

It's something that we didn't think would ever happen in this area. Now it's always in the back of your mind," said Doug Sutor, dean of students at Sandburg High School in Orland Park.

A Hinsdale South mother said after Barrett Modisette's death: "It just was so frightening that something hit so close to home. . . . The outside forces that we didn't think would enter our little world did."

This whole nation is one little world, interwoven and interlocked. None of us is out of firing range.●

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD DEDICATION IN BATTLE CREEK

● Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. President, I rise today in honor of the underground railroad dedication celebration taking place on October 24, 1993, in Battle Creek, MI.

The underground railroad was an illegal network of hiding places used in moving escaped slaves from the South into the North to safety and freedom. It is estimated that somewhere between 40,000 and 100,000 escaped slavery through this network. Hiding places were located about a day's journey apart. Peoples' homes, basements, barns, attics, and cellars were used as places of refuge for those who sought their freedom.

There were at least six underground railroad routes that crossed through southwestern Michigan. Battle Creek, MI, became a major hub in the underground railroad network as part of the Quaker, Chicago, and Michigan central routes to Canada. The stationmaster in Battle Creek was Erastus Hussey, a Quaker and abolitionist. With the help of his wife, Sarah, and daughter, Susan, Erastus Hussey helped transport over 1,000 fugitives to safety. It was through the strength and courage of individuals like the Husseys that hiding slaves seeking freedom were able to find food and shelter.

As a dedication to this strong commitment to human rights, a sculpture was commissioned to pay tribute to the slaves who sought freedom in the North as well as those who helped them in their escape. The sculpture to be dedicated this weekend is the largest sculpture in the Nation commemorating the underground railroad. This silicone bronze sculpture, which stands 14 feet high and is 28 feet long, was created by Ed Dwight, an African-American sculptor from Denver. It brings to life the story of an African-American family seeking safety in a hide-out, and the people who courageously helped them to safety.

This new sculpture is not only a monument to those involved in the underground railroad network, but is also represents an ongoing effort in Battle Creek, MI, to the goal of guaranteeing human rights for everyone. Mr. President, I would like to commend all of those involved in this important project, and thank them for their efforts to commemorate this important part of our country's history.●

HONORING THE 120TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE POLISH ROMAN CATHOLIC UNION OF AMERICA

● Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. President, on the occasion of the 120th anniversary of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America [PRCUA], I extend my warmest regards to its membership and salute its ambitious achievements during the 20th century.

Since its inception in 1873, the PRCUA has evolved into the largest Polish Roman Catholic fraternal organization in the United States. Today, the PRCUA's membership stands over 90,000 strong, of which more than 10,000 reside in my State of Michigan.

The PRCUA has a rich history. The organization, which held its first convention in Detroit in 1873, decided to assume a Catholic character. As Polish immigrants arrived in large numbers in the late 1800's the PRCUA was integral in helping them become acclimated to the American way of life. In 1891, the Polish Emigration House of S. Joseph was established in New York City as a haven for immigrants. During this difficult period, the suffering of the poor, widows, and orphans was eased through the group's generosity.

The PRCUA's dedication to the arts and enlightenment through education is equally impressive. In 1913, it opened a Polish library in its Chicago headquarters which has now become the largest collection of Polish works in the western hemisphere. Later, in 1935, the Polish Museum of America was established, offering Poles an opportunity to display a unique collection of rare treasures from Poland.

PRCUA remains as vivacious and active today as ever. It encourages all Americans of Polish descent to explore their Polish-Roman Catholic roots. Lessons in Polish language, folk dancing, singing, traditions, and customs are aimed to reinforce our knowledge of Polish heritage, diversify our culturally rich society, and from tighter bonds within the Polish-American community. I would particularly like to salute the 11 Polish dance schools currently operating in Michigan which PRCUA administers.

Civic and social activities are of equal importance to the PRCUA. Women's and children's groups have provided a constructive outlet for social work, brought members together, and forged lifelong friendships. The PRCUA often organizes special events for religious holidays dear to the Catholic faith, such as Easter and Christmas, in addition to dances, dinners, performances, and pilgrimages to the motherland.

Roman Catholicism plays a role in steering the organization's moral sense. The Catholic faith provides a strong ethical compass for the PRCUA's members. Historically, most Polish people have been staunch supporters of the Roman Catholic church, a tradition carried on by the immigrants who settled in this great country. Even the darkness cast on Polish

religious freedoms during the 40 years of Soviet totalitarian and atheistic rule was not sufficient to extinguish the spark of religious faith in the Polish heart.

The PRCUA's dedication of time, caring, and resources to young people is indeed a wise investment for the future. The PRCUA's goals of preserving Polish-American heritage while fostering greater appreciation of other nationalities and cultures is a powerful positive step in promoting greater understanding. The many achievements of the organization and its dynamic membership have made the people of Michigan and the other 23 States in which it operates more aware and appreciative of the Polish-American experience, and better citizens through participation in civic, social, and religious activities. As the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America continues in its second century of service, I wish its members continued success in meeting the challenges our modern society poses.●

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT—H.R. 2519

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate considers the conference report on H.R. 2519, the Commerce, State, Justice appropriations bill; that the yeas and nays be ordered on the conference report; that upon disposition of the conference report, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table; that the Senate without any intervening action or debate concur en bloc in the House amendments to the Senate amendments; that the motions to reconsider be laid on the table en bloc; and that any statements thereon appear at the appropriate place in the RECORD as though read.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, it is my intention to call up this appropriations conference report tomorrow immediately following the votes that will occur on the Haiti amendments, pursuant to the prior agreement. So there will now be three votes occurring in succession in the morning. This will permit Senators who come for one vote to remain and be present for the three votes. That is my intention with respect to this Commerce, State, Justice appropriations bill.

I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

UNANIMOUS-CONSENT AGREEMENT—INTERIOR APPROPRIATIONS CONFERENCE REPORT

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the cloture motion I will shortly send to the desk on the Interior Appropriations Conference Report be in order, notwithstanding the fact that the Senate has not yet received the official papers from the House, and that the conference report is not now pending.

I further ask unanimous consent that there be 1 hour for debate tomorrow, October 21, following the votes now scheduled to occur at 11 a.m., equally divided between Senators BYRD and WALLOP or their designees, and 2 hours for debate on Friday, October 22, from 8 a.m. to 10 a.m., controlled in the same fashion just prior to the cloture vote with the mandatory live quorum waived.

Mr. WALLOP. Mr. President, reserving the right to object and I shall not object, this has been cleared on our side and is satisfactory.

I thank the majority leader.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, in accordance with the agreement, I now send a cloture motion to the desk and ask that it be stated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, hereby move to bring to a close the debate on the conference report accompanying H.R. 2520, the Interior Appropriations bill:

Robert C. Byrd, Wendell Ford, Harry Reid, Claiborne Pell, Russell D. Feingold, J. Lieberman, Paul Simon, Patty Murray, Pat Leahy, D. Pryor, Ernest Hollings, Harris Wofford, Barbara Boxer, Edward Kennedy, Paul Sarbanes, Joe Biden, D. Inouye.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I thank my colleagues for their cooperation.

There will be no further rollcall votes this evening. There will be the introduction of an amendment pursuant to the previous order and debate on that amendment.

I remind Senators that beginning at 11 a.m. tomorrow, there will under the current schedule be three votes. Senators should be aware three votes will occur beginning at about 11 a.m. tomorrow morning.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT OF 1994

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, I rise to support, strongly, the amendment that is about to be offered by Senator DOLE and Senator MITCHELL. I understand that there are a couple of items to be worked out. I have read the amendment. I have had a chance to be involved in the formulation of it. I think it is a very important amendment and one that strongly expresses the emerging consensus in the Senate that the administration would be well advised to seek seriously the advice of Members before they embark on any new military adventures in Haiti or anywhere else.

I would like to point out that, again, my esteemed friend and colleague, Senator DOLE, has been involved in this issue. He is concerned about the possible risk of American lives, and I appreciate his efforts on this amendment. I also thank Senator MITCHELL, the distinguished majority leader, who again chooses to approach these issues of national security in a bipartisan fashion.

As my colleagues know, I have strong reservations about prospectively limiting the President's role as Commander in Chief. However, Senator DOLE's amendment avoids such constitutional pitfalls. It is a timely and constructive attempt to inject some much needed realism into the foreign policy formulations of the administration. His amendment strikes a fine balance between expressing concern over the direction of our policy toward Haiti, on the one hand, and preserving the prerogatives of the Commander in Chief on the other.

I commend the framers of this amendment, the sponsors of it, and the Republican leader for his statesmanlike attempt to prevent the administration from recklessly stumbling into a foreign policy debacle like we have experienced in Somalia, the cost of which would be measured in American lives.

Senator DOLE has pursued this matter tirelessly. It is my sincere hope that his efforts, and the considerable support they have in Congress, have convinced the President that it is time to formulate a coherent foreign policy.

For evidence that such coherence has been wholly lacking from much of the administration's foreign policy to date we need look no further than the front page of today's Washington Post. The administration has now determined to withdraw the U.S. Army Rangers from the conflict in Somalia. Two weeks ago, the President ordered the deployment of additional thousands of Amer-

ican troops to Somalia. Today, he is withdrawing the Rangers.

Apparently, the mission of the remaining thousands of American servicemen and women who are obligated to remain there until March 31, is to hunker down in enclaves to serve as targets for any Somali warlord who may crave a headline in the international press. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD a report in the Washington Post dated today, October 20, 1993, entitled: "U.S. Pulls Rangers Out of Somalia."

Such a confused, purposeless, and dangerous policy makes the most compelling case for Senator DOLE's efforts to bring the administration to the understanding that it urgently needs help in setting a sensible, hard-headed direction for its foreign policy in Haiti and elsewhere, a policy that is based on a realistic assessment of the national interests at stake and the prospects for protecting them through the use of force.

I believe the efforts of Senator DOLE have given the administration ample warning that before it commits troops, it better have the support of Congress and the American people.

The President should understand that the way to gain the support of the American people and their representatives in Congress, for any foreign policy initiative is to demonstrate a readily understandable connection to American national interests.

American service men and women understand the risks that their jobs entail. They volunteer to take these risks in service to our Nation. But before they are put in harm's way, they and their families deserve a clear explanation of how their mission will affect the interests of the Nation to which they have pledged their allegiance.

I do not believe that the administration has succeeded in making clear its case for our involvement in Haiti.

In considering the scope of our involvement in Haiti, we should remember the lessons of history. Our last military adventure in Haiti, which lasted 19 years, from 1915 to 1934, developed on an ad hoc basis. The development of that policy, and the difficulties faced by our marines in implementing it, illustrate the dangers that the direction of our current policy toward Haiti may entail.

Mr. President, there is an old saying that those who ignore the lessons of history are doomed to repeat it.

President Wilson had no intention of staying in Haiti for 19 years when he decided to intervene. The marines landed in July of 1915 to protect American property and the lives of American citizens from the threat posed by violent civil disturbances and the collapse of governing institutions.

Our mission in Haiti during our previous involvement changed from one of protecting America interests, a legitimate reason for landing troops, to one of establishing order. It then changed

want to smell it." (Washington Post article by Lally Weymouth, January 24, 1993)

According to the Catholic Standard of the Archdiocese of Washington, Aristide was suspended from the Salesian Order of the Catholic church in 1968 after being accused of "incitement to hatred and violence" and emphasizing "class struggle" in his sermons.

"Don't neglect to give him what he deserves. Three days and three nights you're keeping watch in front of the National Penitentiary (see Note). If someone escapes, don't neglect to give him what he deserves." (Note: A reference to Roger Lafontant, who had begun to serve a life sentence in the penitentiary for attempting to overthrow the government. He was murdered two days later in his cell as the coup was beginning under circumstances that remain obscure.)

"We should have discovered in the electoral campaign of this devil called Reagan, the satanic spirit was dancing in Reagan's head . . . The same spirit that Jesus chased while He was on Earth, forced these experts and Reagan to produce this document called Santa Fe . . . A bad spirit like this, don't you see, is the same bad spirit that danced in the heads of the Roman Emperors that Jesus fought."

" . . . What we need to destroy these people we do not yet have. The day will come when we will have it. Nicaragua had it in 1979. Cuba had it in 1968 and 59."

"When you are sitting on top of the mountain teaching the peasants how to use necklacing, the peasant, having never seen a car before, having never seen a tire before, he will ask you, 'What is Necklacing?' He could also ask if the use of Necklacing is in the Constitution. You might answer, 'If the pressure of Necklacing in front of the Court-house on September 29 (the Judgment day of Roger Lafontant) was not there, then he would not have received the life sentence. Instead, he would have only received 15 years.'"

[The three previous excerpts are from a transcript of a videotape of various Aristide speeches and sermons at Mass.]

The 1991 State Department *Human Rights Report* said:

"President Aristide appeared less concerned about prosecuting members of the military accused of human rights abuses if they were supporters or appointees of his Government . . . President Aristide also failed to condemn categorically all recourse to popular justice through mob violence. The Aristide Government made no effort to identify and to bring to justice those responsible for the wholesale killing, looting, and burning . . ."

[From the Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, Translation from the French]

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
ARMED FORCES OF HAITI,

Port-au-Prince, Haiti, October 14, 1993.
His Excellency JEAN BERTRAND ARISTIDE,
President of the Republic, Palais National

MR. PRESIDENT: I would be very grateful if you would give the necessary instruction to the responsible Government officials to begin the necessary proceedings for my anticipated retirement provided for in Point 8 of the Governors Island Political Agreement which I signed in good faith on July 3, 1993 to lift the blockade of the country and to preserve the institution of the military.

I believe that you, as well as I, are aware of the obligation parallel to this procedure of making all the necessary arrangements for granting amnesty by parliamentary law, as indicated in Article 5 of the Governors Island Agreements and Article 5 (paragraph II) of the New York Treaty.

My concern is shared by the Prime Minister and the Special Envoy who agreed in the course of a tripartite meeting held at Mr. Malval's residence on Tuesday, October 7, 1993 to send you the Minister of the Interior for this purpose of choosing the Commander-in-Chief, according to the oath in the Constitution and the Armed Forces General Regulations and by personal letter of appointment, and the Senate ratification of the Commander-in-Chief.

I will then officially hand over the command of the Haitian Armed Forces to my replacement.

Sincerely yours,

RAOUL CEDRAS,

Lieutenant General, Armed Forces of
Haiti, Commander-in-Chief.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I think the point has been made.

Many of the assertions made by the Senator are, of course, open to dispute and refutation. I am sure they will be and have been, during the course of the debate. I have no wish to engage in that because that is not the matter which I am involved in at the moment.

I just simply repeat that if the notion that long-distance psychological examinations be made of elected officials, and that they be made public, knowing best, as I do, about Members of the U.S. Senate, we all should be very leery of that.

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, will my friend yield for one more question? Mr. MITCHELL. Certainly.

Mr. PRESSLER. I am not saying we are in the psychological business, but here is a case where we are committing the prestige of our Government to someone who, according to newspaper reports, had very severe problems; who according to newspaper reports, has committed murder; who according to our State Department has committed human rights abuses.

I want to make that clear. We are not in the business of psychologically evaluating people. But here we are putting the force of the U.S. Government, the U.S. taxpayers, the overburdened American people, behind this person.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator a question? The Senator has referred three times to newspaper reports.

Does the Senator from South Dakota hereby state that everything that ever appeared about human rights in newspapers is true?

Mr. PRESSLER. Absolutely not.

Mr. MITCHELL. I thank the Senator.

Mr. PRESSLER. But I have had to deal with the press. I hope we deal with these accounts.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I now ask unanimous consent that the previous consent granted governing the conference report accompanying H.R. 2519 be executed upon disposition of the Dole-Mitchell amendment relating to Haiti; and that it now be in order to request the yeas and nays on adoption of the conference report.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MITCHELL. I now ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The yeas and nays are requested.

Is there a sufficient second?

There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS ACT OF 1994

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 1074

(Purpose: To express the sense of Congress on funding for the deployment of United States Armed Forces in Haiti)

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, in behalf of Senator DOLE, myself, Senator GRAHAM, Senator SIMPSON, Senator THURMOND, Senator DOMENICI, Senator WARNER, Senator HUTCHISON, Senator D'AMATO, Senator MURKOWSKI, and Senator DODD, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Maine [Mr. MITCHELL], for himself, Mr. DOLE, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. SIMPSON, Mr. THURMOND, Mr. DOMENICI, Mr. WARNER, Mrs. HUTCHISON, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. MURKOWSKI, and Mr. DODD, proposes an amendment numbered 1074.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place in the bill, insert the following:

Sec. 1. SENSE OF CONGRESS ON THE USE OF FUNDS FOR UNITED STATES MILITARY OPERATIONS IN HAITI.

(a) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) all parties should honor their obligations under the Governors Island Accord of July 3, 1993 and the New York Pact of July 16, 1993;

(2) the United States has a national interest in preventing uncontrolled emigration from Haiti; and

(3) the United States should remain engaged in Haiti to support national reconciliation and further its interest in preventing uncontrolled emigration.

(b) LIMITATION.—It is the sense of Congress that funds appropriated by this Act should not be obligated or expended for United States military operations in Haiti unless—

(1) authorized in advanced by the Congress; or

(2) the temporary deployment of United States Armed Forces into Haiti is necessary in order to protect or evacuate United States citizens from a situation of imminent danger and the President reports as soon as practicable to Congress after the initiation of the temporary deployment; or

(3) the deployment of United States Armed Forces into Haiti is vital to the national security interests of the United States, including but not limited to the protection of American citizens in Haiti, there is not sufficient time to seek and receive Congressional authorization, and the President reports as soon as practicable to Congress after the initiation of the deployment, but in no case later than forty eight hours after the initiation of the deployment; or