

His teacher noted Johnell toiling to keep pace with his classmates, and recommended him for SMART. For several years, Johnell worked with one of SMART's 10,000 volunteers to develop his reading skills. With free books at his disposal, Johnell practiced reading at home and quickly developed into a star student and a dynamic young leader. Now a student at Portland State University, he is returning the favor. Every week, he spends time between classes with two SMART readers.

We should learn from proven successes and invest in programs that have a measurable impact on our children's future. By successfully mobilizing communities to improve the lives of thousands of children, SMART, and other programs like it, provide hope for America's children. ●

U.S. INSTITUTE OF PEACE 2004 NATIONAL PEACE ESSAY CONTEST WINNER

● Mrs. CLINTON. Madam President, I would like to bring to my colleagues' attention the nationally recognized essay of one of my constituents, Vivek Viswanathan, a junior at Herricks High School in New Hyde Park, NY. I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Viswanathan on June 23, 2004, when he visited my office during the United States Institute of Peace 2004 National Peace Essay Contest, NPEC Awards Week in Washington. The mandate of the United States Institute of Peace, as established by Congress, is to support the development, transmission, and use of knowledge to promote peace and curb violent international conflict. The Institute's annual NPEC, one of its oldest programs, is based on the belief that expanding the study of peace, justice, freedom and security is vital to civic education.

Mr. Viswanathan's essay, "Establishing Peaceful and Stable Postwar Societies Through Effective Rebuilding Strategy" was awarded first-place among the essays of his peers representing all 50 States, U.S. territories and overseas schools. In his essay, Mr. Viswanathan argues that to be effective, reconstruction efforts should be tailored to the specific post-war situation, obtain a large commitment of resources and assistance from the international community, and involve "a nation's own people in a way that allows them to ultimately control their destiny and that eventually provides a clear exit strategy for international actors." I am proud of Mr. Viswanathan's commendable essay and congratulate him and his teachers at Herricks High School. Mr. Viswanathan is a bright and energetic student who will be a leader in his future endeavors. I would like to share with my colleagues a copy of Mr. Viswanathan's first-place essay. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ESTABLISHING PEACEFUL AND STABLE POSTWAR SOCIETIES THROUGH EFFECTIVE REBUILDING STRATEGY

While the resolution of armed conflict may bring initial order within a war-torn nation, it does not guarantee long-term peace and stability. Establishing an orderly society from the ruins of war—enacting a workable political, economic, and social structure in a place where violence and instability have been the rule—is an undertaking that is necessarily complex. Moreover, the discontinuation of armed conflict does not imply resolution of the underlying concerns that caused the conflict. Humanitarian crises can compound problems. An inability to deal with these factors intelligently and effectively can cripple the rebuilding process and lead to renewed strife.

History has shown that the most effective rebuilding efforts integrate three important strategies. Firstly, they are tailored to the postwar situation with which they are dealing. An assessment of which factors pose the gravest challenges to rebuilding in each post-conflict situation is absolutely necessary. Factors that destabilize rebuilding must not be addressed haphazardly but rather at their roots. Secondly, successful rebuilding involves a vast commitment of resources and assistance on the part of the international community. Piecemeal efforts will not suffice. Finally, rebuilding efforts must involve a nation's own people in a way that allows them to ultimately control their destiny and that eventually provides a clear exit strategy for international actors.

Case studies of the Marshall Plan in Western Europe and the U.N. and U.S.'s rebuilding efforts in Somalia in the early 1990s demonstrate the necessity of correctly identifying the most fundamental and pressing challenges of rebuilding, dealing with them in a powerful and forceful way, and involving a nation's people in rebuilding efforts in order to build a strong, self-sustaining society.

The Marshall Plan is a study in successful rebuilding. When World War II ended in 1945, the European continent was in tatters. America initially believed that limited aid and relaxed trade barriers would be enough to spur Europe to economic recovery. But by 1947, the economic situation was dire. The UN reported that postwar labor productivity in Europe was 40-50% of prewar levels, and low wages and food shortages compounded the problems. As the economy tanked, support for the Communist party in various countries began to grow. The U.S. began to fear Soviet domination of Western Europe.

By 1947, Secretary of State George Marshall understood the plight of the European continent and the danger it faced. "The patient is sinking while the doctors deliberate," he told the American people. In a now-famous speech that year at Harvard University, Marshall laid out the European Recovery Program—the Marshall Plan—and brilliantly addressed the three important strategies of rebuilding. Firstly, he correctly assessed the situation in Europe. Marshall realized that the root problem that afflicted rebuilding efforts was economic and not political in nature. He emphasized that the effective way to stifle Communism was to address Europe's economic troubles. "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos," Marshall said. "Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy . . . to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist."

Secondly, Marshall understood that for rebuilding to succeed, a massive investment of resources into Europe on the part of the U.S.

was necessary. "Assistance . . . must not be on a piecemeal basis . . . [it] should provide a cure rather than a mere palliative," he said.

Finally, Marshall understood that the chances of a rational and cohesive rebuilding effort would be greatly increased by allowing Europeans to retain much control over the rebuilding program. The U.S., he said, should limit itself to "friendly aid" and advice. The Marshall Plan's four-year timetable also provided a framework for success.

Eventually, between 1948 and 1952, the U.S. appropriated \$13.3 billion dollars—a staggering sum in that day—for the Marshall Plan. The money was spent toward greatly increasing European productivity and modernizing factory and transport systems. And the Europeans had a hand in formulating a workable rebuilding policy.

The Plan was incredibly successful. Western Europe's gross national product climbed 32 percent during the Marshall Plan, and by 1952 agricultural production and industrial output exceeded prewar levels by 11 and 40 percent, respectively. Through the revived economy, Western Europe had been re-integrated into the free world; even as the U.S.S.R. dominated Eastern Europe, Western Europe would stand for four decades as a bulwark against Soviet expansion. Calling him a man who "offered hope to those who desperately needed it," TIME named him its 1947 Man of the Year. And in 1953, Marshall was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

In contrast, the U.N. and U.S.'s post-conflict reconstruction experience in Somalia in the early 1990s demonstrates the consequences of an incompetent and halfhearted approach to nation-building. With the collapse of Mohamed Siad Barre's regime in 1991, Somalia plunged into civil war as various Somali clans engaged in a power struggle. The chaos triggered a great humanitarian crisis. Finally, after thousands were killed in intense fighting in Mogadishu, a U.N.-brokered cease-fire between rival clan leaders Mohamed Farah Aidid and Ali Mahdi Mohamed was achieved in March of 1992.

However, the U.N. and U.S.'s response afterward showed a disregard for the three important strategies of rebuilding. Firstly, the U.N. and the U.S. did not accurately assess the Somali situation. The immense humanitarian crisis blinded the international actors to the fact that the root problem that was afflicting reconciliation was political in nature. The initial U.N. and U.S. response in Operation Restore Hope sought to be purely humanitarian in nature, when in fact the humanitarian and political situations were intertwined. The U.S. Deputy Chief of Mission to Somalia later wrote, "The country's entire political and economic systems essentially revolved around plundered food" that was stolen from the relief effort. Eventually, confronted with the deteriorating political situation, the U.N. Security Council authorized Resolution 794 in December of 1992, which allowed U.S. and international troops to use "all necessary means" to establish "a secure environment for humanitarian relief operations in Somalia." Even at this point, guaranteeing political stability was seen as only a means for providing humanitarian relief, rather than an end in itself. This is a fine strategy for saving people's lives in the short-term—in fact, the intervention in Somalia saved tens of thousands of lives—but it is a poor strategy for rebuilding the fabric of a nation.

Secondly, the international community was not eager to put forth the significant monetary and troop commitment that successful nation-building entails. However, reductions in the troop force—from 25,000 to 4,200 by June of 1993—ultimately proved counterproductive. As James Dobbins, who

oversaw various postwar reconstruction efforts (including Somalia) while serving Bush and Clinton, put it, "Only when the number of stabilization troops has been low in comparison to the population have U.S. forces suffered or inflicted significant casualties." The international effort in Somalia was strikingly deficient.

Finally, the Somali mission failed to include many of the Somali people in rebuilding efforts. The cease-fire efforts attempted to treat the conflict as one between two major warlords, when there were actually many other disaffected people who went uninvited to peace talks. In fact, warlord Ali Mahdi Mohamed, given stature by his inclusion in the talks, attacked smaller clans the day after the U.N. invitation to talks. One U.N. advisor wrote that the international community's inability to recognize the importance of representation in Somali politics was "central to nearly every failed peace conference." In the end, the concept of an effective exit strategy for international actors, which is designed to focus efforts on goals and results, instead degenerated in Somalia into a rationale for getting out.

After a clash between warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid and a U.N. force on June 5, 1993, and the battle between Aidid and U.S. forces on October 3, 1993 that left eighteen soldiers dead, Clinton ordered a withdrawal of American troops that was completed by March of 1994. The final U.N. troops left in February of 1995 as rival clans continued to fight. As his troops prepared to leave Somalia, Pakistani brigadier general Saulat Abbas lamented, "We've been able to save a lot of people from hunger, disease. But we've not been able to contribute anything politically." The nation-building effort had failed.

The lessons of the Marshall Plan and international efforts in Somalia are clear. For those nations overrun by war, the cessation of violence is only a beginning. A careful and well-reasoned rebuilding and reconciliation effort that is uniquely relevant to the intricacies of each situation is necessary for the re-emergence of a strong society that can endure. In addition, international actors such as the U.N. and U.S. must truly be committed to investing all the resources necessary to build an orderly environment. This often means going against the prevailing political winds. Finally, the rebuilding of a nation must involve that nation's own people and provide for their society to eventually prosper on its own. With the proper approach and commitment in place, post-conflict rebuilding efforts can lead to societies that are peaceful, stable, and secure.●

#### WALTER JOHNSON—HALF A CENTURY OF SERVICE

● Mrs. BOXER. Madam President, I am pleased and honored to salute Walter Johnson, the distinguished secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council, AFL-CIO. Walter is retiring after nearly two decades in this position and more than 50 years of outstanding service to the labor community and the people of the San Francisco Bay Area.

Born in North Dakota, Walter Johnson served his country in World War II and settled in San Francisco after his discharge. He got a job as an appliance salesperson at Sears Roebuck and joined Local 1100 of the Department Store Employees Union. Rising through the ranks of the union, he became its business agent in 1957 and was elected president a year later. He was

elected secretary-treasurer in 1964 and reelected 11 times.

Walter was elected secretary-treasurer of the labor council in 1985, and has held this top post ever since. As the leader of more than 80,000 workers in 140 local unions and constituency groups, Walter Johnson represents the face and voice of San Francisco's labor movement.

He also embodies its heart. Walter's compassion and commitment to social justice are legendary. In the 1950s, he played a key role in breaking the color line by helping the first African American woman secure a position behind the counter at Woolworth's. Over the past half century, he has fought for workers' rights at home and in foreign lands including China and South Korea. A cancer survivor himself, he has been a leader in the fight against breast cancer. He is also active in his church, in promoting sports for children, and in the United Way of the Bay Area.

Walter has become a trusted friend and adviser to me and to other elected officials, but he never lets us forget that we work for the people not the other way around. Even after he retires, I will still hear Walter's voice and feel him tapping on my shoulder, reminding me never to forget the working men and women I represent.

After more than 50 years of service, even Walter Johnson needs a little time off. Along with thousands of his friends and admirers throughout the Bay Area, I wish him a long and pleasurable retirement.●

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Ms. Evans, one of his secretaries.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

At 3:05 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bills, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 3574. An act to require the mandatory expensing of stock options granted to executive officers, and for other purposes.

H.R. 3936. An act to amend title 38, United States Code, to authorize the principal office of the United States Court of Appeals for Veterans Claims to be at any location in the Washington, DC, metropolitan area, rather than only in the District of Columbia, and

expressing the sense of Congress that a dedicated Veterans Courthouse and Justice Center should be provided for that Court and those it serves and should be located, if feasible, at a site owned by the United States that is part of or proximate to the Pentagon Reservation, and for other purposes.

H.R. 4259. An act to amend title 31, United States Code, to improve the financial accountability requirements applicable to the Department of Homeland Security, to establish requirements for the Future Years Homeland Security Program of the Department, and for other purposes.

H.R. 4816. An act to permit the Librarian of Congress to hire Library of Congress Police employees.

H.R. 4850. An act making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending September 30, 2005, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House has agreed to the following concurrent resolution, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H. Con. Res. 308. Concurrent resolution recognizing the members of AMVETS for their service to the Nation and supporting the goal of AMVETS National Charter Day.

The message further announced that the House has passed the following joint resolution and bill, without amendment:

S.J. Res. 38. Joint resolution providing for the appointment of Eli Broad as a citizen regent of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution.

S. 741. An act to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act with regard to new animal drugs, and for other purposes.

At 5:36 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Niland, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 4600. An act to amend section 227 of the Communications Act of 1934 to clarify the prohibition on junk fax transmissions.

The message also announced that the House agree to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H.R. 2443) to authorize appropriations for the Coast Guard for fiscal year 2004, to amend various laws administered by the Coast Guard, and for other purposes.

#### MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bills were read the second time, and placed on the calendar:

H.R. 4492. An act to amend the Omnibus Parks and Public Lands Management Act of 1996 to extend the authorization for certain national heritage areas, and for other purposes.

S. 2694. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide for the automatic enrollment of medicaid beneficiaries for prescription drug benefits under part D of such title, and for other purposes.

S. 2695. A bill to amend the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 to expand the definition of firefighter to include apprentices and trainees, regardless of age or duty limitations.