country and a better people because of her.

INDIAN GOVERNMENT MURDERS 35
SIKHS: U.S. MUST TAKE ACTION
AGAINST THIS ATROCITY

HON. EDOLPHUS TOWNS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. TOWNS. Mr. Speaker, like everyone in this House, I was shocked and saddened to hear of the brutal murders of 35 Sikhs in Kashmir. The loss of life is a tragedy. I am sure that my colleagues will join me in expressing our sympathies to the victims' families.

Although the news media reported that "Kashmiri militants" were responsible for this incident, the latest information shows that India's Research and Analysis Wing carried out this brutal and cowardly atrocity.

There are over 700,000 Indian troops in Kashmir. How could the persons responsible for these crimes simply disappear without being detected? What motive would the Kashmiris have to kill Sikhs, who are their allies in the struggle for freedom? When these incidents occur, Mr. Speaker, one must ask who benefits from them. The only beneficiary is the Indian government, which again divides the minorities, setting them against each other to continue their divide-and-rule strategy.

India's pattern of terrorism is well known. It recently tried to blame the Sikhs for the murder of Christian missionary Graham Staines by arresting a Hindu man who calls himself Dara Singh despite the fact that Staines and his family were murdered by Hindu extremists allied with the ruling party. According to the Hitavada newspaper, the Indian government paid the late Governor of Punjab, Surendra Nath, to foment terrorist activities in Punjab and Kashmir to generate more repression and set minorities against each other.

In this country, if someone tried to create violence between, say, African Americans and Hispanics, that person would be rejected and likely arrested. In India, this is government policy.

It is also disturbing that this atrocity occurs just after President Clinton lifted the sanctions imposed on India after its nuclear tests. In light of these murders, those sanctions should be reimposed and India should be declared a terrorist state. Here in Congress, we should cut off U.S. aid to India and we should declare our support for the freedom movements in Khalistan, Kashmir, Nagaland, and throughout India. We must do these things to promote freedom for the people of South Asia and the world.

Mr. Speaker, Burning Punjab published the names of the victims of this massacre and the Council of Khalistan published an excellent press release on the incident. I would like to introduce these items into the RECORD to honor the memory of the victims and inform my colleagues and the people.

INDIAN GOVERNMENT MURDERS 35 SIKHS
RAW AGENTS POSE AS KASHMIRI MILITANTS—
CONTINUES PATTERN OF PITTING MINORITIES
AGAINST EACH OTHER

WASHINGTON, DC, March 21.—Thirty-five (35) Sikhs were murdered in Kashmir today by agents of the Indian government's Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) posing as Kashmiri militants. There are over 700,000 Indian troops stationed in Kashmir, yet the

murderers disappeared without detection. The murders were carried out during President Clinton's visit to South Asia.

Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, President of the Council of Khalistan, strongly condemned the murders. "These murders are evil, cowardly, and stupid acts designed to pit one community against another and prop up India's image for the President's visit," Dr. Aulakh said. "Whoever carried out these brutal acts, they are cowards," he said. "They may escape justice in this world, but they will face the justice of God. That will be worse for them."

"Sikhs and Kashmiris are allies in the struggle for freedom," said Dr. Aulakh. "What motive would Kashmiri freedom fighters have to kill Sikhs? This would be especially stupid when President Clinton is visiting. The freedom movements in Kashmir, Khalistan, Nagaland, and throughout India need the support of the United States," he said. Khalistan is the Sikh homeland declared independent on October 7, 1987.

The murders continue a pattern of divide-and-rule terrorism by the Indian government. The government has recently tried to blame Sikhs for the murder of Christian missionary Graham Staines by arresting a Hindu man who uses the alias Dara Singh. Every Sikh male uses Singh in his name. Yet it was reported at the time of the Staines murder that he and his two sons were burned to death in their jeep by a mob chanting "Victory to Hannuman," a Hindu god. That mob was affiliated with the Fascist RSS, the parent organization of the ruling BJP. In November 1994, The Hitavada reported that the Indian government paid the late Governor of Punjab, Surendra Nath, \$1.5 billion to organize and support covert state terrorism in Punjab, Khalistan, and in Kashmir. The book "Soft Target," written by two respected Canadian journalists, proved that the Indian government blew up its own airliner in 1985, killing 329 people, to blame the incident on the Sikhs and provide an excuse for more repression and bloodshed. This is a well-established modus operandi of RAW.

The Indian government has murdered over 250,000 Sikhs since 1984, according to figures compiled by the Punjab State Magistracy and human-rights organizations. The figures were published in "The Politics of Genocide" by Inderjit Singh Jaijee. The government has also killed over 200,000 Christians in Nagaland since 1947, more than 65,000 Kashmiri Muslims since 1988, and tens of thousands of Assamese, Manipuris, Tamils, Dalits, and others. The U.S. State Department reported that the Indian government paid more than 41,000 cash bounties to police to murder Sikhs. Amnesty International recently reported that there are thousands of political prisoners, including prisoners of conscience, held in Indian jails without charge or trial. Some Sikh political prisoners have been in this illegal detention since 1984.

"This shows that there is no freedom for minorities in India," Dr. Aulakh said. "For minorities, India is no democracy," he said. "As U.S. Congressman Dana Rohrabacher said, for the minorities 'India might as well be Nazi Germany.'"

"I urge President Clinton and Ambassador Richard Celeste to confront India on these brutal murders, as well as the recent harassment of journalist Sukhbir Singh Osan, getting Sikh and other political prisoners released, and the ongoing, massive, and brutal human-rights violations against Sikhs and other minorities," Dr. Aulakh said. "If the United States wants to see an end to these incidents, it should support self-determination for Khalistan, Kashmir, Nagaland, and all the other nations seeking their freedom from India," Dr. Aulakh said. "Only a free

Khalistan will end India's corruption, tyranny and genocide against the Sikh Nation," he said. "India is on the verge of disintegration. The Sikh leadership should immediately begin a Shantmai Morcha to liberate our homeland, Khalistan."

[From the Burning Punjab News, Mar. 21, 2000]

MASSACRED SIKHS IDENTIFIED

SRINAGAR.—The 35 Sikhs massacred at Chatti-Singpora in south Kashmir late last night by unknown armed persons have been identified. Following is the list of people killed by militants: Rajinder Singh (42), Karnail Singh (35), Rajan Singh (40), Naranjan Singh (50), Gurdeep Singh (25), Ajeetpal Singh (22), Joginder Singh (26), Gurbax Singh (35), Uttam Singh (30), Surjit Singh (22), Majit Singh (30), Devinder Singh (18), Rajinder Singh (35), Reshpal Singh (40), Gurmeek Singh (35), Sukha Singh (53), Ravi Singh (38), Jangbhadur Singh (36), Rajdeep Singh (18), Naseeb Singh (50), Kulbeer Singh (20), Darban Singh (28), Deader Singh (50), Gurmeet Singh (22), Ujal Singh (28), Charan Singh (50), Sartaj Singh (30), Rajnath Singh (45), Faqir Singh (65), Karnail Singh (45), Sheetal Singh (66), Ravinder Singh (22), Jagdesh Singh (25), Sagir Singh (60), and Sartaj Singh (26). One Devinder Kaur died of heart attack following the massacre.

IN TRIBUTE TO BRUCE DOWNING

HON. FRANK R. WOLF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the pleasure of attending the annual meeting and recognition dinner of the United Way of Northern Shenandoah Valley, at which Bruce Downing of Winchester, Virginia, received the 1999 Volunteer of the Year Award.

I would like to share with our colleagues the outstanding community service work of Mr. Downing, who was cited in one award nominating letter as "a giant among men in this community. His calm, reassuring manner, his generosity, and his compassion for others are without measure. Bruce Downing has made the community a better place to live. He is a hero."

Mr. Downing, 52, began his community service in the mid-1960's when his college fraternity helped special needs children at a local school. He later became a volunteer with Big Brothers/Big Sisters and other organizations including Grafton School, Access Independence, Help with Housing, ABBA Pregnancy Care Center, and numerous United Way boards and others.

He and his wife, Donna, also donated one of their own family vans with a special wheelchair life to a family in need.

Mr. Speaker, Bruce Downing represents the thousands upon thousands of giving and caring Americans who reach out as volunteers to help their fellow citizens. They do so not for any honors or recognition that may come their way; rather they do it with generous hearts because they want to make a difference in people's lives.

We salute Bruce Downing and all the other volunteers of the United Way and the many other volunteer organizations who lend a helping hand every day of the year to serve their communities. They are indeed heroes.

HONORING TRISH ARREDONDO

HON. PETER J. VISCLOSKY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. VISCLOSKY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor Trish Arredondo for her lifelong contributions to the health and well being of Northwest Indiana. This is a very special pleasure as Trish is a close personal friend. I have known her for the better part of two decades and have seen firsthand the efforts of her dynamic accomplishments on behalf of her friends, neighbors, and community.

Trish Arredondo is currently President and Chief Executive Officer of the Planned Parenthood Association of Northwest/Northeast Indiana. During Trish's tenure, Planned Parenthood has made a vast impact on our community in the areas of both health care and education. The organization has grown three fold in the number of clients, and has tripled the geographic area served.

Trish spearheaded a capital campaign that has allowed the organization to purchase its headquarters and originate a "mini-grant" awards program designed to bring research funding to special aspects of women's health care such as breast cancer. She has been instrumental in increasing public awareness in women's health issues such as cervical cancer and teen pregnancy. Under her direction, the organization increased its medical services to include testing for Tuberculosis and Hepatitis B. Planned Parenthood is the sole provider of health care services for 75 percent of the 40,000 patients it serves annually. This evolution of the organization's role in community care has become an invaluable part of Northwest Indiana's health care system.

In addition to her role in Planned Parenthood, Trish Arredondo also gives much of her time back to the community. She is a member of the Northwest Indiana Executive Council, the Governor's Council on Health Care 2000, the Rape Task Force, the Welfare to Work Council, and is a charter member of the Northwest Council for Teen Pregnancy. She is a past member of the Northern Indiana Arts Association and was named as one of the most influential women in Northwest Indiana by the Times newspaper in March, 1997.

Mr. Speaker, I salute Trish Arredondo for her professional achievements and her many years of dedication to the betterment of our community. We in Northwest Indiana are truly thankful to have someone of Trish's talents on our team. Her life's work has been on behalf of those less fortunate in our community, and we are extremely grateful for her dedication and perseverance. Please join me in wishing her a happy and healthy retirement.

IN LOVING MEMORY OF LEOCADIA VASQUEZ VALENCIA

HON. JOE BACA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. BACA. Mr. Speaker, it is with much sadness that I inform my colleagues of the passing of a great individual, a person who graced our world and our lives with so much love and compassion.

Leocadia V. Valencia, the mother, grandmother, great grandmother, great-great grandmother passed away, on her Sabbath day, Saturday, February 19, 2000 in California. She was 98 years of age. Born in Matehualia, Mexico, wife of Felix G. Valencia, Pastor in the Church of God 7th Day. She was a long-time resident of Sacramento, California.

Leocadia lived a very full and very fulfilling life, a life graced by her husband, who passed away four years ago (December 12, 1995), with whom she has been blessed by sixteen children: Survived by Carrol Cervantes, Sophia Rivas, Felix Valencia, Hope Brocklehurst, Matthew Valencia, Ruth Gomez, Mary McAuliffe, Paul Valencia, Lydia Hanzalik, Ruby Valencia, Rachel Sidhu, Sam Valencia. Survived by two sisters; Margarita Garnica, Micaela Perea. Extended mother to the following grandchildren: Yolanda Velasquez, Steve Valencia, Linda Macias, Terry Adame, Ernest Valencia and numerous grand children, great grand children, great-great grandchildren. These children and many grandchildren brought tremendous joy and inspiration into their lives.

Leocadia was and remains so much a tremendous person in our thoughts and in our memories. We appreciate so much and will long remember the many good and positive things she brought into our lives, and most of all her faith and love for God.

I join with Leocadia friends and family members in honoring such a truly remarkable and outstanding person, a mother, grandmother, a great-grandmother and great-great grandmother, to all of those who loved her so much.

Leocadia gave so much to those she loved, and each of us is better and more fortunate for what she unselfishly gave to us and gave to our world, a world made so much brighter and more gentler by her life and her presence.

Mr. Speaker, we are all gifted by the lives of mothers and grandmothers who do so much in guiding our lives and providing us comfort and proper direction. I join with all of those who loved Leocadia V. Valencia in extending our prayers, knowing that God's heaven is blessed and graced by one of his most beautiful and loving Angels. I ask God's peace and comfort on the family during this time of sorrow.

ST. PAUL MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH 84TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. PETER J. VISCLOSKY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. VISCLOSKY. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure and high regards that I congratulate St. Paul Missionary Baptist Church in Gary, Indiana, as it celebrates its 84th anniversary as a parish this coming Sunday. I would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate Reverend Everett Gray on this magnificent occasion.

From modest beginnings, St. Paul's has emerged as a cornerstone of the Gary community. The church was organized in 1916 through the efforts of six dedicated pioneers. The first structure was a portable building of the 21st Avenue school. Through the hard work of Reverend Martin VanBuren Bolden and the six founders, the membership continued to grow, and on July 17, 1917, two lots

were purchased at 1938 Adams Street. It was there that St. Paul's began to flourish as both a religious and a social institution.

During the Great Depression, the people of St. Paul's saw the needs of those around them and reached out a helping hand. The church basement was used as both a medical facility and a place where those in need could go for food. Their generosity was exemplified when the church donated money to those who could not afford the burial expenses for loved ones that had recently passed away. St. Paul's shaped the lives of many people during those hard times and still stands as a pillar of our community.

On May 1, 1943, St. Paul's welcomed Dr. Lester Kendal Jackson as its pastor, who made an immediate impact on his congregation. Under his leadership all outstanding debts were paid, and a significant balance was put into the treasury. He helped to organize many groups which would inspire the youth of the parish, including a literary society, Girl and Boy Scout teams, and a drama club. Dr. Jackson also fought for the rights of African Americans throughout the city of Gary, and was later inducted into the Steel City Hall of Fame for his contributions to the community.

After a fire in 1963 destroyed the building that they had used for over 45 years, the people of St. Paul's erected a new church at 2300 Grant Street on January 16, 1966. It is here that the church came under the direction of Reverend Everett Gray, or Pastor Gray, as he prefers to be addressed. Under Pastor's Gray's guidance, St. Paul's has continued to thrive, both in terms of spiritual growth as well as practical improvements.

Mr. Speaker, I ask you and my other distinguished colleagues to join me congratulating the parish family of St. Paul Missionary Baptist Church, under the guidance of Pastor Gray, as they celebrate their 84th anniversary. All current and former parishioners can be proud to say that they belong to the second oldest Baptist church in Gary, Indiana. They have weathered many storms in order to make countless significant contributions to their community throughout the past 84 years.

NEW MASSACRE OF SIKHS IN INDIA

HON. DANA ROHRBACHER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, today, as President Clinton began a visit to India, a new act of political violence occurred in Kashmir, as 35 Sikh villagers were rounded up and killed by gunmen. The New York Times reports in the enclosed article that this was the first major attack on the small Sikh community in Kashmir since an insurgency by Kashmiri Muslims against Indian rule began 10 years ago. Sikhs had previously lived peacefully in the only predominantly Muslim area of India. It should be noted that in India, government security forces have been implicated by international human rights organizations in the murders, disappearances and torture of thousands of Sikhs.

The village of Chati Singhpura Mattan, 42 miles from Srinagar, is controlled by Kashmiri

groups that abandoned the rebellion and were recruited by the Indian army as a counterinsurgency militia force. The Indian government has blamed Islamic radicals controlled by Pakistan for this heinous crime. However, the Indian government's control of this specific area has caused many Sikhs in the United States to believe that the gunmen were agents of the Indian government's Research and Intelligence Wing [RAW] posing as Kashmiri militants. There are more than 700,000 Indian security forces stationed in Kashmir, which has been called the most militarized area of this planet.

A fair and impartial investigation by international monitors is necessary to resolve this case and other acts of brutality committed in Kashmir. I have repeatedly advocated that fair elections, free of violence, that would permit the people of Kashmir to determine their own destiny is the best means to end this conflict. In addition, a peaceful resolution of the Kashmir issue would have a significant impact in easing the conflict between India and Pakistan.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 21, 2000]

35 MASSACRED IN SIKH TOWN IN KASHMIR

Srinagar, India, Tuesday, March 21 (AP)—Gunmen rounded up and killed 35 Sikh villagers in the disputed state of Kashmir, the police said today as President Clinton began a visit to India.

The massacre on Monday night was the first major attack on the small Sikh community in Kashmir since separatist Muslims started their insurgency 10 years ago. Sikhs are considered a neutral minority, but Indian officials had warned earlier of violence by Muslim militants hoping to draw attention to Kashmir during Mr. Clinton's visit.

Both India and Pakistan claim the Himalayan territory and have fought two wars over it.

The gunmen were not immediately identified and no group claimed responsibility for the attack, the police said.

Mr. Clinton arrived in New Delhi, 400 miles to the south, on Monday evening after a visit to Bangladesh. He has said that reducing tensions between India and Pakistan is one of his objective of the trip.

Many Kashmiris were hoping that the president's visit would lead to a breakthrough in the long deadlock on the region's future.

Mr. Clinton's spokesman, Joe Lockhart, expressed outrage over the killings, saying in a statement that "out most profound sympathies go out to the victims of this brutal massacre."

The attackers entered the village of Chati Singhpura Mattan after dark and forced the residents from their homes, police officials said.

The assailants separated the men from the women, announcing that they were conducting a "crackdown." Indian security forces operate similarly when searching a neighborhood for militants that they suspect may be hiding there. The gunmen then opened fire on the men, killing 35 of them. One man was critically wounded.

Sikhs have lived mostly undisturbed in the Kashmir Valley, the only area in predominantly Hindu India with a Muslim majority. Many run the trucking companies that supply the valley.

In the last six months, attacks by the militants have focused on army bases and patrols rather than random terrorism, and have shown a higher degree of training and expertise, senior army officers have said. They said about 3,500 militants were in Kashmir, and many of them had infiltrated the cease-

fire line from Pakistan, with the help of the Pakistan army. Pakistan denies giving active aid to the militants.

The area of the Sikh village is about 42 miles from Srinagar, Kashmir's summer capital, and is controlled by armed Kashmiri groups that abandoned separatism and were recruited by the Indian army as a counterinsurgency auxiliary force.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 21, 2000]

NEAR CLINTON'S INDIA VISIT, VIOLENCE FLARES IN KASHMIR

(By Pamela Constable)

Srinagar, India, March 20—While their government and most of their countrymen are hoping President Clinton will play down the sensitive topic of Kashmir during his visit to India this week, people in this depressed, wintry city at the political heart of the disputed, violence-torn region are praying for just the opposite.

Today, in the worst single attack on civilians in a decade of guerrilla war, unidentified gunmen massacred 35 Sikh men in the Kashmiri village of Chati Singhpura Mattan, wire services reported. Security officials had feared that armed Pakistan-based insurgents, who have stepped up attacks here in recent months, might stage a dramatic attack during Clinton's stay in India.

Clinton condemned the attack in Kashmir. "On behalf of the president and all Americans let me express our outrage at the attack on a village in Kashmir last night," White House spokesman Joe Lockhart told reporters in New Delhi.

Many Kashmiris believe that only a world leader of Clinton's stature can put pressure on Indian officials to start meaningful negotiations with Pakistan over the mountainous, predominantly Muslim border region where separatist sentiment is strong, guerrilla violence is rapidly rising and Indian troops patrol with an iron fist.

"If Mr. Clinton can make a difference in places like Chechnya and Bosnia, why not in Kashmir?" said Shah Khan, 22, who sells shirts and pants in the teeming alleys of Lal Chowk bazaar. "We are happy because at least his visit will bring some attention to our problems, but we wish he would come to Kashmir and see for himself. Then we would all tell him one thing: we want freedom."

But this message is highly unlikely to reach Clinton's ears or the Indian capital this week. On Sunday, about 50 Kashmiri independence activists were arrested and jailed as they tried to board buses that would take them to New Delhi for a protest rally near Parliament, where Clinton is scheduled to speak Wednesday.

In a brief interview in jail today, the group's leader Shabir Shah, 44, said they had been tear-gassed and dragged into police vans as they prepared to leave. He said the group, which seeks Kashmiri independence from India, had planned to stage a peaceful rally and a symbolic hunger strike.

"President Clinton says he wants to help ease tensions in the region, and he will be talking with India and Pakistan, but we wanted to tell him that it is futile until we Kashmiris are taken into account," Shah said.

Kashmir, which is divided between India and Pakistan, has been the major source of friction between the two neighbors and nuclear powers for a generation. Since the early 1990s, the Indian-occupied part has been the site of a violent conflict between anti-India insurgent groups and Indian security forces, which has cost tens of thousands of lives. Last summer, a 10-week border conflict in the Kargil mountains left hundreds dead.

Today's attack on the Sikhs seemed to represent an especially gruesome escalation of

violence and attempt at ethnic cleansing in the Kashmir Valley, where Muslims dominate the population and the insurgency has become increasingly directed by Islamic groups based in Pakistan. The victims were separated from their families by unidentified gunmen who entered their village after dark and shot them.

In the past, Kashmiri insurgent groups have concentrated on military targets and have denounced terrorism against civilians. But in recent weeks, there have been a half-dozen attacks on Hindu truck drivers and on scattered villages of Kashmiri Pandits, or local Hindus, many of whom were violently driven from the region years ago. Now Sikhs, who have lived peaceably in northern Kashmir for years, appear to have become their latest target.

Clinton, who had called Kashmir "the most dangerous place in the world," has repeatedly expressed interest in helping to defuse the tensions and to nudge India and Pakistan back toward dialogue. But Indian authorities are adamantly opposed to any foreign intervention in the dispute, and have declared they will not resume talks with Pakistan until it stops arming and training Kashmiri insurgents.

In interviews over the weekend, some Srinagar residents said they were skeptical that Clinton's talks with Indian leaders could make any difference. They said the United States was too concerned with bigger issues, such as trade and nuclear non-proliferation, to let Kashmir become an irritant to improving relations.

"Clinton is coming as a guest, so he won't want to embarrass his hosts. What he says in America about Kashmir may not be what he says here," said Masood Ahmed, 30, another shopkeeper in Lal Chowk. "He already knows that thousands of people have been killed in Kashmir, but he is only coming to see the Taj Mahal."

TOBACCO LEGISLATION

HON. HENRY A. WAXMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 21, 2000

Mr. WAXMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing two bills today relating to the regulation of tobacco products.

Today the Supreme Court recognized that tobacco use "poses perhaps the single most significant threat to public health in the United States."

Unfortunately, the Court also ruled that Congress has not given the Food and Drug Administration explicit authority to regulate tobacco. So now Congress must act to deal with this enormous problem.

The first bill I am introducing is comprehensive legislation that represents what our country genuinely needs to reduce tobacco use by children. It explicitly authorizes the Food and Drug Administration to regulate tobacco products; it establishes an innovative and effective performance standard that gives the tobacco industry meaningful economic incentives to reduce the numbers of children that smoke; it establishes a national policy on environmental tobacco smoke; and it creates a new nationwide public education campaign on tobacco.

None of these measures alone are the answer to reducing tobacco use—but taken together, they will succeed in reducing the number of children who smoke. They are what we need to do in our battle against the deadly toll of tobacco, and will save millions of lives for generations to come.

I am concerned, however, that some may try to avoid acting on tobacco legislation by arguing there's not enough time in this session to deal with a comprehensive bill. And I'm concerned that some may try to avoid dealing with this urgent issue by pretending that comprehensive legislation makes it more difficult to deal quickly with today's Supreme Court decision.

So I'm introducing a second bill that only deals with the question of FDA jurisdiction over tobacco. This legislation explicitly authorizes the FDA to regulate tobacco products, and does not address any of the other issues that Congress must confront in crafting effective national tobacco legislation.

The policies in both bills have been before Congress for many years. We've held years of hearings on these issues and tried to examine carefully every possible consequence of legislation. The time to act is now.

In 1998 I reached a comprehensive agreement with Congressman TOM BLILEY, the

Chairman of the Commerce Committee, to reduce smoking by children. For reasons I still don't understand, the Republican leadership blocked that legislation from ever being considered.

Now, once again, the Republican leadership has the sole power to bring legislation to the floor. I hope they won't miss another opportunity to protect our children.

AMERICAN LUNG ASSOCIATION,
Washington, DC, March 21, 2000.

Hon. HENRY A. WAXMAN,
U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE WAXMAN: The American Lung Association is pleased to endorse the Child Tobacco Use Prevention Act of 2000 and the FDA Tobacco Jurisdiction Act of 2000. These bills will grant explicit authority to the Food and Drug Administration to regulate tobacco products. Full, unfettered, FDA authority is needed to protect the public health and provide oversight on how tobacco products are manufactured, labeled, distributed, advertised, sold and marketed.

We strongly support the additional public health provisions included in the Child Tobacco Use Prevention Act. Company-specific performance standards to reduce child tobacco use, smokefree environments and tobacco prevention and education programs complement full FDA authority and greatly enhance the effort to reduce the disease and death caused by tobacco.

Congress must act quickly and pass this critical public health legislation this year. Full, unfettered FDA authority over tobacco products is the top priority for the American Lung Association. Thank you for your continued leadership to protect children from tobacco.

Sincerely,

JOHN R. GARRISON,
Chief Executive Officer.