

many of these same seniors also decide to skimp on drugs to treat potentially serious diagnosed conditions, including leg swelling and diabetes.

This year, I have heard from many, many distraught seniors who have written to tell me they are going broke trying to pay for drugs their doctor told them they must take. I believe that some will wind up in worse health when they decide to forgo or cut back on the very drugs designed to keep them clinically stable.

The absence of a prescription drug benefit in Medicare that forces elderly people to skip and skimp on drugs is inexcusable. It is time for Congress to debate and enact legislation that will provide all seniors who want it access to affordable Medicare-sponsored drug coverage.

There really aren't any good alternatives. Trends in employer-sponsored retiree health coverage—which has traditionally featured a drug benefit—show it is eroding. A somber General Accounting Office report released last summer warns that “while an estimated 60 to 70% of large employers offered retiree health coverage during the 1980's, fewer than 40% do so today, and that number is continuing to decline despite the recent period of strong economic growth.” That's a polite way of pointing out that the number of U.S. companies offering their retirees health coverage in the last decade has been dropping like a stone.

For those seniors who don't—and won't—have retiree health coverage, purchasing a supplemental policy with good drug coverage may soon be unaffordable. Supplemental Medigap policies now costs on average more than \$1,200 per year, according to the American Association of Retired Persons. But Medigap policies with drug coverage can cost far more. The range in costs for Medigap policies with drug coverage is also large: In Los Angeles, Bankers' Life Insurance and Casualty sells a drug-Medigap policy for \$6,381 at age 65. At age 75, the same policy costs \$9,174! The difficulty that seniors have in affording comprehensive supplemental insurance is illustrated by the fact that in 1994–95, a mere 15% of seniors purchasing a Medigap policy had drug coverage.

The hard fact is that a Medigap policy with drug coverage is not now—and will never be—within the financial reach of millions of Medicare beneficiaries, particularly the very old, who are spending down their assets.

That brings us to Medicare managed care. Remember, one quarter of those who are enrolled today don't have any drug coverage. Those who do are facing ever-higher deductibles and copayments, and ever-lower annual reimbursement caps. In Massachusetts, where state law has long required all HMOs to offer drug coverage, Medicare managed care plans are now asserting that last year's Balanced Budget Act says they don't have to comply!

Only recently have seniors begun to understand that the comprehensive drug benefit they were promised in glossy HMO marketing materials is the equivalent of a “low introductory rate” pitch made by credit card companies. It's great while it lasts. But after that, you could be in trouble.

The Medicare Prescription Drug Coverage Act is carefully designed to help those who most need an outpatient drug benefit—who don't get it from a former employer, from Med-

icaid or any other federal health program, and who pay an extra premium under Part B for Medicare drug coverage.

I am introducing this bill, roughly modeled on the 1994 legislation, so that consumers, pharmaceutical providers and others can study the issue over the winter, comment and suggest changes for a revised bill to be introduced at the beginning of the 106th Congress. I am leaving the numbers for the deductible, the caps, and the premiums blank, so that groups can comment on what they think the appropriate combination of figures should be.

In a separate statement, I am reprinting some of the literature that is available on the cost of different prescription drug benefit plans at different deductible levels. Clearly, there is a tradeoff between the size of the benefit and its affordability: Striking the right balance is the key to the passage of successful legislation.

There is a critical distinction between previous proposals for Medicare drug coverage and the legislation I am introducing today: If you already have an adequate prescription drug benefit, you will not have to “pay again” in higher Part B premiums. If you have coverage, there will be no change and no new cost to you. If you do not have a prescription drug benefit, you will face a higher Part B premium, but if you are low income, you will get assistance in paying for it. While it is tempting to say that the decision to enroll in the prescription drug benefit could be voluntary, the adverse risk selection (i.e., only sick people needing lots of costly prescriptions would be likely to sign up) would make the cost of premiums to those enrollees prohibitive.

Adding an outpatient drug benefit to Medicare is not cheap. But IF prices are set at the “wholesale” level that physicians, medical suppliers and other purchasers pay, and IF all budgetary savings are not immediately earmarked for tax cuts, then Medicare drug coverage is affordable.

In the next Congress, we will have another opportunity to reshape Medicare to make it a better program. As we work to stabilize the program's financing, we must also improve it for those it was created to serve—our nation's seniors.

Without drug coverage, more and more seniors will fall through the widening cracks of a health care system that is getting leaner and meaner.

Without drug coverage, we'll see more seniors who can't afford to take their medications treated in the emergency room, where health care costs are highest.

Adding a prescription drug benefit to Medicare along with a requirement that costs be held to reasonable levels and a reasonable rate of growth is a clear way out of this dilemma. It is legislation that is 33 years overdue. I hope my colleagues will join me in vigorously advocating for passage of the Medicare Prescription Drug Coverage Act in the 106th Congress.

THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE: HATED AND BIGOTRY IN ITS MOST FRIGHTENING FORM

HON. TOM LANTOS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 8, 1998

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask my colleagues to join me in studying the

recently released report of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) entitled *Explosion of Hate: The Growing Danger of the National Alliance*. This comprehensive and well-written document addresses the activities and proclivities of one of the most dangerous hate groups in America, the neo-Nazi National Alliance.

The stated goal of the National Alliance is to secure “a racially clean area of the earth . . . no non-whites in our living space . . . a thorough rooting out of Semitic and other non-Aryan values and customs everywhere.” To achieve this warped end, this organization of intolerance pledges “to do whatever is necessary to achieve this White living space and to keep it White. We will not be deterred by the difficulty or temporary unpleasantness involved.” Indeed, the ADL report details the depths of “temporary unpleasantness” to which the National Alliance has sunk in its pursuit of its depraved agenda, tracing numerous cold-blooded murders and other terrorist activities to National Alliance members. Declared National Alliance leader William L. Pierce: “We should not flinch from this. We should not focus on the fact that it will be horrible and bloody, but on the fact that it is necessary, and because it is necessary it is good.” The dramatic growth of this frightening organization over the past several years should alarm us all.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to enter into the RECORD selected portions of “Explosion of Hate: The Growing Danger of the National Alliance.” I hope that my colleagues will read the entire report on the ADL's web site at www.adl.org.

EXPLOSION OF HATE: THE GROWING DANGER OF THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE

INTRODUCTION: THRIVING ON HATE

The Most Dangerous Organized Hate Group

A new ADL investigation reveals that the neo-Nazi National Alliance (NA) is the single most dangerous organized hate group in the United States today. The NA sprang to national attention several years ago, when it was discovered that a fictitious incident in *The Turner Diaries*, a violent and racist novel written by the NA's leader, might have been used as a model for the Oklahoma City bombing. Convicted bomber Timothy McVeigh was a devoted reader of *The Diaries*, which features a bombing scenario that is eerily reminiscent of the April 19, 1995 blast. The book was also the blueprint for *The Order*, a revolutionary terrorist group that robbed and murdered its way to fame in the early 1980s. The ringleader of *The Order* was an organizer for the NA.

Now, the National Alliance has leaped to prominence again. In the last several years, dozens of violent crimes, including murders, bombings and robberies, have been traced to NA members or appear to have been inspired by the groups's propaganda. At the same time, the National Alliance's membership base has experienced dramatic growth, with its numbers more than doubling since 1992. The group, headquartered near Hillsboro, West Virginia, is led by former University of Oregon physics professor and veteran anti-Semite William L. Pierce.

Active Cells From Coast to Coast

With 16 active cells from coast to coast, an estimated membership of 1,000 and several thousand additional Americans listening to its radio broadcasts and browsing its Internet site, the National Alliance is the largest and most active neo-Nazi organization in the nation. The group has also developed significant political connections abroad. In the past three years there has been evidence of

NA activity in no fewer than 26 states across the country. The organization has been most active in Ohio, Florida, Michigan, New York, Maryland, North Carolina, Virginia, and New Mexico.

The National Alliance's current strength and influence can be attributed to several factors; its skillful embrace of technology, its willingness to cooperate with other extremists, its energetic recruitment and promotional activities, and its vicious, but deceptively intellectualized propaganda.

A HATE-FILLED NETHERWORLD

Learning From The Turner Diaries

Around the country, local National Alliance leaders are responsible for ensuring that their charges read Pierce's novel, *The Turner Diaries*, from cover to cover. Some of these unit coordinators have suggested that they regard the novel—which depicts an Aryan world takeover—as a model for their own activities. For instance, *The Turner Diaries* describes the protagonists' defiance of the fictitious "Cohen Act," a law against private ownership of weapons. Convinced that the government will one day confiscate the weapons of all citizens as it does in *The Diaries*, some NA leaders have instructed members to keep guns and ammunition hidden on their property. Some coordinators have further advised followers to acquire M-16s and other weapons used by the U.S. Army, so that in the event the government does disarm its citizens, NA members will be able to raid military bases and steal ammunition for their hidden guns.

The Ideology of Hate

Beyond these specific tactical instructions, National Alliance leaders school their adherents in an ideology of hate. The NA is determined to secure "a racially clean area of the earth . . . no non-whites in our living space . . . a thorough rooting out of Semitic and other non-Aryan values and customs everywhere. . . . We must have new societies throughout the white world which are based on Aryan values and are compatible with the Aryan nature." The National Alliance claims it "will do whatever is necessary to achieve this White living space and to keep it White. We will not be deterred by the difficulty or temporary unpleasantness involved, because we realize that it is absolutely necessary for our racial survival."

Fundamental to the organization's doctrine is the belief that "our world is hierarchical" and that the Aryan race is endowed by nature with superior qualities. The National Alliance laments that "nature" is currently unable to take its course, because "the sickness of multiculturalism is destroying America, Britain and every other Aryan nation in which it is being promoted."

Rejecting Democracy

The group's racist vision extends to its views on government. The National Alliance decries "the growth of mass democracy," including "the enfranchisement of women and of non-whites," and favors a government that will "reverse the racially devolutionary course of the last few millennia and keep it reversed."

NA activists are also eager to erase the special progress made by women in the last century, and believe that "feminism is a threat to our race." "A woman's battlefield is the maternity ward," they say, and her "greatest 'diploma' is to give birth to the 'superman' or 'superwoman'."

NA members believe that people are the masters of their destiny, and can control the trajectory of their lives, within the laws of nature. The doctrines of various religious groups are therefore a target. The National Alliance specifically rails against Christianity, because most of its members have Chris-

tian family backgrounds. "We are obliged to oppose the Christian churches and to speak out against their doctrines," read the group's tenets. "It is not an Aryan religion . . . like the other Semitic religions [it] is irredeemably primitive."

Jews as THE Threat

While Pierce and other NA figures dehumanize both Blacks and Jews, depicting them as threats to "Aryan culture" and "racial purity," Jews are considered a more immediate menace to white survival. In his infamous essay, "Who Rules America?" Pierce's hatred of Jews turns to paranoia and conspiracy mongering, as he describes the United States as being in the thrall of a malevolent Jewish-owned media.

"The Jewish control of the mass media," Pierce writes, "is the single most important fact of life, not just in America, but in the world today. There is nothing—plague, famine, economic collapse, even nuclear war—more dangerous to the future of our people."

The National Alliance attempts to intellectualize its racist agenda in the page of its glossy magazine, the *National Vanguard*. The magazine, which is published irregularly, glorifies Aryan civilization and racial purity in articles such as "Aryans: Culture Bearers to China" and "Miscegenation: The Morality of Death." The *National Vanguard*'s highbrow tone contrasts sharply with the cruder, poorly edited propaganda materials of some other extremist groups, and perhaps heightens the NA's appeal among better-educated bigots.

THE DIARIES: AN INSPIRATION

While he wrote "*The Turner Diaries*" more than two decades ago, Pierce continues to champion its ugly vision of a world for whites only. A National Alliance radio broadcast aired in early 1997 provides one of many examples:

In 1975, when I began writing "*The Turner Diaries*" . . . I wanted to take all of the feminist agitators and propagandists and all of the race-mixing fanatics and all of the media bosses and all of the bureaucrats and politicians who were collaborating with them, and I wanted to put them up against a wall, in batches of a thousand or so at a time, and machine-gun them. And I still want to do that. I am convinced that one day we will have to do that before we can get our civilization back on track, and I look forward to the day.

Following its broadcast on shortwave and conventional radio stations, a recording of Pierce's explicitly violent statement was featured on the NA's Web site.

A Racist Crime Spree

Other murderers and terrorists appear to have shared the racist fantasies Pierce voiced in his radio address. "*The Turner Diaries*" is thought to be the inspiration behind a crime spree in the early 1980s perpetrated by a gang of extremists called *The Order*. The Order's crimes included murders, robberies, counterfeiting and the bombing of a synagogue."

After a Seattle bank robbery in 1983, the terrorist gang's leader, Robert Mathews, told an acquaintance that he had orchestrated the heist as the opening scene in what he hoped would be a reenactment of Pierce's American Nazi revolution. Prior to *The Order*'s formation, Mathews was a Pacific Northwest representative of the National Alliance, and other founders of this terrorist gang also traced their roots to the NA. Even the group's name, "*The Order*," was chosen as a reverent nod to its inspiration—an elite, clandestine paramilitary unit featured in "*The Turner Diaries*."

The Aryan Republican Army: Reading the Turner Diaries

More recently, members of a white supremacist gang calling itself the "Aryan Re-

publican Army" took its cues from *The Order*. Authorities say the "Army," led by Peter Langan, committed 22 bank robberies and bombings across the Midwest between 1992 and 1996 using tactics reminiscent of *The Order*. Four members of the group have pleaded guilty to a variety of robbery charges, while Langan was convicted in two Federal trials. In a racist video discovered by the FBI, Langan praised Robert Mathews and instructed his viewers to "learn from Bob." Federal prosecutors have also demonstrated that *The Turner Diaries* was required reading in the Aryan Republican Army.

The New Order: Planning Violence

The activities of *The Order* have also been cited as a role model for an alleged conspiracy by a group of white supremacists in East St. Louis, Illinois. In March 1998, Federal authorities arrested Dennis McGiffen, an Aryan Nations leader and former Klansman, Wallace Weicherding, also a former Klansman, and Robert Bock. The three were charged with conspiracy to possess and make machine guns. McGiffen and Bock pleaded guilty to the charges one month later. Wallace Weicherding was convicted on September 1, 1998.

At the time of their indictment, an FBI agent testified that McGiffen had been forming a group called "*The New Order*," patterned after Robert Mathews' terrorist gang. The group allegedly planned to bomb the Anti-Defamation League's New York headquarters, the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Alabama, and the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles. They had also talked of bombing state capitols and post offices, and poisoning public water supplies with cyanide. Like other admirers of *The Order*, McGiffen's beliefs were reportedly heavily influenced by "*The Turner Diaries*."

RACIST LINKS

The Fort Bragg Murders

Also on the East Coast, the NA has attempted to attract members among U.S. Army personnel at Fort Bragg, in Fayetteville, North Carolina. A member of the elite 82nd Airborne Division, Robert Hunt, reportedly worked as a recruiter for the National Alliance while stationed at Fort Bragg. In April 1995, according to the NA, Hunt rented a billboard outside Fort Bragg and used it to post an advertisement and local phone number for the group.

In December 1995, a Black couple was gunned down near the Army base in what prosecutors called a racially motivated killing. James Burmeister and Malcolm Wright, members of the 82nd Airborne Division, were ultimately convicted of the murders and sentenced to life in prison. (A third soldier, Randy Meadows, pleaded guilty to conspiracy and accessory charges.) Burmeister and Wright were active neo-Nazi Skinheads, and reportedly read National Alliance propaganda.

Racist Shooting in Mississippi

Another racial incident that can be linked to National Alliance propaganda occurred in April 1996, when Larry Wayne Shoemaker killed one African American and injured seven others in Jackson, Mississippi. Police say Shoemaker piled a small arsenal of weapons into an abandoned restaurant in a predominantly Black neighborhood, and from his hideout began shooting wildly into the street in a murderous rampage. As an ambulance tried to rescue a dying victim, Shoemaker continued firing his rifle, preventing emergency workers from remaining on the scene. Shoemaker ultimately took his own life.

In a police search of Shoemaker's home, authorities found a Nazi flag draped over his

bed, a copy of Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and literature from the National Alliance. According to his ex-wife, Shoemaker first encountered NA propaganda in the mid-1980s, when he borrowed "The Turner Diaries" from a friend. She said her husband wasn't the same after he read Pierce's novel. "It was like an eye-opener for him," his wife said. "There was a distinct difference in him." Shoemaker also began subscribing to Pierce's monthly publications.

Separation or Annihilation

The October 1995 issue of "Free Speech," a monthly newsletter sent to financial supporters of the NA's "American Dissident Voices" radio program, seems to have had a particular impact on Shoemaker. The issue featured an article called "Separation or Annihilation," which exhorted readers to choose between "racial separation" and "annihilation" of whites. It stated that "attaining racial separation and avoiding racial annihilation is worth any cost. We should be willing to give up every material thing we own to achieve it." Along the margins of the essay, Shoemaker scrawled: "I say: Separation or annihilation! Who is crazy? Me or you? We will see." Shoemaker repeated the NA's slogan in a final, rambling letter obtained and published by the Jackson, Mississippi, *Clarion-Ledger*. Shoemaker wrote: "Black is the problem. It's in their genes. . . . They will never forgive whites for all the supposedly terrible treatment we did to them. The bottom line is: Separation or annihilation."

A VENOMOUS VOICE

Broadcasting Hate

Despite these crimes, Pierce continues to glorify violence, offering it as the ultimate solution to what he calls—in words reminiscent of Adolf Hitler—"the Jewish problem." Much like his writings, Pierce's weekly radio show is rife with incendiary speech. Moreover, while the program's topic varies from week to week depending on current events, Pierce's material never truly changes. Each broadcast is a springboard for the NA's enduring message of anti-Jewish, anti-Black and anti-government hatred.

The broadcasts can be picked up in most of the country on shortwave radio, are aired on local radio stations in parts of Arkansas, Texas, Alabama, New England, Florida and California and can be downloaded in audio form from the NA's World Wide Web site. Transcripts of the speeches are sent via E-mail to subscribers and are sent to financial supporters in the form of a monthly newspaper.

A Continuing Theme: Eliminating Jews and non-whites

In a November 1997 broadcast discussing the revelation that a Black man in upstate New York had infected dozens of local white girls with the AIDS virus, Pierce said:

Ultimately, we must separate ourselves from the Blacks and other non-whites and keep ourselves separate, no matter what it takes to accomplish this. We must do this

not because we hate Blacks, but because we cannot survive if we remain mixed with them. And we cannot survive if we permit the Jews and the traitors among us to remain among us and to repeat their treachery. Eventually we must hunt them down and get rid of them.

Continuing his tirade, Pierce said that while individual Blacks and Jews may seem worthy of redemption, the only tenable solution for white people is to eliminate all non-whites.

Calling for Racial Cleansing

In January 1998, in a speech titled, "What Is a Patriot to Do?" Pierce spoke of starting an armed revolution against the Jewish people. He agreed that such an act of resistance would demand sacrifice, but deemed its rewards far greater:

Yes, the great cleansing which must come may destroy millions of our own people, the innocent along with the guilty, the good along with the bad. * * * But eventually it must come, because otherwise our people will die, and everything that has gone before as well as everything that might come in the future will be lost forever. The great cleansing must come, and we must do whatever it takes to ensure that it does, so that our people will live.

The bottom line to listeners was a shrill cry for violence. "We should not flinch from this," Pierce said. "We should not focus on the fact that it will be horrible and bloody, but on the fact that it is necessary, and because it is necessary it is good."

LOOKING AHEAD

The National Alliance's dramatic growth is significant because it comes at a time when other neo-Nazi organizations, as well as groups like the Ku Klux Klan, are becoming weaker and more fragmented. Moreover, the NA does not appear to be siphoning members from these declining groups, but actually recruiting a fresh cast of educated, middle-class bigots. These new followers appear to be attracted to the National Alliance's dedicated membership, its commanding presence on the Internet, its emphasis on maintaining a "sophisticated" image, and its powerful leadership. As the National Alliance continues to gather momentum and strength, its threat of violence grows. Crimes being plotted or committed by NA members of "Turner Diaries" devotees have been mounting. By publishing this report, ADL seeks to increase public awareness of the dangers posed by these individuals, as well as to encourage stepped-up vigilance by law enforcement officials at all levels.

CONSIDERATION OF H. RES. 557

HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 8, 1998

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be a cosponsor of this impor-

tant resolution that addresses many of the unresolved issues of the Holocaust era. I appreciate the efforts of my colleagues, Mr. GILMAN and the bill's sponsor, Mr. LANTOS, and their staff for preparing this important measure.

In the aftermath of the Holocaust, survivors struggled to rebuild their lives. Holocaust victims in Western countries generally received some monetary compensation from Germany, albeit very limited compensation. Those victims whose homelands fell behind the Iron Curtain after World War II did not receive even this slight measure of justice. Other issues related to the Holocaust era, including the disposition of assets such as real or financial property, art work, and insurance policy proceeds went unresolved for all of these individuals, as well as for religious communities.

Mr. Speaker, a belated measure of justice for Holocaust victims is within reach. Much has been achieved, including unprecedented settlements between Holocaust survivors, Swiss Banks, and European insurance companies. Building on this momentum, the State Department and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum will convene the Washington Conference on Holocaust-era Assets next month to address issues of Nazi-confiscated assets, including art, insurance, communal property, libraries and archives, as well as Holocaust education, research and remembrance. Conference participants will include government officials from over 40 countries, historians, experts, and representatives of major NGOs including the survivor community.

This resolution could not be considered at a more opportune moment. The resolution calls on countries to return expropriated properties to Holocaust victims or their heirs without arbitrary discrimination. It calls for the opening of archives relating to the Nazi era and for the continued prosecution of Nazi-era war criminals. It calls on Germany to provide just reparations to all Holocaust victims without delay and without the use of unreasonable eligibility criteria. Of equal importance, this resolution calls on all countries to encourage education on the history of the Holocaust and the consequences of the failure to respect human rights.

Mr. Speaker, we should pass this resolution as a demonstration of Congress' support for the U.S. Government's efforts to achieve justice for Holocaust victims and their families. I strongly urge my colleagues to join me in supporting this measure