

# SUNDRY MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Sundry messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the House by Mr. Sherman Williams, one of his secretaries.

## SPECIAL ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, and under a previous order of the House, the following Members will be recognized for 5 minutes each.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GEKAS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. GEKAS addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

□ 1515

# DEFERRALS OF BUDGETARY RESOURCES—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PEASE) laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and, together with the accompanying papers, without objection, referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

In accordance with the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report eight new deferrals of budgetary resources, totaling \$4.8 billion.

These deferrals affect programs of the Department of State, the Social Security Administration, and International Security Assistance.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 3, 1998.

## TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE RONALD V. DELLUMS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, it is with mixed feelings that I address the House today and preside over this special order. On the one hand, we honor a truly outstanding American and Member of this body. On the other hand, he will be leaving as a Member of the United States House of Representatives on February 6. It is with that as a prelude that I precede my remarks.

I might also say, Mr. Speaker, that we had intended to take this special order up at 5 o'clock this evening, and there are those who are still traveling back to Washington from their districts that I know would wish to be a

part of this. Hopefully they will submit their statements for the RECORD at a later time.

Mr. Speaker, in the early and middle years of the 1800s, there was a giant of an orator who spoke in this body and also spoke in the other body, the United States Senate. His name, of course, was Daniel Webster. I doubt if anyone has been measured to his status or his level until my friend RON DELLUMS, who is one of the finest orators of our day, and, I think, of any day and time in this body, came along.

A few years ago, after a very interesting debate, a young page approached me outside the chamber and remarked that Congressman DELLUMS was undoubtedly the finest speaker in the House of Representatives, to which I agreed with the young gentleman's observations.

As our colleague and good friend RON DELLUMS prepares to close this chapter of his life, 27 years as a Member of Congress, I would like to say a few words about the man and about the legacy.

He is one of those rarities, a native who was born in Oakland, California. He served in the Marine Corps, used the GI Bill to go to college, and worked as a psychiatric social worker, a skill he put to good use here years later in this Congress.

How would I describe him? First, he is a friend. He is a teacher, he is a role model. He is also a man of passion, of eloquence, and of intelligence, as anyone who has observed him in countless House debates knows so very well.

He has a liberal badge that he wears with honor, and has been a leading figure in that part of the Democratic Party for over a generation. He demonstrated his courage on several occasions, of his convictions, and he used his position and status as a Member of Congress to draw public attention to an issue he considered important.

I believe it was Speaker NEWT GINGRICH who once described RON DELLUMS as the "Conscience of Congress."

RON DELLUMS's accomplishments in the Committee on National Security, formerly known as the House Armed Services Committee, and here in Congress are numerous. He was the first African-American to serve on the House Armed Services Committee in 1973. He was the first to serve as a subcommittee chairman, which was Military Construction, from 1983 to 1989. He was the first to serve as the Chairman of the full committee, from 1993 to 1995.

He has been a longtime opponent of large defense expenditures. At the same time he has always supported, always supported, those measures designed to improve the welfare of the men and women who served our Nation in uniform, as well as their families.

He worked closely with the former Secretary of Defense, Bill Perry, to promote procurement and reform legislation, which passed, Mr. Speaker, with bipartisan support in 1994.

Maybe his most significant accomplishment in Congress occurred with

the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which prohibited new investment in South Africa. It capped a 15-year effort on his part and passed with overwhelming support as a result of his persistence. Less than 10 years later, in 1994, he traveled to South Africa and witnessed the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as President of South Africa.

RON DELLUMS can take justifiable credit for having been a leader on that issue in Congress and having contributed to the remarkable and positive outcome in South Africa.

But as part of his legacy here in Congress and on the committee on which I serve, RON DELLUMS conducted himself in exemplary fashion, with fairness, I will repeat, with fairness; with integrity, I will repeat, with integrity; and, of course, with the highest of dignity.

As both Chairman and ranking member of the committee, he was committed to the democratic process. Yes, he had strong views about many issues the committee dealt with, arms control, defense spending, individual weapons systems, and many, many more, but he was scrupulously fair, to ensure that all points of view were heard and were considered, so that no one, no Member was shut out of the democratic process, whether it be in committee or here on the floor of the House.

While Congressman DELLUMS took his responsibilities seriously as a Member of this body, as Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and as ranking member of the House Committee on National Security, he maintained a down-to-earth attitude about himself. He remained a friend; approachable and bright. When asked for advice, he gave it; when asked for friendship, he gave it.

Congressman DELLUMS can take great satisfaction that he leaves this body, this Congress of the United States, having made a difference, a major difference.

□ 1530

We can also have the knowledge that he leaves many friends here. We hope he will maintain contact with each of us. We wish him and his family health. We wish them happiness and success. We wish them the very, very best in the days and years ahead. I am proud to call him my friend, I am proud to call him my colleague. We will miss him.

I yield to the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SISISKY).

Mr. SISISKY. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult to say everything in my heart about RON DELLUMS. However, I must follow up on my colleague from Missouri concerning a speech that Mr. DELLUMS gave concerning apartheid in South Africa. It has been my custom when I do not know how I am going to vote on a subject, I come to the floor, not in front of the television set, but come to the floor to see how Members really conduct themselves. I am one of the oldest Members in the House of Representatives, I believe, so I can say

from experience, I have heard a lot of speeches in my lifetime, both before World War II, after World War II. I have never heard a speech like that in my life. I was in doubt, and it was not just the words that he spoke. It was how he conducted himself and the feeling that just permeated, permeated this House of Representatives.

I know how proud he must be to return to South Africa and see the peaceful transformation of government, and I can tell my colleagues that there were a lot of people involved, but I can tell my colleagues this, that he is the one that is most responsible.

I have known RON now for 16 years, and without question, he is the fairest chairman I have ever served under. I remember a chairman I had in the State legislature where a member of another party was shouting something, said, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Speaker, this is not fair, and he picked up the rule book and he said, young man, show me in this book where the chairman has to be fair. He was fair, and I do not know a single Member of this body, both Democrat and Republican, that served on his committee who would disagree.

His faith in democracy has always been the hallmark of his belief that everyone deserved their say, and that is what led him to fight for his views on the committee. But it also is what led him as chairman just as forcefully for the committee bill and the will of the majority, even when their views were not his own. The ability to do that is truly the mark of a truly great man.

It is also the mark of a great man that RON is respected by all men and women, as I said before, on both sides of the aisle. I can assure my colleagues that he won their respect the old fashioned way: He earned it.

Throughout the year when I went through my chemotherapy, Mr. DELLUMS would call me or my staff to see how I was doing and let me know that I was on his mind and his heart. Believe me, it meant a lot to know that every time RON saw my staff, his first concern was about me.

Now, having been here 16 years, there are a lot of stories that I could tell about RON DELLUMS. But RON, you will be thankful to know that I will not tell them. But there is one story that does a pretty good job of explaining how I feel about you.

Several years ago, when RON was still chairman of the Subcommittee on Procurement of the House Committee on National Security, we were in markup, and we were debating something, and I do not even remember what it was. It obviously was not aircraft carriers, because uncharacteristically for me, I had not said anything. So when you looked in my direction, I started putting in my 2 cents, because I thought you wanted me to. When you cut me off, I said I only started talking because you looked like you had expected me to say something. And you replied, Mr. SISISKY, I was not looking at you, I was looking at the brother behind

you. And you were talking about my staff guy.

I later learned that when he saw you the next day, he told you that the next time you saw him, do not say the brother, say my brother. And that goes for me too. From the bottom of my heart, I wanted you to know what an honor it is for me to have known you and to call you my brother.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. CLEMENT).

Mr. CLEMENT. Mr. Speaker, I have not had the opportunity to know RON DELLUMS as long as many others have. I have only been in Congress 10 years where many of the others have served with him as many as the 27 years that RON DELLUMS has been in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Congressman DELLUMS was born in 1935 in Oakland, California. As a lot of my colleagues know also, he served in the Marine Corps from 1954 to 1956. He sure got a lot of formal education, and he was also a psychiatric social worker in California as well, and I am sure that helped him a lot serving in the United States House of Representatives.

He was elected to the Berkeley City Council, but then, in 1970 he had the opportunity to run for the United States Congress and defeated an incumbent who had been here for a number of years.

RON DELLUMS is a special kind of person because he really meets people extremely well, and as I have heard so many people say, he sure has changed a lot since he has been here as well. He is not the same person as he was when he was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and was sworn in in 1971. But we all mellow over the years, but what RON DELLUMS has done, from talking to others and watching and observing myself, he really listens to what one has to say. He really cares about what one has to say.

I will never forget when he had the opportunity to move up as chairman of the Committee on National Security, which is now chairman of the Committee on National Security, and a lot of people wondered, what kind of chairman would he be? Should I support him, or not? But he had made so many friends over the years, even though some of them may have differed with him on various issues. But one can have a difference of opinion without having a difference of principle, and that is why it was really unanimous, or almost unanimous, for him to be chairman of the Committee on National Security.

We remember his battles and his fights concerning South Africa and his fight for freedom and independence. We know of his friendship with Nelson Mandela and always standing by Nelson Mandela's side. I have also heard that his grooming sure has changed over the years too from bell bottoms to one of the most best dressed Members of the United States House of Rep-

resentatives. He is a passionate leader of the old school, eloquent in his causes, and dignified in so many ways. He is intelligent, he is forceful, he is firm, he stands up for what he believes is right in the best interests of the Ninth Congressional District in California, the State of California, and the people of America.

The world has changed, RON DELLUMS has changed from Cold War to the end of the Cold War, from Vietnam to Bosnia, South Africa, and everything else he has done and what he has accomplished for the best interests of America and the best interests of the world, and for world peace, and to keep a strong national defense. Congratulations, Congressman RON DELLUMS.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from St. Louis (Mr. CLAY), my fellow Missourian.

Mr. CLAY. Mr. Speaker, Congressman RON DELLUMS has been one of the most effective and dynamic Members to serve in this Congress during the 27 years that he has been a Member. I was here when the young fellow came 27 years ago, so I know what he has meant to this body. He has been an inspiration both to his constituents and to his colleagues in his tremendous dedication to this body and to the people of the Ninth District of California. He has elevated both to new heights.

RON DELLUMS came to Congress as a young firebrand to champion causes deemed unpopular by those who opposed social justice and racial equality. He was an early leader in the battle for civil and human rights at home and abroad, a committed advocate for the homeless, the downtrodden and the dispossessed. DELLUMS was an outspoken supporter of protecting the environment before much of our Nation even recognized the need for better environmental protection laws. He has been an eloquent and distinguished voice on behalf of millions of neglected men and women in developing nations around the world.

In 1970, DELLUMS came to Congress as an anti-Vietnam War peacenik with a vision of a better future for our Nation. In those days, no one imagined that he would one day emerge as chairman of the powerful House Committee on National Security. But his keen mind and sharp intellect allowed him to perceive things and events that were not yet to come.

DELLUMS is a visionary who recognized early in his career that in order to be effective in dismantling the military industrial complex and in redirecting the vast resources of government, he had to develop an intrinsic understanding of how the whole system truly functioned.

When he was asked why he joined the Committee on National Security, RON DELLUMS said, and I quote, "I did not join the Committee on National Security to learn about missiles, planes and ships. I joined because I knew I would need to become an expert in this field in order to argue successfully for military spending reductions that would

free up resources for the desperate human needs that I see every day in my community."

So RON DELLUMS became an expert. Then he led the battles to free up resources for human needs, and soon the wind was at his back and his community and the Nation reaped the fruits of his labors.

Mr. Speaker, on the surface, DELLUMS is suave and debonair and charming, dynamic, intelligence, dapper, eloquent, urbane, hip and cool, but beneath the surface, DELLUMS is much more. He is heartfelt sincerity, utterly committed to serving the cause of justice and determined to eradicate racism and sexism. Congressman DELLUMS will forever rank among the finest and most effective Members that have ever served in this body. He is a man of grace and integrity. I am proud to have served in this body with RON DELLUMS and proud to call him my friend.

Mr. SKELTON. I thank the gentleman from Missouri. I yield to the delegate from the Virgin Islands (Ms. CHRISTIAN-GREEN).

Ms. CHRISTIAN-GREEN. Mr. Speaker, it has truly been a privilege and an honor to serve for even this brief time with a gentleman of the caliber of Congressman RON DELLUMS. This weekend the Congressional Black Caucus joined in a dinner tribute to Congressman DELLUMS and the legacy he will be leaving not only to our caucus, but to the entire Congress of the United States.

As I join my colleagues in toasting this great leader and public servant, I, as a new Member, reminisced about the few times that we were able to spend time together and thanked him for the lessons that are inherent in the story of his life and time in politics, lessons of courage, of character, of principle, of integrity, and of unswerving commitment and service.

RON, I would be sad at your leaving the House at this time, except that you have given us so very much and enriched our lives and the work of this House so greatly that your presence and your impact will remain with us for many years in Congresses to come. We also take comfort in knowing with a certainty that in leaving you would never abandon the causes to which you have devoted all of your life, but that wherever you go and whatever you do, you will always be our strong, active and dedicated partner in the yet unfinished work of bringing justice and peace to our country and to the world.

So it is with great pleasure that I join all of my colleagues in saying a heartfelt thank you. We also thank your constituents who sent you here to represent them and us these 28 years, and the family who so graciously shared you with us and this country. And we ask for God's continued blessings on you and on them, and may God go with you, my brother.

□ 1545

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Mis-

issippi (Mr. TAYLOR), who is also a member of the Committee on National Security.

Mr. TAYLOR of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for yielding.

I am going to divert a little bit from the course. Everyone has spoken at great length of RON's social commitment to our Nation, but I think very few realize how much he has done for the defense of our Nation, and I do not think he ever got the credit that he deserves for that. For the 2 years that the gentleman was Chairman of the Committee on Armed Services, I want the people to what know he has done.

I happen to come from shipbuilding country. It is the major employer where I live. Our country was once a great maritime power and, up until 1980, we were building about 100 commercial ships a year.

One of the ironies of the Reagan years that most people do not realize is, while the defense structure of our Nation went up incredibly during those years and we were building many warships, we went from building 100 commercial ships a year to none by the time President Reagan left office.

The year that RON DELLUMS assumed the chairmanship of the House Committee on Armed Services, this great Nation built fewer merchant ships than the Nation of Vietnam. They built one.

One of the legacies that RON will always carry with him is that, working with his committee, he spearheaded the effort and made it possible for the National Shipbuilding Initiative to become law, for our Nation to take the first steps toward becoming a maritime power again.

The loan guarantee program that the gentleman from California allowed to become law and that he spoke so eloquently for started the first Federal loan guarantees of U.S.-built commercial ocean-going ships since 1980.

Since that date, because of his actions, because of his forceful commitment, the loan portfolio now stands at \$2 billion and 260 vessels have either been built or being built. This is a Nation that on the day RON DELLUMS took over the committee was not building one. That is \$1.1 billion for U.S. flag vessels; \$670 million of vessels that are being built by Americans to be exported; and \$130 million for something that the gentleman personally worked to include and that is the modernization of our shipyards so that we could remain competitive with our counterparts around the world.

Specifically, there are 17 commercial ocean-going vessels that have been built as a result of RON DELLUMS' good work. Fifteen of them are double-hulled tankers, so that in the future, if a ship hits a rock or hits another vessel and is carrying oil or chemicals, the chances are nine out of ten that it will not leak into the oceans or the rivers of the worlds.

Ships are being built in the district of the gentleman from Virginia (Mr.

SISISKY) at Newport News. They are being built in the district of the gentleman from Alabama (Mr. CALLAHAN). They are being built in, of all places, the home State of F. Edward Hebert, the State of Louisiana. I think Mr. Hebert would certainly want to apologize for some of the shabby treatment that RON got early on in his career, but he was magnanimous to take care of those folks when he had the chance.

Two passenger ferries, five shipyards are being modernized, and one shipyard is being reopened as a result of that. There are approximately 200 liquid, dry cargo, and power barges that have been built as a result of this.

At this present time, there are 20 applications totaling \$1.2 billion on file, again, for a Nation that was building no commercial ships on the day RON DELLUMS took over.

But it is not just that. I think in his life and in what he preaches, he believes in peace through strength. I think the best way we would agree to prevent a war is to be so strong that no one wants to go to war with us.

In the 2 years that RON DELLUMS was Chairman, 13 Navy combatants were authorized, including six DDGs Aegis class destroyers, the finest in the world; one LHD; one aircraft carrier; two Navy oceanographic vessels to search the seas for places to hide our submarines and places for the enemy to hide theirs; two support ships; and one mine warfare ship. Because it became so apparently clear during the Gulf War how vulnerable this Nation was and how the world's traffic lanes for ships were vulnerable to the use of mine warfare.

So in addition to all the good things that the gentleman has done from the heart, I think this is something that he did to strengthen our Nation and prevent the next generations from having to go to war and, above all, to put Americans like my family and his family, the people from Oakland and the people from South Mississippi, to give them the chance to make things here in this Nation, things that are important for what the gentleman once described as an "island Nation."

Mr. Speaker, I say to RON DELLUMS, "God bless you and thank you for what you have done."

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentlewoman from Florida (Mrs. MEEK).

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON) for giving me this time and also thank the Speaker for giving me time to give some privilege to one of the finest men I have ever met and one of the finest Congresspersons we will ever know.

This man brings dignity to the word Congressman. He brings grace. He brings poise. He brings intellect, which is so direly needed here in Congress. He brings that.

As I have said many times, RON DELLUMS reminds me of a Shakespearean actor. His gait reminds me of it, his

elegance, his articulation, his knowledge of the issues. RON DELLUMS is "A Man for All Seasons," and he has shown us that here in the Congress.

He is a man of peace who boldly, as Chairman of the powerful Committee on Armed Services, kept peace at the top of his agenda. He was able to make peace and armed services compatible to each other. And with that he set a pace, he set a model for this Congress.

Throughout his leadership, the fiery anti-war activist surprised his critics with his stewardship of the committee. He did what he was constitutionally prepared to do when he came into this Congress and that was to carry out the Constitution yet be very, very noble and dedicated to his constituents.

He was not just civil. He was courtly.

Many times, Mr. Speaker, I would come to the floor just to hear RON DELLUMS' speech. I did not really care what he said, but to hear him speak and the way he articulated, the way he stuck with the issues, the way he was able to debate the question and was able to get along with people who did not agree with him and to give them facts and carry those facts through.

Every Congressperson could learn something if they were to sit and listen to RON DELLUMS. He is always in command of the legislative details. He does not come here to fool anybody with buffoonery. He comes here with facts, fair and polite to witnesses and restrained in expressing his own views on defense policy. He managed floor debate on defense issues so efficiently, Mr. Speaker, that he won praise from many of his ardent critics.

During times of peace, RON DELLUMS has consistently advocated for a defense build-down, economic conversion planning, and efforts to retrain workers and to provide community impact aid during this period.

RON DELLUMS is a futurist. He has looked to the future while many of us were able to stay right with the past or to stay right in the future, he has gone forward into the future.

Not one with a hidden agenda, RON DELLUMS pretty much places things right on the line. If he did not agree with you, he would go into the crowd of 39 Members of the Congressional Black Caucus. He was the only one who had a different opinion, but he brought his opinion, and he openly discussed it, and he won many of us over.

Much of his thinking on the military is outlined in his book, *Defense Sense: The Search for a Rational Military Policy*. That brings out the scholarly acumen of RON DELLUMS, how he is able to convert his ideas and to put them on paper.

The other scholarly aspect of RON DELLUMS is his intellect in articulating what he feels. He is an intellectual. He is an idea man. He loves ideas, and he loves to debate them. That is RON DELLUMS.

Mr. Speaker, I will not talk any longer, but my colleagues should know what I know about what he did for

South Africa when he helped America to understand about South Africa and how he was able throughout his career to be a man of peace.

Mr. Speaker, I say to the gentleman from California, "RON, you go and you leave us with a legacy. That is a legacy of peace, that is a legacy of understanding, and that is a legacy of intellectual acumen."

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MARKEY).

Mr. MARKEY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON).

The gentleman from Missouri and the gentleman from California (Mr. DELLUMS) and I, we shared three offices in a corner of the Rayburn Building for 10 years. And I know that the gentleman from Missouri felt ideologically isolated for most of those 10 years in between the two offices of MARKEY and DELLUMS. But, without question, the atmosphere of collegiality and conversation was one where both IKE SKELTON and ED MARKEY could agree that for 28 years RON DELLUMS has been the conscience of Congress on peace and arms control issues for this country and for this globe.

He fought the neutron bomb during the Carter administration. He fought the B-1 bomber during the Carter and the Reagan administrations. He fought the MX missile throughout the Reagan administration. He fought the Trident II-D-5 missiles throughout the Reagan administration. He fought the B-2 bomber through the Reagan, the Bush, and the Clinton administrations. And he has also been one of the leaders in pushing for a negotiated arms control agreement.

He was one of the prime leaders of the nuclear freeze movement, fought for a comprehensive test ban, fought for a ban on antisatellite weapons. He opposed the efforts to abrogate the ABM treaty to exceed the SALT II limits.

And then in what I believe is his most famous speech here on the floor, his famous "Litany of Lunacy" speech, discussing in eye-watering detail each one of the increasingly more stupid basing modes that were designed for the MX Missile, dense pack, rail mobile, small underwater missiles, and point defense ABM deployment, each one of them devastated by the DELLUMS' knife to the heart.

Now, some people say, well, he was a gadfly in the early years, but he matured over time. Well, I do not think in his third year in Congress Richard Nixon put RON DELLUMS on his enemy's list because he was a gadfly. One has to be a lot more effective than that than to come to the President of the United States' attention on a little list he is keeping inside of his top drawer.

When he came out and said that we should put economic sanctions on South Africa, he was a gadfly. But of course the one thing that turned Nelson Mandela from a political prisoner

into the President of a country was RON DELLUMS' efforts over 10 years as the gadfly, but then as a visionary as the world begins to accept his understanding of what had to happen in order to change the climate in this world.

When he became Chairman of the Subcommittee on Military Construction, all the members said, he is pretty reasonable on those issues. And when he became Chairman of the Subcommittee on Research and Development, they said he is pretty reasonable on those issues. And when he became chairman of the National Security Committee, everyone started to say he is pretty reasonable on those issues. But he never compromised his principles at any time.

Now, as far as I am concerned, one of the great things that is going to come out of this is that we will all remember RON DELLUMS as someone who, not only sounded good on every single issue that he ever spoke to on this floor, but never, ever looked as good as RON DELLUMS when he was out here on the floor.

This is a combination that is unique to RON DELLUMS of all of the Members that I have ever known in my 22 years in the United States Congress. For me, the most poetic, ultimate result of his career will be that, for eternity, his portrait will sit above the Chair in the National Security Committee, looking down at every chairman of every Joint Chiefs of Staff that will ever testify before the National Security Committee. And RON DELLUMS will be peering down at him asking him the question: Yes, sir, I understand your interest in every weapon system that has been put as a blueprint on the design board of the Pentagon, but have you considered all of the other needs of society? Have you balanced your request so that all of the other problems in our society can be dealt with as well?

RON DELLUMS, you are my friend. You are my hero here in Congress for my 22 years. I mourn your leaving, but I am glad for you because you have served our country as well and nobly as any man in your generation, and I thank you for it.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. EDWARDS).

Mr. EDWARDS. Mr. Speaker, when Members retire from this institution, many of us stand up out of politeness to pay our respects. Today is different. Today, all of the Members of the House speaking truly speak from their heart.

The world has changed much since a young RON DELLUMS came to this body. He came here when we were mired in the depths of the Vietnam war. Today the world is at peace. He came when school children were fearful of being bombed by nuclear weapons from the Soviet Union because of the Cold War. Today they no longer have that fear, and the world is at nuclear peace.

□ 1600

He came when Nelson Mandela was a prisoner and now he is a President. And

in all of those steps of progress of history is the footprint of RON DELLUMS. He has made a difference for our country, and he has made a difference for our world. And as we sit here and listen to the great accomplishments of RON DELLUMS, I must say as his friend that we respect him because of what he has accomplished. We respect him for what he has done. But truly, we love him because of his deep personal character. Winston Churchill once said that we make a living by what we get; we make a life by what we give. Based on what he has given both in making a difference and in his personal character, RON DELLUMS has led a great and productive life.

Mr. Speaker, when I think of RON DELLUMS, I think of four words. Dignity is the first, perhaps his lasting legacy to this institution. Always speaking from the heart when he came to this floor, always dealing with the indignities he once had to face as a new Member having to share a seat on the Committee on Armed Services, facing that with great dignity to the point that he rose to become the chairman of that very same committee.

I think of fairness when I think of RON DELLUMS, someone who respected the will of this House, was willing to listen to all Members from different points of view and from both parties, and in letting every Member of this House have his or her say.

I think of the word "caring." As one who represents over 43,000 Army soldiers, I want to express my thanks to RON DELLUMS for helping protect the impact aid program which sees that if our military families are off fighting in a war thousands of miles away from their homes, at least they can do so knowing that their children will get a first class education back home.

Despite the fact of his fairness, for which we all respect, let no one mistake the fact that RON DELLUMS has been effective. Listen to the stories that have already been told. Talk to two of the greatest leaders, great defenders of the B-2 program. I think it says a lot that the most effective fighters in favor of the B-2, the gentleman from Washington (Mr. DICKS) and the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SKELTON), are here on this floor to pay their respects to the man who literally led the fight against that major defense program.

Fortunately our Founding Fathers were wise enough to design an institution that is bigger than any one of us. This institution will go on when RON DELLUMS retires. But, Mr. Speaker, I know I speak for all of us when I say that this institution will be less because of his retirement but more because of his service and his lasting legacy of dignity to this great body and to this country.

We salute you and wish you well, our friend, RON DELLUMS.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, if the gentleman will continue to yield, Mr. DICKS is out here to argue with DEL-

LUMS about the B-2. He has not buried that axe yet.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT), the minority leader of this House.

Mr. GEPHARDT. Mr. Speaker, this is a very, very important time to tell one of our departing Members how much we think of him, respect him, care about him and recognize the tremendous contribution that he has made to the House of Representatives, to his district, to his constituents, to the country of the United States, and finally I would say to the world, which can be said about very few of us who come through this place.

There is a whole list of things I could say, many of them have been said. I would like to repeat all of them, but I do not want to do that because it is not necessary. RON DELLUMS has excelled in so many ways in the years that he has been here. There are two things I want to bring out about him that I think are maybe the most important.

All of us come here to make a difference. It is the only reason to be here, it is the only reason to take on public service. Public service is hard work. It takes from your family, takes from your private time, and the reason to do this is to make a difference.

RON DELLUMS, you have made a difference in many, many ways, but I want to pick out two that I think are the most important.

First you made a difference in the way you have conducted yourself in the House in terms of getting all of us to remember and understand that even though we come here with deeply held beliefs and views, the most important thing we have to do here is to be able to reconcile those views with one another, to resolve conflict. That is the great achievement of the Congress is that with all the views that come here from all over the country, from all kinds of backgrounds, from all kinds of States and places, here in this hallowed room we resolve the conflict. You have been chairman and now ranking member of one of the most important committees in the House, the Committee on Armed Services, the defense function, which is our first commitment to our constituents. And you, in probably the best way it has ever been done, resolved the conflict in that committee.

Let me read what the Almanac of American Politics says about RON DELLUMS: His performance is a fine example of how a chairman can preside fairly and with dignity while conscientiously disagreeing with the views of his colleagues even when different from his own.

That is high praise, and it is well deserved. Every member of that committee would say, you are the best that has ever been in the leadership of that committee because you fairly resolved the conflict on a minute-by-minute, day-by-day, year-by-year basis.

The second example of achievement in making a difference is South Africa.

I remember, I was here in the early 1980s when RON DELLUMS came onto this floor and argued to us and to the world that America should stand for certain values of freedom and human rights, and all of the opponents of that position came out and said, well, he may be right on the values, but no one will follow. Other countries will not follow our lead. Then others said, we will lose business because we will lose contracts in South Africa. And finally people argued, well, it will hurt the good people of South Africa, you will be hurting the very people you are trying to help.

And RON DELLUMS kept coming back on this floor repeatedly after he had lost over and over and over again. He kept saying what in his heart he felt was right for the people of South Africa, the people of America and the people of the world. And finally, we overrode a veto. The first time Ronald Reagan as President was overridden with a veto was on that bill authored by RON DELLUMS, and we changed the policy of the United States.

And a few months after that I am looking at the TV on a Sunday morning, and here they are looking at a field in South Africa, and out of prison came Nelson Mandela. Tears streamed down your face as you saw the fulfillment of the commitment of RON DELLUMS to the values and morals that this country was founded on. He understood that in the Declaration of Independence, when it said, these inalienable rights, that they were universal rights and human rights across the world, not just for the United States. And because RON DELLUMS, you stood for those inalienable universal human rights, Nelson Mandela today is the President of South Africa. And those rights have been held up once again by America as inalienable, universal human rights.

Mr. DELLUMS, you made a difference, you made a big difference, not only in this Chamber and in this body and in this country, but in the world. Few of us, if any of us, can say that. We are going to miss you. You are leaving at a time in your life when you can go on and do great things in other places. We wish you well, and we are here to support you and help you in any way we can. God bless you.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. DICKS).

Mr. DICKS. Mr. Speaker, I want to compliment the minority leader, DICK GEPHARDT, who has been our majority leader and caucus chairman, for an outstanding speech. I came over here today because I have had the privilege of working with RON DELLUMS for 22 years. We have had days when we have been allies, when we have fought against the antisatellite weapon and against Star Wars, and we had a different airlifter than maybe the one that the Pentagon wanted, and there was never a better man to be an ally with. And we have had days over here,

as someone has mentioned, where we disagreed on a few issues.

But the thing that I appreciated about RON DELLUMS, and I think that it is something that we have gotten away from in the House, is that he is always willing to stand up here on the floor and engage in true debate on the issues and to have a discussion and to challenge your ideas, but he is always willing to let you challenge his, and out of that I think comes an understanding of these technical issues that we are forced to deal with in the area of national defense.

I can tell my colleagues, when people talk about fairness, even though Mr. DELLUMS and I would disagree on certain issues but we would be allies on others, when you needed a friend, and in this Congress you have to go home and get reelected, and one time I had a terrible problem and that was on the Nisqually River. We wanted to build a fish hatchery for salmon, which now has become an endangered species in the Northwest. I went to Chairman DELLUMS and I said to him, the best place to have this fish hatchery is on a piece of Army land. And he said to me, what do you want to do about this? I said, the Army will not let us have the piece of land, but they have suggested that if you can get Mr. DELLUMS to put it in the military construction authorization bill, that we will transfer the land to the Nisqually Indians. And so DELLUMS, as he could synthesize this, said to me, are you telling me that you want me to take this land away from the Army and give it to the Indians? And I said, yes. And he said, right on, brother. And I will tell you, that was the fastest transfer we ever got.

And there are other issues where we worked together on a school district and a whole bunch of other things. But as the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. GEPHARDT) mentioned, I think all of us will remember the fight over South Africa and also the great debates that we had during the Cold War era of whether we are going to maintain arms control, whether we are going to make certain that we did not breach the ABM agreement. We did not override the SALT II limits, all those things we were allies.

And I will just tell you this: There are a lot of people over at the Pentagon, a lot of people in the industry who were very fearful when Mr. DELLUMS became chairman of the Committee on Armed Services. But we never had a fairer, better chairman. Even though sometimes he did not even vote for his own bill, he brought it to the floor, let everybody debate it, passed it and got it done, got the work done. And most importantly, in another era where he is sometimes forgotten, is that when he had to go sit down with the United States Senate, he did well on behalf of the House of Representatives.

So even though we have had our disputes, I am going to miss RON DELLUMS because I am not going to know who to debate anymore. Where is the challenge going to be? Who is going to be

the leader on the more liberal side of our caucus?

But I have admired him. I admire his commitment to his constituency, to his family and just not a better man to work with and serve with. I am proud of the fact that we have been friends and we will be friends in the future, and we will work together on important issues, I am sure, when you come back to the Congress from time to time to see your old friends. God bless and good luck and we appreciate your great service to this institution.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. HORN).

Mr. HORN. Mr. Speaker, we all know that RON DELLUMS was the first African American member of the House Committee on National Security.

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I came in the 103rd Congress, when he was chairman, and I can testify that in those two years not one single Democrat, not one single Republican ever criticized him.

It has been said repeatedly today that he was without question one of the fairest chairs this House has ever had. And all I can say for some chairs—we do not have too many of those old autocrats any more—but all of us could take a lesson from RON as to how to conduct a meeting. He was fair. Everybody had their say.

He was much like Phil Hart, who chaired Senate Judiciary: The Southerners had their say, the Northerners had their say. And his colleagues in the Senate named a building after him. RON, all the buildings seem to be gone, but you never know around here, you might get one named after you yet.

In modern times we all know that he was one of the few who chaired two full committees in this House, the other being the District of Columbia. He also continued his cause for civil and human rights that he has been committed to all his life, and he still did that as a Member of Congress and as a chair, as has been noted with the South African situation.

It is his personal dealings with individual Members that I think all of us remember; that he treated our requests with respect, and he did the best he could do about those requests. He was a very accommodating chair.

But I think what has not been mentioned since I walked onto the floor is he has a tremendous sense of humor. And I think my favorite RON DELLUMS story is when he participated in his first conference with, we shall say euphemistically, the other body. And he sat there with great interest, and across from him was one Member of the other body. On his side of the table, there were about 30 Members of the House. And there was a staff member that was next to the Member from the other body. After the Senator across the table had said a few paragraphs, the staff member took over the meeting. Everybody on the House side was

used to it, RON was not. He and each of his colleagues were prepared to discuss each section of the bill with representatives of the other body. The Senate staff member kept on. Finally RON just let out a big yawn. Since he is rather tall, and has a commanding presence, when RON says something you turn around and listen. Someone said, "What's the matter, RON?" There was a pause and RON replied, "Well, I am just wondering, if I die and I am going to be reincarnated, what would I like to be? And there was a longer pause. And he mused: "I think I would like to be a Senate staff member."

That comment broke up the tension of the meeting. We all regret RON DELLUMS' decision to retire. Of course, he has a great sense of humor. But more important, he is a compassionate man. He has been an effective legislator. He is truly a beloved colleague of Members on both sides of the aisle. RON, I thank you for all you have done for America and human rights in the world, and not simply for the free state of Berkeley, California.

But you are a great colleague, RON. We are all glad to have you as a friend.

Mr. SKELTON. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. REYES).

Mr. REYES. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me. I rise to pay tribute to my good friend and colleague, Congressman RON DELLUMS. Like many of my colleagues, I was saddened to learn that RON was leaving us, especially when I realized that he was leaving us so soon.

I want everyone to know that I respect RON and that I consider him a pioneer, I consider him a mentor and I consider him a friend. I consider RON DELLUMS a pioneer because he came to this House as a Representative at a time when there were very few minorities in Congress.

He led the way for African-Americans, he pioneered the way for women, for Hispanics and other minorities. He did not shy away from issues of importance to these groups and others. He boldly stood on this floor and in the committee and passionately debated matters of grave concern to this Nation and to the world. In so doing, he raised issues that others would rather ignore, but he knew that they must be brought and discussed here in this body.

I consider RON DELLUMS a mentor because from the day I joined the House Committee on National Security he always was available to answer any questions and provide guidance to those of us that were new to the committee. He was quick to share his expertise and to mentor new Members. For that I really appreciate your friendship.

RON DELLUMS took time to bring the freshmen members of the committee together on many different occasions about many different issues, and he shared his knowledge of the process, of the experience, and he took time to guide us through a very nasty mine

field of the authorization process, and we really appreciate that, RON.

I consider RON DELLUMS a friend, first and foremost, because I could always come to him to ask advice. I could always count on him for lending some sort of rationalization and levity to sometimes a cantankerous atmosphere.

I think that, RON, you, more than other Members of this institution, realize that you have always been an integral and an important part of a process that is as real and vital as America itself. I want to wish you all the best and know that in the next chapter of your life you will continue to make a significant impact on the lives of many others.

I want to end by telling you, my good friend, *vaya con Dios, mi amigo, mi hermano*, go with God, my friend and my brother. God bless.

#### TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE RONALD V. DELLUMS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. PEASE). Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. SPRATT) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER).

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I have prepared remarks, as so many do, but I have much more in my heart that is not written down in these prepared remarks, and so I will include them.

They talk about my sadness in hearing of RON's decision to retire. Not sadness for him, because for him it is the right thing to do at this time, but sadness for his colleagues and his friends, his brothers, as my colleague who previously spoke enunciated; sadness for the people of California and of Berkeley and of his district; sadness for this institution.

RON DELLUMS is a tall man. He is a stately man. The *Washingtonian* called him one of the best dressed men in Washington. He is indeed one of the best dressed men in this country. But those are superficial distinctions, because the measure of the man that we know as RON DELLUMS is not on the outside, it is on the inside. A man of great conviction, which he couples with great courage, which he applies to deeply held principles as he debates the issues of the day and, indeed, of the centuries. RON DELLUMS is a man of purpose, a man of humor, and a man of serious resolution. RON DELLUMS is a man who has demonstrated the best there is in this body.

Many of us will rise and say from time to time we disagreed with RON DELLUMS and, very frankly, we could say that about any person in this House, because never do we always agree with everybody else. But there was never, ever a disagreement that RON DELLUMS was one of the most respected, if not the most respected person in this body. And when he rose to

speak, people listened, not because they were convinced they would agree but because they were convinced that they would learn and they would hear the best side of the argument.

We are all very sad, RON, that you are leaving this body. It will be a lesser body for your leaving. We will be less happy for your absence, but we will be eternally grateful to God that he gave you to us to enrich our lives, enrich our intellects, and expand our knowledge.

RON DELLUMS tells a story about being a Negro when he tried to join the Marines. And he joined the Marines and was considered to be an officer. And because they found he was a Negro, not an African-American, not a black, but a Negro, he was not admitted to OCS. How ironic that he would rise to be the chairman of the Committee on Armed Services of the House of Representatives, one of the most powerful representatives of the defense establishment in America.

And the great thing about RON DELLUMS is he looks back on that without rancor, without anger, but with a conviction that America has changed, and America has changed for the better. It has done so in part because of the leadership of our friend and our colleague, a great American, a great Member of Congress, and a great member of humankind.

Thank you, RON, for all you have given and all you have meant to all of us.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a dear friend of mine, Congressman RON DELLUMS of California. It is with great sadness that I note that RON will be retiring from the 105th Congress, after serving in this body for 27 years.

RON brought a tremendous amount of insight to his work in Congress. Having once worked as a social worker he ran for the Berkeley city council in 1967, starting his political career. In 1970, he beat a Democratic incumbent to win a seat in Congress.

Times were turbulent when RON entered Congress, particularly in his home town of Berkeley, California. He immediately sought and won a seat on the Armed Services Committee, where he became a leader in helping to craft American military and foreign policy and advocated for an end to the Vietnam war.

RON used his seat on Armed Forces to push for arms reductions, peaceful resolution of international conflict and for alternatives to the use of military force.

Representing Berkeley and Oakland, California, RON used his position on Armed Forces to advocate for funding of social programs to invigorate and renew these two cities. He pushed for money to be spent on the poor and uneducated and gave voice to those in society who often do not have a voice in government.

In 1993, he became chairman of the Armed Service Committee. His chairmanship is remembered as being very even handed with a strong respect for the input of all committee members. As chairman on the committee, and continuing this Congress through his role as the ranking member, RON has consistently examined the military's role in the post cold-war

era, while advocating for stronger rules on sexual harassment and discrimination in America's Armed Forces.

While he and I have sometimes differed on our national security goals, RON has always taken the views of other Members into his consideration. This sense of fairness and respect for this institution is what will be missed.

Along with identifying himself as a progressive expert in military affairs, RON has been a consistent champion of civil rights and equal rights for all Americans. In 1971, as a freshman Member, RON first proposed sanctions against South Africa. Throughout a bitter battle in the 70's and 80's these sanctions were finally passed in 1986. Through his dedication and leadership, Congress imposed sanctions on the apartheid government of South Africa, which led to democracy and full party participation. The highlight of RON DELLUMS work on bringing this issue to the attention of Congress and the American people was when South African President Nelson Mandela addressed Congress. This day must have been one of RON's best days and fondest memory while serving in Congress.

I will miss my friend RON and the work we have done together. The institution of Congress is losing one of its finest Members, not to mention one of its best dressed according to *Washingtonian Magazine*. His tireless advocacy for the poor, and less fortunate will be missed by myself and many Members of this body.

I wish RON the best of luck and continuing success in all of his endeavors.

Mr. SPRATT. Mr. Speaker, I will now reclaim my time for a short time.

RON, we go back 15 years. A long time. When I came here in 1983, you had just reached the first plateau of power in the House. You had become a subcommittee chairman. It took you 12 years to rise up the seniority ladder, which tells us a lot about your doggedness, your determination and diligence. Even when you reached this point, you were not really at the pinnacle. You were the chairman of the Subcommittee on Facilities and Installations, better known as the MilCon subcommittee.

There was some rumbling in those days among the barons on the committee, the upper tier, about letting this gadfly have the reins of power, even this subcommittee, which was a subordinate subcommittee, because you were not cut from the same bolt as the rest of the committee. You did not always vote, rarely voted for the defense authorization bill, much less supported it on the floor. And they worried you might take the subcommittee chair and use it to roll the committee.

Of course, no one dared to breathe these concerns in the open. And it was a good thing, because in a few months time they were totally allayed. They were allayed because you took the chair of the subcommittee with the dignity that comes to you naturally, and you wielded that gavel with such civility that even your opponents came to praise you.

I was on the floor, I was on your subcommittee and on the floor when we brought the first military construction