

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
PERMANENT SELECT
COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515

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October 25, 1988

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Tom Smeeton

100TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. RES. 561

Directing the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct to conduct an investigation regarding a possible unauthorized disclosure of classified information in violation of the Rules of the House of Representatives.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 30, 1988

Mr. CHENEY (for himself, Mr. HYDE, Mr. LIVINGSTON, Mr. McEWEN, Mr. LUNGREN, and Mr. SHUSTER) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Rules

RESOLUTION

Directing the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct to conduct an investigation regarding a possible unauthorized disclosure of classified information in violation of the Rules of the House of Representatives.

Whereas the Associated Press reported that on September 20, 1988, the Speaker of the House publicly stated that, "We have received clear testimony from Central Intelligence Agency people that they have deliberately done things to provoke an overreaction on the part of the government of Nicaragua";

Whereas the Associated Press report further stated that the Speaker had publicly referred to an alleged acknowledgment of such activities by Central Intelligence Agency personnel under questioning from Members of Congress;

Whereas pursuant to rule XLVIII of the House, intelligence activities of the United States are under the jurisdiction of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and that Committee is the proper forum before which testimony to the Congress on any United States intelligence activity would be presented;

Whereas the Washington Times reported on September 27, 1988, that the Speaker, in reference to his conversations with an ex-officio member of the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, to wit the Majority Leader of the House, stated, "there might have been times when we discussed what went on in the Intelligence Committee";

Whereas an article published in the New York Times on September 21, 1988, alleged that the Speaker's public comments on September 20, 1988, "marked the first time that a Government official has publicly acknowledged such activity and explicitly stated that the CIA has reported it to Congress", and the article further alleged that "[w]hat is unusual in today's developments is that Mr. Wright seemed to be publicly confirming information given to Congress on a confidential basis";

Whereas an article published in the Washington Times on September 21, 1988, reported that three leaders of the Nicaraguan democratic resistance were present when the Speaker allegedly referred to a demonstration by Nicaraguan opposition political parties in Nandaime, Nicaragua on July 10, 1988, as a "CIA provocation", and the article further reported that one Eugenio Leal alleged that on the same occasion he heard the Speaker say that "The CIA was doing it to make those little devils [the Sandinistas] mad", and also heard him say, "I know well who's behind this. I know it's the CIA";

Whereas an article in the Washington Post of September 23, 1988, quoted the Speaker as saying, "I became aware as early as late August of last year that elements of the United States government were seeking to disrupt the domestic tranquility in Nicaragua, seeking to foment disturbances of one kind or another, with a view to seeing if they could provoke an overreaction on the part of the Nicaraguan government of a type that would provide an excuse for withdrawing from the peace talks";

Whereas an article published in the Washington Times on September 27, 1988, quoted the Speaker as saying, "[i]t is outrageous to suggest that the Speaker of the House, or any other Member of Congress, must get permission before he speaks from some appointed member of the bureaucracy", and that "[t]he fact that a matter is classified—secret—doesn't mean it is sacrosanct or immune from criticism," and further that "[i]t is not only my right but my responsibility to express publicly my opposition to policies I think are wrong";

Whereas the Speaker's allegations are endangering lives and undercutting United States foreign policy as indicated by the Washington Post in an article published on September 23, 1988, which reported that "[c]harges by House Speaker Jim Wright of Central Intelligence Agency involvement in allegedly provocative antigovernment demonstrations here are fueling a confrontation between the ruling Sandinistas and Nicaragua's internal political opposition";

Whereas these numerous and detailed reports of public comments by the Speaker and the nature of those comments raise serious questions regarding whether an unauthorized disclosure of classified information obtained from the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence may have occurred

in violation of clause 7(c) of rule XLVIII of the House of Representatives;

Whereas clause 7(d) of rule XLVIII of the House of Representatives provides that “[t]he Committee on Standards of Official Conduct shall investigate any unauthorized disclosure of intelligence-related information by a Member, officer, or employee of the House . . .” in violation of clause 7(c) of that House rule “. . . and report to the House concerning any allegation which it finds to be substantiated”;

Whereas the gravity of the allegations involved in this matter is such that the reputation and dignity of the House as an institution and the integrity of its proceedings may well be adversely affected, as well as the reputation of the Speaker, if these allegations are not resolved; and

Whereas in the interests of a prompt and fair resolution of the questions regarding the possible unauthorized disclosure of classified information in violation of the Rules of the House of Representatives: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved*, That the Committee on Standards of Official
2 Conduct is directed to investigate whether public comments
3 made by the Speaker of the House regarding an alleged clas-
4 sified intelligence activity involved an unauthorized disclosure
5 of classified information in violation of the Rules of the House
6 or any of its duly constituted committees. All other commit-
7 tees, and all Members, officers, or employees of the House
8 who may have information relevant to this investigation are
9 directed to cooperate promptly with the Committee on Stand-
10 ards of Official Conduct subject to procedures the Committee
11 shall adopt necessary to protect from unauthorized disclosure

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1 of classified information which may be transmitted to the
2 committee pursuant to this investigation. The Committee on
3 Standards of Official Conduct shall promptly report its find-
4 ings and any recommendations to the House.

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H 10540

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

October 20, 1988.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS OF THE
100TH CONGRESS

(Mr. DORNAN of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DORNAN of California. Mr. Speaker, as we all pat ourselves on the back at the conclusion of the 100th Congress, let me make two notes, one domestic. Here is a picture from my district that the police in Santa Ana, CA, gave me the day before yesterday of an M-60 machine gun and a carb-15, an automatic carbine version of the M-16 rifle taken from drug dealers who are already back on the street. I know that it is hard to believe but these things are already back on the street there in my district.

If we do not pass a hard-hitting drug bill, the kind of a bill that Dukakis would veto if he were President, then we have failed on the most important domestic problem confronting us today.

But, Mr. Speaker, our greatest failure in my estimation is that communism is alive and well on the North American mainland, in the nation of Nicaragua. Here are the headlines, Mr. Speaker, after your revelation that the CIA supposedly encouraged the internal democratic opposition in Nicaragua to demonstrate against the government. You must know, Mr. Speaker, that members of the internal oppositions are frequently beaten by Communist thugs called the "Turbas Divinas." Here are just a couple of headlines which were written in Nicaragua following those revelations.

"Jim Wright Exposes Testimony of Agents in Nicaragua."

These are headlines of the Communist papers in Managua, Mr. Speaker, that was headline in Barracada.

"CIA Confesses to Melton Plan."

"Demonstrations Calculated to Provoke Arrest," as reported by El Nuevo Dario.

"Jim Wright Confirms CIA-Devised Plan."

Mr. Speaker, you have inadvertently made communism very safe in Nicaragua. Under a Bush Presidency we will turn this around, God willing.

she went directly to work as a secretary in a shoe factory for many years. She is a member of the National Council of Jewish Women.

Samuel Hirshberg was born in East Boston. He moved to Haverhill as a young man and was a prominent shoe manufacturer there and in New Hampshire until his retirement in 1968. At 89 years of age, Samuel is still driving his own car and occasionally stops by the country club for a couple of hands of gin rummy. Samuel is a life member of the Two-Ten Foundation which is the Philanthropic Wing of the American Footwear Industry. He is also a veteran of World War I, having served in the Army Air Corps. He will celebrate his 90th birthday on December 1 of this year.

Samuel and Bessie are hardworking members of the community and both are well known for their kind and thoughtful ways. They have witnessed history unfold and have never lost sight of the ideals and values for which this Nation stands. Their pleasant personalities and ready willingness to be helpful to others has endeared them to both family and friends.

Bessie and Samuel reside in Haverhill, MA, where they have lived all their married life and from where they remain is the backbone of the Hirshberg family. They have a beautiful family of 3 children, 11 grandchildren, and 2 great grandchildren, all of whom they are very proud.

Warmest congratulations are in order for Bessie and Samuel Hirshberg. It is my distinct honor to ask my colleagues to join me in saluting these remarkable individuals.

TELECOMMUNICATIONS MARKET SHOULD BE REEXAMINED

HON. JIM KOLBE

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 20, 1988

Mr. KOLBE. Mr. Speaker, for quite some time, I've been interested in the effect of the AT&T divestiture on our domestic telecommunications industry. We've witnessed dramatic changes in the nature of the telecommunications business in the last few years. Among these is the dramatic explosion of technological applications in everyday use. These changes, and their associated effects on commerce, communications, and the quality of life of our constituencies will no doubt require Congress to reexamine the telecommunications marketplace, and to respond to these challenges in a reasonable, measured and prudent way. It is in that spirit that I recently wrote to Representative JOHN DINGELL to express some of my thoughts on this matter. Mr. Speaker, the text of that letter appears below.

OCTOBER 6, 1988.

Representative JOHN DINGELL,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR JOHN: I have been following with a great deal of interest the continuing impact of the line of business restrictions imposed by Judge Harold Green in the Modification of Final Judgement, rendered September 10, 1987. The last several years have been witness to tremendous leaps in technology in all phases of the telecommunications industry. In that environment, the relationship of the line of business restrictions to our na-

tion's competitiveness in the world marketplace is definitely worthy of scrutiny and discussion.

Bell operating companies (BOC's) are seeking, through legislative fiat, incremental relief from the sections of the judgement which prohibit the BOC's from manufacturing telecommunications equipment and providing information services. Widespread utilization of information services, in particular, is a source of dramatic potential for our nation, and an area where we can't afford to fall behind. The current MFJ restrictions on the BOCs may hamstring our efforts to stay in front. Their competitors express strong reservations about eliminating these restrictions because of perceived competitive advantages they say favor the BOC's. Few issues we face in Congress are more salient to our nation's competitive status in the technology-based future.

Congress is in a critical position to judge how this debate will be resolved. Will we surrender our policy-making prerogative, and continue to allow Judge Green to make the rules in this dynamic and challenging area? Or will we assert our legitimate right to sponsor a full public airing of the complex and controversial issues at hand? I think our responsibility is obvious. Congress must assert itself fully into this debate once again.

I urge you and your committee to pursue this issue vigorously in the 101st Congress, with an eye toward legislating some form of modifications to the line of business restrictions. I support your work, and look forward to participating in this issue next year.

Sincerely,

JIM KOLBE,
Member of Congress.

THE MUNICH OF AFRICA?

HON. HENRY J. HYDE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 20, 1988

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, we appear to be fast approaching a settlement to the seemingly intractable problems of Namibian independence and a total withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola—a goal this administration has sought for 8 years. Unfortunately, internal reconciliation between the Government of Angola and the democratic forces of Dr. Jonas Savimbi, president of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), remains elusive. Recently, two of my colleagues on the House Intelligence Committee, Congressmen BUD SHUSTER and ROBERT MCEWEN, traveled to Dr. Savimbi's guerrilla base camp, Jamba, located in the liberated zone of Angola. They both returned with highly favorable views of UNITA's military prowess, but more importantly, they witnessed the enormous strides Dr. Savimbi and UNITA have made in addressing the needs of the Angolan people in the areas of education, medical care, and agriculture.

Upon his return, Congressman SHUSTER drafted a compelling piece on Dr. Savimbi and UNITA, one of the few democratic liberation movements in the world today. His report provides valuable insights into the dynamics of the Angolan Civil War, putting to rest many of the false accusations that have been laid at Savimbi's and UNITA's feet. I commend it to my colleagues' attention and encourage each of you to share its message with your constituents.

THE MUNICH OF AFRICA

By Bud Shuster, M.C.

Flying two hundred feet above the tree-tops to avoid enemy radar, our unmarked plane approached Jonas Savimbi's guerrilla camp deep in the African jungle of south-eastern Angola. The region is called Jamba, meaning "Land of the Elephants," and was called "The End of the Earth" by the Portuguese colonists.

Congressman Robert McEwen and I, as members of the House Intelligence Committee, were on a mission to evaluate the Communist inspired charges that Dr. Savimbi's UNITA organization had little support among the Angolan people; was incapable of mounting a fighting force to seriously challenge the Soviet-Cuban supported MPLA Communist government located in Luanda; controlled only one percent of the country; and was a puppet of the white racist government of South Africa. In short, America should stop supporting Savimbi's UNITA and recognize the MPLA Communist government. Our mission took on added significance when Gov. Dukakis announced, at Jesse Jackson's prodding, that if elected President he would withdraw U.S. support for Savimbi and recognize the Communists.

Negotiations currently under way for a settlement of the conflict hold out hope for a deal that removes Cuban troops from Angola and South African troops from neighboring Namibia. But it is difficult to imagine hard-pressed Cuba giving up the \$705 million annual bounty it extracts from oil and diamond-rich Angola as payment for its troops. And it is equally difficult to imagine the Soviet Union letting Savimbi march into Luanda, where he surely would be sipping tea if the Cubans should go home.

Savimbi's credentials as an authentic black nationalist are irrefutable: He fought the Portuguese colonial government for over a decade from the jungle of his country while leaders of the other liberation movements—the Communist supported MPLA and the Western backed FNLA—directed their struggle from their air-conditioned apartments in Zaire and Switzerland. When Portugal finally gave Angola its independence in 1975, Savimbi agreed to form a united front with the MPLA and the FNLA, believing the Portuguese promise of free elections. As a member of the country's largest tribal group, the charismatic Savimbi's chances as the ballot box were excellent. And he emphasized, "If I cannot win a free election, I would deserve to be treated as a bandit."

But the left wing government of Portugal reneged on its promise of elections and recognized the MPLA as the government, who in turn invited in the Soviets and Cubans. While the FNLA crumbled, Savimbi and his followers fled into the bush, and for thirteen years have waged a guerrilla war against the unelected MPLA Communist government—with U.S. support during the Ford years, without it during the Carter years, and with it again during the Reagan years. Combined support to UNITA from the U.S., France, South Africa, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and China has amounted to only a fraction of the billions of dollars in military aid given to the MPLA by the Soviets. Additionally, over 50,000 Cuban soldiers, 2,500 Soviets, and 600 East Germans have turned the Angolan government into a Soviet client state. Contrary to Communist propaganda, South African troops only went to Savimbi's aid two months after 12,000 Cuban troops landed in Angola to support the MPLA. Savimbi consistently has denounced Apartheid, however remind-

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ing us that the U.S. joined hands with Stalin to defeat the Nazis.

But the question remains: Can Savimbi win?

Bouncing along in a land rover over dirt roads as rutted as a dried out river bed, past elephant wallows, beneath the swarming cries and cackles of frightened birds, we eventually reached Savimbi's camp. In thatched roofed, mud huts we met the guerrilla leaders, saw their maps and plans, studied their organization and supplies, noted, as in Afghanistan, surface to air missiles have turned the tide of battle in their favor, and witnessed the willingness of thousands of black Africans to endure the hardships of the jungle, dying if necessary, rather than capitulate to Communist rule.

We saw with our own eyes the dedicated troops that help make up his 65,000 man fighting force: flew over a large portion of Free Angola, confirming Savimbi's control of one-third of the country. And then at midnight, after a dinner of antelope and maize, we were led through the gates of a stockade into an open-air amphitheater under an ink-black African sky. Suddenly, lights flickered throughout the packed arena as thousands of men, women, and children clapped and shouted, "Savimbi . . . Savimbi . . ." to the rhythm of their native drums. The songs and dances and speeches, powerful as they were, eclipsed by the sheer electricity of Savimbi's dedicated followers.

The next morning we saw the open-air schools beneath the scrub trees where children on crude benches were learning to read and write, and teenagers were studying algebra and chemistry.

Should America support Jonas Savimbi against the Soviet-Cuban controlled Communist government? Do we believe in freedom for others as well as for ourselves? What does oil-rich Angola matter to the U.S.? What does Soviet control of the strategic minerals of Africa mean to the free world and to our standard of living?

Dr. Savimbi says it best: "Angola is the Munich of Africa. Do not suppose that Zaire, Zambia, Botswana, and Namibia will remain with the West when faced with an unopposed Soviet base in Angola. They will be forced to make accommodations just as Eastern Europe fell under Nazi domination."

MASTROSIMONE TO RECEIVE FERMI ACHIEVEMENT AWARD

HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 20, 1988

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that the Fermi Federation has selected playwright William Mastrosimone to receive its prestigious Achievement Award.

William Mastrosimone was born in Lawrence Township, NJ to John and Jeanette Seamon in 1947. He attended Pennington Prep and Tulane University, receiving his degree in English literature from Rider College in 1974. He went on to study at the Mason Gross School of Arts where he was awarded a masters degree to playwrighting in 1976.

Perhaps Mr. Mastrosimone's most famous play has been "Extremities". This play received the John Gassner Award and the New York Outer Circle Critics Award for best Off-Broadway play. Furthermore, "Extremities"

was produced as a feature film in 1986. Another of Mr. Mastrosimone's plays, "Nanawatai", is currently being filmed under the title "The Beast".

Several other plays written by William Mastrosimone have also received critical acclaim. "The Woolgatherer" was presented with the L.A. Drama Critics Award. "Shivaree" received the Warner Communications Award; and "Tamer of Horses" was honored by the NAACP Award for Playwriting. In addition, the State of New Jersey chose Mr. Mastrosimone for the Governor's Walt Whitman Creative Arts Award.

At the present time, William Mastrosimone is busy working on an 8-hour miniseries for CBA entitled, "The Frank Sinatra Story," and a feature film starring Dustin Hoffman called "Damon".

Mr. Speaker, I commend Mr. Mastrosimone, a native of New Jersey's Fourth Congressional District, for his outstanding achievements. The Fermi Federation has obviously chosen a very worthy recipient for their cherished award.

TRIBUTE TO J. GARFIELD DEMARCO

HON. JIM SAXTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 20, 1988

Mr. SAXTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ask my colleagues in the House to join with me in paying tribute to J. Garfield DeMarco of Chatsworth, NJ, whose many successes in business, politics, and government, distinguish him as one of New Jersey's most illustrious citizens.

In my 13th Congressional District, Garfield is best known as the chairman of the Burlington County Republican Party. His long tenure of service in that position is, in itself, a tribute to his long string of successful campaign efforts. But this is only one part of a most interesting biography.

Those who have visited Garfield in the far reaches of the southern New Jersey Pine Barrens, and have heard his dissertations on such subjects as government and the fine arts against a backdrop of cranberry bogs and blueberry fields, know that this is a complex yet fascinating individual.

By rights, he can claim many titles—farmer, businessman, bank director, stockholder, party chairman, lawyer, bridge commissioner, scholar—I daresay, Mr. Speaker, the list goes on and on. But what makes it all so incredible is that each title carries with it a list of accomplishments.

Garfield is the president of the cranberry and blueberry enterprises which bears his family's name, he is a member of the New Jersey and American Bar Associations, and a graduate of Yale Law School.

He is a member of the New Jersey Public Broadcasting Authority, an Associate of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, a producer of the Pennsylvania Ballet, and a member of the Charles Wilson Peale Society at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

He has held or currently holds many government-related posts and is a member of the New Lisbon State School Board of Trustees, a Commissioner of the Burlington County Bridge

Commission and a former member of the New Jersey Water Policy and Supply Council.

Mr. Speaker, I have barely scratched the surface . . .

Garfield has also made a major mark in education, graduating from Dartmouth College in 1959 with honors. He was a recipient of the Fulbright Grant for study in Italy, and is a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Those of us who have the privilege of knowing Garfield personally, and sharing in his election day successes, see him not just as a superb political strategist, but also as one keenly interested in responsible government. At the same time, he possesses a sharp wit and sense of humor, and unrelenting respect for family heritage and friends.

Tomorrow evening, Mr. Speaker, the Burlington County Council of the Boy Scouts of America will give due recognition to Garfield and his many accomplishments at a banquet being held in his honor.

I want to take this occasion to commend and thank the Boy Scouts for extending this honor to a most worthy gentleman, and to offer my thanks and congratulations as well to Garfield, not just for what he has done, but for those good things, which, I know, are yet to come.

A TRIBUTE TO CHARLES SERRAINO COMMISSIONER, NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

HON. MARGE ROUKEMA

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, October 20, 1988

Mrs. ROUKEMA. Mr. Speaker, I urge my Colleagues to join me in recognizing one of northern New Jersey's outstanding citizens. On October 28, the board of directors of the Bergen Community College Foundation will hold its fourth annual medallion awards dinner. This year they will distinguish The Honorable Charles Serraino, the commissioner of labor for the State of New Jersey, for his outstanding contributions and service.

Charles, a native of Hoboken and a graduate of Garfield High School, has an unbroken record of service to New Jersey, both to industry in the private sector and to the citizens of New Jersey as adviser to an auspicious list of our elected officials. Gov. Richard J. Hughes, William T. Cahill, and our present Governor, Thomas H. Kean, have all depended upon his expertise and counsel. In addition, former New Jersey Supreme Court Chief Justice Hughes and the current chief justice, Robert Wilentz, sought his guidance as their labor Advisers.

Charles was the National Executive Council of the American Arbitration Association's Man of the Year in 1980 and was chosen to chair the Presidential Emergency Board for the Conrail negotiations in 1982 and 1983.

In 1984 he was confirmed as commissioner of the department of labor. Since then he has tirelessly served with distinction and dedication. This is an outstanding public servant. I am pleased to lend my voice to the many deserved accolades that this evening will produce. Charles, your many New Jersey friends salute you.