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On Thursday, June 20, 1996
AND For the Military Personnel Subcommittee
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House Military Personnel Subcmte Hearing - Q&A: James Wold, Ass't Sec. of
Defense and Allan Liotta, Chief Negotiator with North Korea, Department
of Defense - MIA's/POW's [Transcript 961720170, 4281 Lines]

HEARING OF THE MILITARY PERSONNEL SUBCOMMITTEE
OF THE HOUSE NATIONAL SECURITY COMMITTEE
SUBJECT: MIA/POW
CHAired BY: REPRESENTATIVE ROBERT DORNAN (R-CA)
WITNESSES:
JAMES W. WOLD, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR POW/MIA AFFAIRS
ALLAN LIOTTA, CHIEF NEGOTIATION WITH NORTH KOREA, DOD
2212 RAYBURN OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC
1:34 P.M. ET
THURSDAY, JUNE 20, 1996

REP. DORNAN: Ladies and gentlemen, the Subcommittee on Military Personnel of the National Security Committee will come to order.

My apologies for a half-hour late start here, but a cluster of some votes came up at the last minute, and then I had a meeting with the speaker on this very issue and follow-through. For 149 days from now, no matter how the presidential election goes, the Republicans do hope to hold on to a majority in the Senate, and, if the leadership stays the same, he is, Mr. Gingrich, is amenable to some sort of task force with some sort of funding for follow-through, particularly when I showed him an article by a hero of his and mine, five-star general and two-term beloved president Dwight D. Eisenhower, saying that he agreed with an analysis to write off as dead several hundred Americans that we knew to be alive left behind in Korea. It was a total shock for me. Nobody's an angel.

President Eisenhower -- another reflection back on his wonderful life -- was so angered at having walked through the German, the Nazi, concentration camps and thinking about his own proud German heritage that he denied bare subsistence to some German prisoner-of-war camps where hundreds of German POWs died. It's a Canadian document, well researched, overstated as some things are, but it turned out to be quite true for a while that, although there was no torture or abuse, food conditions and sanitary conditions were so bad in some of these huge holding camps of German prisoners, which one of my colleagues was a 19-year-old commander, the now retiring number-two man on

Appropriations Committee, John Myers of Indiana. And he told me that it was pretty bad at his camp, but not that bad.

So, like all of us, we make some mistakes in life, so I'd like to read my opening statement and an opening statement from Mr. Pickett and a guest congressman from Pennsylvania, Mr. John Fox, and he'd like to make a statement. And then we'll proceed to take testimony from our distinguished panel.

The historic hearing on American prisoners of war who were never released from the Korean War is taking place as the United States government has begun negotiations with North Korea on accounting for our missing heroes. The last hearing in this House on this issue until this very moment -- in the House; there were two hours in the Senate I understand -- but in this House the last time was 1957, nearly 40 years ago, under the chairmanship of a wonderful man, a good friend of mine, Chairman Clem Zabloski (sp) from Wisconsin, who went on to chair the Foreign Affairs Committee when I was a member of that distinguished committee. The result was a proclamation by the House for the return of, quote, "450 American POWs still imprisoned by the Communists," unquote.

During this postwar period, President Ike Eisenhower made numerous public statements regarding American prisoners who were known to be in captivity. For example, on Memorial Day 1955 -- I had just been commissioned a second lieutenant, I had just married, I was on my way to gunnery full of respect for him and bursting with pride to be a young Air Force jet pilot -- President Eisenhower stated, quote, "We have had long, serious discussions with the Chinese Communists trying to make them disclose where our prisoners are being held. We have gotten a few back." Four F-86 pilots were to return that very next month, who were all shot down in Manchuria. One of them was a commander of mine -- Heller, Parks, Cameron, Fisher (sp).

A few months later, by a slip of the tongue at a cocktail party in Geneva to Dag Hammarskjöld, secretary general to the U.N., an entire B-29 crew, Anderson's crew, was returned through Hong Kong, 11 of the 13. Two were held back because they were the enlisted radar technicians on the airplane who could give lie to the charge that the B-9 was shot down in China, when in fact it was shot down over North Korea. So their expertise as the two radar navigators cost them their lives, to die alone in some rotting Chinese camp facility. But at least we got 11 of the 13 out of Jack Anderson's crew.

And I've spoken to some of them. I spoke to one sergeant who was a school teacher in Cleveland, and he told me he was held in camp where he would pry apart the boards on his window. His roommate was Thomas Downey, who was a CIA man captured in China and held for almost 20 years. And Downey was his roommate for a while. He said he could pry the boards open and see in a compound, a quadrangle, caucasian prisoners, all his age or younger, walking in a quadrangle. And he said he could almost tell from their demeanor the Americans from the British and some of the other nationalities. He said the Americans were -- he said, "I don't know how to explain it -- looser, more good-humored, trying to accept their fate." That was never offered in testimony in Congress, either side of the Hill, until this moment I assume.

In fact, based on statements by returned American prisoners,

international intelligence reports, interviews and statements by high-ranking former Communist officials and defectors over a 40-year period, there were at least four separate categories of prisoners of war that were not defectors, who were exploited, held back by the Soviets, Chinese, North Koreans.

First, highly trained aviators -- what I did a few years later -- trans-sonic fighter pilots, the F-86 Sabrejet, with a 7-, 8-, and -- in some periods -- a 13-to-1 kill ratio, victory ration, over Soviet pilots that we now know were running the air operation in North Korea, just as they were advisors, as were the Chinese, in the Vietnam air operation with an evil human being named Robert McNamara giving sanctuary to all the MIG bases while our young second lieutenants were shot down on their first, second, third missions, with MIGs coming out of the sun who were allowed to take off within view of our fighter pilots that could have destroyed their bases. Sort of a replay of Korea, only worse. Highly trained aviators, technicians whose skills were coveted by our Communist enemies.

The second group included soldiers who were used for -- brace yourselves -- ghastly medical and psychological experiments. This is the ugliness of Harbin (sp), Unit 731, held secret by our government for decades. One of another heroes of mine, General MacArthur -- huge mistake. No war crimes trials for Japanese that equaled in the intensity of their evil Dr. Mengele, the devil of death at Auschwitz. I refuse to call him the angel of death. People who would cut the arms and the legs off healthy Chinese, Russians, and now we find out by the excellent research of Gavin Doss (sp), Americans, Austrialians and British and New Zealand prisoners in Manchuria. Harbin, Unit 731. Stories right out of a book titled once "The Theory and Practice of Hell." That was applied to Nazi horrors. It went on under Japanese warlords. Where did the doctors that ran these war crimes camps end up? Head of medical schools in Japan. Only God and their conscience would drive some of them to suicide in later years. Now we find out that the Czechs built a hospital in North Korea for these same unfathomable evil experiments.

The third category, including men held back as bargaining chips for future negotiations -- a Communist pattern in every conflict since Lenin taught us that lying was not lying if the end was, in his concept, just. And for manual slave labor in that third category.

And finally those who enemy intelligence agencies hoped to train as sleeper agents or trainers in English and American culture, trainers of sleeper agents, and the infiltrated back into the United States. If the Communists would put men in Italy through the Catholic training for 10, 12 years to become a priest and they would suffer all of that as atheists, they would certainly run sleepers who had a military background.

At least 19 human intelligence documents, including at least half a dozen interviews with North Korean defectors, just some of them over the past few months, led to a report by Insung Lee (sp). I have to assume Mr. Lee's under a lot of pressure the last week. He's a Korean American, an analyst at the Defense Department, and he issued a background paper to the Office of the Secretary of Defense that came to this conclusion, quote: "that there are two groups of Americans in North Korea -- a small group of defectors, now established factually by name and city, and a larger group of 10 to 15 possible POWs.

I've read all of the documents that I could get my hands on and find that, unlike the recent statements by DPMO official Allan Liotta, who's with us today, that many are not third-hand accounts, but first-hand or strong second-hand accounts that are fairly consistent in their descriptions. And to use the case of the Romanians, where people who haven't seen one of them since 1979, could identify one another by name, and then track this person down, and find out that they're American citizens living in the same neighborhood and didn't know.

Today, I'm providing the unclassified documents from this series. And I'm asking at this time for Department of Defense to declassify all of these documents -- given the time factors here -- all of these documents.

We know that there are at least four American defectors in North Korea. They've appeared in a feature film. I hope to see that film in the next few days -- "Nameless Heroes" -- I think is the name. The Pentagon knew about these men for many years, but did not publicly admit it until the South Korean press broke the story last year. Then there were denials, and additions and finally admissions. If the sources of recent intelligence reports honestly identify these men, serious professional investigators, like Insung Lee, have to seriously consider these same sources' accounts of other Americans, 60 to 70 years old, who are called "prisoners of war from the war of liberation against the South." That's a quote.

Is survival possible? A year ago Christmas, in my office, I received this visitor Lt. ChoChang Ho, who was captured in 1951 -- a lieutenant then -- during the Korean War and was later declared Killed in Action, Body Not Recovered. He escaped from North Korea -- multiple attempts -- was branded a hard case, his wife turned against him, his two daughters. It took years of preparation to escape. He only remembered that his daughter was a high school teacher. By the time he made contact through covert sources -- lucked out she was in a phone book. She was not a high school teacher, but a graduated and retired college professor. And she paid the money to the Chinese for the boat trip -- after he had to cross the Yellow River -- and almost died and was unconscious in a coma when he was repatriated and woke up in a hospital three days later.

He came to my office with his whole family and American -- American -- American Koreans in his family who he had not seen in four decades. He escaped from North Korea in '94. He had been held 43 years as a slave laborer in coal mines in the harsh mountain climate. No German treatment for officers here, like some of the Stalag camps that we could make comedies of.

Although in the remote areas he was held in, he did not see Americans. He said he never had a hint of an American. He claims there were thousands of other South Korean -- our allies -- prisoners held in North Korea after the war. He said 40 to 50 at the beginning, he believes 10,000 still live.

In his opinion, there are others, like himself, who would desire to escape. And we ask why Americans haven't escaped. He's a man -- the right body structure, the facial features, the language, and born on that peninsula and it took him 43 years to get out. How in the name of God could an American escape? And if you read the two "escape overnight" attempts in Vietnam, you understand that it's pretty close

to impossible. This is not a great escape like the 76 that escaped from Germany and Goering. And he paid for this with his suicide and death sentence -- had 50 British and American heroes executed for doing what's in our code of conduct -- attempting to escape. He exemplifies the reason why we can never rule out the possibility of survival of any prisoners who was last known alive.

Included in my testimony, I'm submitting a written statement by Czechoslovakian Major General Jan Sejna, who currently is employed by the US Department of Defense. And I will track him and make sure he's not punished for this. I spent two hours with him two days ago. In 1968 he was the highest ranking Soviet Bloc intelligence officer who ever defected to the United States. He told me of the horror stories -- and that's what they are -- of American prisoners of war captured in Korea -- and then in Vietnam -- who were moved to third countries for technical information exploitation or this ghastly medical experiments.

He debriefed me on his horribly inadequate CIA briefing, how Kissinger fired him with the days of Nixon taking over, how they didn't want to hear anything about POWs, how they didn't want to hear anything about this Czech-built hospital. That, by the way, years later, after he'd been attacked and discredited, turns out to exist -- it's real. I would call that a smoking gun.

X x x gun.

And how they didn't want to know about him -- the chief of staff of the joint chiefs in Czechoslovakia -- and the strategic plan to prepare for a third world war -- weren't interested in any of that -- finally gave him \$50,000 of our taxpayers money, and picked out where he'd live, and sent him to Lake George to run a golf course, and he was broke within months, and finally became a carpenter, and then worked his way back, and has finally been used as a valuable intelligence source in the last decade by the DIA.

Now thus far, the negotiations with North Korea have focused primarily on the repatriation of remains and digging up airplane crash sites, all of the 46 to 43-years-old. He we go again, the hunt for bone fragments. And to hell with stories about live Americans.

I believe that the first priority should be to find out the truth of Americans who were left behind. The figure given at 8th Army headquarters in Vietnam to every code I've taken there over the last 20 years -- 389. I thought that was a pretty sacred figure out of the Eisenhower years, and it turns out that that was one of these manipulated, pared-down, swished-down figures, and that 389 was low ball. It was much higher.

The second priority should be visits to the military museums and archives by honest, professional researchers. I went over to the Senate Cloakroom, got a quick and dirty briefing from one of my heroes over there, Bob Smith, and he told me how he went to Korea. The first American Senator in Korea maybe ever. I don't know how many senators had Chou-shan, a Japanese occupied area, on their visit list for code I in the '30 and '20s. But he said he was not properly briefed on any of this by our State Department when he went over there. This is Senator Bob Smith again.

This should be run by honest, professional researchers to prepare Congressmen and Senators willing to go over to these dangerous place

-- and they are dangerous. I flew on the airplane that killed Ron Brown -- four flights, not three and one-half weeks before he did with the same pilot, Ashley Davis (sp), and the same crew attendant who was wonderful, Shelly Kelly now dead. It's dangerous on these codels, particularly when I fly on a Russian Antonov-12 with one of the engines missing all the way from Ulan Bator in outer Mongolia -- or from Beijing up there on a rotten airplane where I smell vodka on the breath of the crew. Some of these codels are not trips to Hawaii, folks.

We should be able to excavate cemeteries outside of former prison camps, but not when the Czechs built the crematorium as part of the hospital, so that any poor, God-forsaken person who lives this miserable existence as a guinea pig before God takes them, then they're burned into ashes -- again Auschwitz-style -- crematoria. You're not going to find any remains from some of this. But some of the former prison camps -- cemeteries -- we may find people. Certainly there are battlefields.

I talked to a Marine, just a few years older than I am, who said he could go back to Chou-shan and identify the area where they put 200 of his friends in a mass grave, he says in a heartbeat, if it was winter, and if there was snow cover on the ground. He said, I've got it burned in my brain the locations like a pirate's treasure map. I made a mental note, I stared at that for an hour or so, I could find that location.

Crash site excavations -- while providing dramatic photos for reporters who take the danger of going to these areas -- are little more than expensive boondoggles for the communists. And we now have a GOA investigation -- thanks to Senator Smith and myself -- about \$4 million unaccounted for in Vietnam. The beat goes on.

The first priority should always be to resolve questions regarding men possibly alive. In addition, we must use all the means possible, including creative, independent research, honest outside brokers. This has worked at the Defense Department, this has worked with outside contractors. And that's why I've asked people who wrote a Rand study to come today. In addition, we must use information from the former Soviet Bloc and China. China, again, a prideful Chinese wall slammed in front of us, Soviet Bloc windows opening and closing all the time, people dying off who were forthcoming.

And I'm going to recommend to this panel, as I did to the last one, that they look at the BBC interview and tell me if these Soviet former fighter pilots retired -- again, my age or older -- chest full of medals -- if they don't appear to be telling the truth when they talk about getting shot down and taking a bullet from an F-86 Saber, tearing open their arm, compound fracture and ejected. But, of course, their ejecting over their territory -- North Korea or Manchuria -- so they get patched up and go home. Our men -- F-86 pilots -- who would lose an aerial duel, God knows what the fate was for some 40 to 50 of them.

We simply have to resolve the fates of those American heroes who were last known to be alive in communist custody. I still think well of General MacArthur and President - five star general, both five star generals - Eisenhower. But if they could come back today I'm convinced as a student of those two men, that they would say we were wrong, try and right those wrongs. Lets do it right. Mr. Pickett

please, any opening remarks sir.

REP. OWEN B. PICKETT (D-VA): Thank you very much Mr. Chairman, I simply want to welcome our two panels of witnesses here today and I look forward to hearing their testimony on this very sensitive subject. I do have a statement which I'll simply submit for the record in order to catch up a little bit on our time here and give us an opportunity to hear more from our witnesses Mr. Chairman.

REP. DORNAN: Thank you Mr. Pickett. Before I ask our witnesses to take the oath, I'm going to recognize Mr. Fox of Pennsylvania, and then I have a document dated 27 April 1992, signed by Lt. Gen. James R. Clapper Jr., who was then the director of DIA - is he still the director of DIA - no - read this document, should set the tone, and then we'll swear in our first panel. Mr. Fox.

REP. JOHN D. FOX (R-PA): Thank you Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman I want to thank you for your outstanding leadership in assuring that our men and women who are listed as missing in action or prisoner of war are not forgotten. I share your deep commitment and that of Congressman Pickett to resolve the fate of each and every one of our brave troops, and I appreciate your holding this hearing to highlight Korean War issues which must be addressed, particularly in view recent reports of live-sightings in North Korea.

For more than 45 years, families of Korean POW/MIAs and those killed in action still worry about the fate of their loved ones. Mr. Chairman, I would like to recognize the dedication of my constituent, a Charlotte Busch Mitnik (ph) - recognize yourself please - to the cause of POWs/MIAs.

On June 13, 1952 Charlotte's brother, Major Samuel M. Busch, was among a crew of 12 men who alone, unarmed and unafraid flew a sensitive reconnaissance mission over the Sea of Japan. They were shot down by two Soviet MIG-15 jet fighters. For over 40 years family members believed what they were told by our government, that their relatives had perished in an air accident.

In 1992 President Yeltsin admitted that the plane had been shot down and that some airmen had been taken prisoner and may still be alive. Their fate is still unknown. We need to end the paper chase so that loved-ones will learn the where-abouts of their relatives who died or missing from the Korean War so that their hearts and minds can be put at ease.

Mr. Chairman with your permission I would like to submit the compelling statement of my constituent, Charlotte Busch Mitnik (ph), which expresses far better than I ever could the feelings of the families of our POWs and MIAs, and to submit it for the record. Thank you Mr. Chairman.

REP. DORNAN: Thank you Mr. Fox.

REP. FOX: Want me to submit that?

REP. DORNAN: Please, that will be done.

REP. FOX: Thank you.

REP. DORNAN: Just one memo before we start, I'll be reading this except for the first paragraph, for the first time myself. The general's name is Clapper, 27 April, slight redaction ahead of the first paragraph.

Enclosed intelligence reports summarizes the results of a DIA investigation into possible drug experimentation on U.S. prisoners of war during the Korean War carried out by Soviet and Czechoslovakian

personnel. The purpose of this program was to develop comprehensive interrogation techniques involving medical, psychological and drug-induced behavior modification. Information uncovered by DIA indicates that up to several dozen unwilling participants in this program may have been executed upon its conclusion in North Korea.

We ever nail this down can you do this article in Readers' Digest? -- (inaudible) -- reading this on some trans-continental or transatlantic or Pacific flight. Slight redaction second paragraph, just one word it looks like.

The source was well placed in that he personally saw progress reports on the work in North Korea that were forwarded to top leadership in the Czech Central Committee in the Ministry of Defense. He remains a very sensitive source who has provided reliable information to the U.S. intelligence community for many years. This source is most reluctant to have his identify become known or be tied to the information he's provided.

It should be noted that the source did submit to polygraph examination during which no deception was indicated. This report is classified both to protect the sources identity and to ensure proper security is maintained during possible demarche and follow-up investigative activity.

Number 3 - it looks like three letter redaction. I have furnished the attached report to the secretary and deputy secretary of defense for their information. This would have been Cheney in 1992 - Dick Cheney. Normally intelligence reports concerning American prisoners of war are distributed within the government to the military departments, the intelligence agencies, Department of State, temporary Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs - which was to go out at the end of '92, the House POW/MIA Task Force - which has gone out of existence because I took the portfolio where it should be, and the Military Personnel Committee should never have left here 25 years ago.

However, as the attached intelligence report could seriously impact on-going foreign policy activities of the United States government, I await instructions on any further dissemination of this subject-report. Just want to make sure that doesn't go down a big, dark hole of Calcutta somewhere.

Alright, the first panel, I'll introduce them and then swear them in. Malcolm Toon, former distinguished ambassador to the Soviet Union, co-chairman of the U.S. - Russia Joint Commission on POW/MIAs, upon which two of our former POWs in this House of Representatives served.

Second will be Allan Liotta, Deputy Director, Defense POW/MIA Office. Number three, from the Department of State, David G. Brown, Director of Korean Affairs. Gentlemen if you'd please rise - this is done at the request of the families - I concur.

Please raise your right hand. Do each of you solemnly swear or affirm that the testimony you will give before this subcommittee in matters now under consideration will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God.

Thank you. Please be seated and Ambassador Toon if you will please proceed with your statement. It will be put in the record in its entirety if you want to summarize, it's your call. Please proceed.

AMB. TOON: Thank you Mr. Chairman. It's good to be with you

again, I hope. I would like to thank the committee for inviting me here today to discuss the work of the U.S. - Russian Joint Commission on POWs and MIAs.

I believe the commissions' work over the past four years demonstrates a number of accomplishments as well as the seriously obstacles we have encountered in trying to determine what the former Soviet Union may know about missing American servicemen. I would like to begin my remarks on a positive note highlighting some of the major achievements recorded since March 1992 when I was appointed to be the commission's U.S. co-chairman.

Through a great deal of persistence and resourcefulness we have established an enduring structure for pursuing a comprehensive interview and archival research program throughout the former Soviet Union. The commission's day-by-day research and investigative efforts are handled through our staff personnel in Moscow. Their relentless search for the facts has taken them across much of Russia and its neighboring states and has produced hundreds of documents and scores of interviews that form the core of our investigative program.

Now I should say parenthetically Mr. Chairman that when I took on this job over four years ago, I thought it was for 6 months. I'm heading in my 5th year and I'm facing my 80th birthday on the Fourth of July. So I think it's about time for me to quit.

REP. DORNAN: Well happy Fourth of July, happy birthday.

AMB. TOON: Now the work of these dedicated people in Moscow becomes the basis for the agenda items discussed when my fellow commissioners and I travel to Moscow to attend regular plenary sessions, of which 12 have been held to date. Discussion with Russian counterparts, which gives us a chance freely to express our views and concerns, takes place in four working groups representing the commissions focal points: The Korean War Working Group, chaired by Congressman Sam Johnson; the Vietnam War Working Group headed by Congressman Pete Peterson; the Cold War Working Group under Mr. Dennis Clift of the Joint Military Intelligence College; and the World War II Working Group whose work is guided by Michael McReynolds of the National Archives.

Losses of former Soviet personnel during the war in Afghanistan and elsewhere have also been pursued by the commission. The working groups have compiled their findings in a comprehensive report. An executive summary of that report has just been presented to the President. In that study the American people will receive a full report of the many initiatives that our commission has undertaken, the results achieved, the obstacles encountered, and the avenues for further inquiry that look most promising.

The summary of our report will be released this afternoon through the Defense Department's Public Affairs Office and through the commission's Congressional membership. I am pleased to leave a copy of that summary, Mr. Chairman, with you today.

REP. DORNAN: Thank you ambassador.

AMB. TOON: To date, the U.S. membership of the commission has visited every one of the 15 states formerly comprising the U.S.S.R., with the single exception of Tadjikistan. I have met with the top government officials in each of these countries and have made numerous media appeals asking anyone with information about our missing

servicemen to contact us as a gesture of humanitarian concern. Thanks to similar appeals in the past we have been able to assure that at least one American pilot, whose fate was once unknown, now rests in peace at Arlington Cemetery.

We have looked hard at the question of transfers of U.S. servicemen into the former Soviet Union. As a result of my intimate knowledge of the Soviet Union's modus operandi, I have long believed that particularly during the Korean War the former USSR would not have missed a chance to get its hands on our POWs and to exploit them for its own political and military objectives. This view is shared by prominent officials on the Russian side and is supported by a number of leads that the commission has uncovered, including testimony by a former Soviet sergeant claiming to have seen four United States' servicemen being treated in a military hospital north of Vladivostok in 1951.

In each instance where we have obtained such information we have sought to examine it thoroughly so that we could report the facts to the American people. Unfortunately, despite extensive effort, we are not yet at a point where we can provide a definitive statement about specific U.S. servicemen who were caught up in a Soviet program to transfer U.S. POWs onto Soviet territory. Continuing our investigation into the transfer issue has been, and will continue to be, a top priority for the commission in the weeks and months ahead.

And in this context, I would like to point out that as my personal view, but it is shared by most of my fellow commissioners, I would like to point out that our joint commission with the Russians must expand its scope to include direct discussions with the governments of the Peoples Republic of China and North Korea. This is essential if we are to get out all the facts about Americans missing from the Korean War. Mr. Chairman this concludes my prepared remarks.

REP. DORNAN: Thank you ambassador. I've always envied those whose birthday was the Fourth of July - you, Senator George Murphy, George M. Cohen (ph), and my mother is long in heaven so she can't get angry when I say this, but she never should have copped out that I was conceived on the Fourth of July. Hence, 269 days later, an April 3rd birthday. So, good day for a person who's served his country as long as you have.

Thank you for your statement. Mr. Liotta, excuse me for trying to attach you to that handsome movie-star Ray Liotta.

MR. LIOTTA: We do come from the same part of New Jersey sir.

REP. DORNAN: Do you really? Is he a cousin?

MR. LIOTTA: -- close facial resemblance.

REP. DORNAN: Is he a cousin?

MR. LIOTTA: No, no relation.

REP. DORNAN: Right, well you're luckier, you got the red hair. Please go ahead Mr. Liotta.

MR. LIOTTA: Thank you Mr. Chairman. Unlike Ambassador Toon, this is my first ever Congressional testimony. I am proud that my baptism centers on such an important and critical issue as our efforts to account for our missing men from the Korean War.

In about 20 days a team of 10 American Department of Defense remains recovery experts will deploy into North Korea on the first ever joint U.S. - North Korean recovery operation. This unprecedented event is the result of long years of frustrating, but ultimately

successful negotiations with North Korea on the POW/MIA issue. The issue of accounting for our missing servicemen in the Korean War is one that we take very seriously.

It is an issue for which progress has long been overdue. Since the signing of the armistice in 1953, the United States government has sought to bring home thousands of American servicemen who remain unaccounted for from the Korean conflict. Despite continuous frustrations in dealing with the North Korean and the Chinese governments, we never gave up hope that we'd one day make serious progress on this important humanitarian issue.

Over the last 6 months a series of direct talks with the North Koreans finally achieved the break-through that the United States government, veterans of the Korean War, and the families of our missing have long been waiting for. Prior to these director contacts, we had conducted talks on the POW/MIA issues through the United Nations Command to its counterpart, the North Korean People's Army, at Panmunjon. These talks achieved some progress, including the signing of an agreement in 1993 to regularize the remains repatriation process. This agreement facilitated the subsequent return of over 200 remains between 1990 and 1994.

However, as a result of the North Koreans' recovery techniques, we have successfully identified only six of these remains. It was for this reason that we were convinced that joint recovery operations were the only way to proceed if we were to have any hope of recovering significant numbers of identifiable remains.

Despite former North Korean leader Kim Il-Sung's statement to former President Jimmy Carter in 1994 that joint recovery operations were possible, the Korean People's Army refused over the next 18 months to discuss the issue with the United States. During this time, the United Nations Command continued to negotiate with the North Koreans, pressing them to agree to joint recovery options, but to no avail.

At the end of last year, after careful interagency deliberation, we decided to try direct contacts with the Korean People's Army to see if this new venue would achieve the desired result. Our first direct talks took place in Hawaii in January of this year at the United States Army Central Identification Laboratory in Hawaii. During these talks, we had three principal objectives: to resolve the outstanding issues involving previous repatriations; to get the DPRK to commit to joint recovery options; to demonstrate to them the capabilities of the laboratory to further their understanding of why we were unable to identify more than six of the 208 remains they had returned to us.

Although the talks at CILHAI failed to achieve any agreements, we did succeed in broadening the North Koreans' understanding of the need for joint recovery operations. In late March, the North Koreans signaled that they wished to meet again, and we subsequently agreed to hold another round of talks in New York in May of this year. At that time, we resolved past issues associated with the repatriated remains and agreed to a subsequent working-level meeting in the first half of June 1996 to begin planning joint recovery operations aimed at implementing these operations.

I have just returned from eight days of these working-level talks in North Korea and am pleased to report that our first joint recovery operation will begin on July 10th at a crash site in Unson (sp) County

in the northwestern part of North Korea. This first operation is scheduled to last no more than 20 days. During our working-level talks, we also had the opportunity to briefly visit this site. A second recovery operation is set for September of this year. This site is in Nampo (sp) City, just southwest of Pyongyang.

I'd like to note that, although these working-level talks were arduous, we did agree on a myriad of technical details necessary to achieve this long-awaited breakthrough.

REP. DORNAN: Mr. Liotta, just one pause. I'm following your comments, and you skipped over that Congressman Richardson was with you. He had hoped to visit with us, either on the panel or as a witness, today. He may yet come over.

MR. LIOTTA: Yes, sir. It was during his congressional delegation visit to North Korea over Memorial Day Weekend in which I was asked to accompany him because of the remains-related issue talks which he'd be having.

REP. DORNAN: I asked him on the House floor yesterday, "Was there any discussion of live American prisoners?" He said no. And we'll get to this later in questioning. I asked Mr. Richardson, "Were you briefed at all on this? Were you briefed on any of these memos that are coming forward?" And he says no. He is very experienced, with a great successful mission in the Middle East. He got out those two McDonnell Douglas people. We all have top secret clearances. I'm on the Intelligence Committee. You've got to team this thing. You've got to work the way Ambassador Toon works with Peterson and Sam Johnson, a seven-year prison -- Pete almost a six-year prisoner -- Peterson. So he -- it's not your fault, I'm saying. I don't even know if you got the briefing. We'll find out in a minute. Please proceed.

MR. LIOTTA: Thank you.

Despite our significant progress on the remains aspect of this issue, we are not content to accept progress on this aspect of the issue alone. A key concern remains unresolved reports of live Americans living in North Korea. Over the years, the United States government has received reports, mostly hearsay, of live Americans in North Korea. Some of these reports allege the Americans are Korean POWs. Other reports describe them as defectors. Most of the reports have been linked to the appearance of these Americans in a North Korean propaganda film, "Nameless Heroes," with their role as language instructors in a military training facility.

We do know that there are currently four American servicemen who deserted their units in the 1960s, subsequently defected to North Korea and are still living there. Two later defectors were reported to have died. Because of their close similarities with individuals in the propaganda film and because some of the reports indicate the alleged POWs appeared in the films and served as language instructors, we suspect these individuals are the basis for at least some of these reports. However, because we cannot absolutely rule out the possibility that these Americans account for all of the reports, we continue to investigate these reports to the utmost of our ability.

With specific mention to the four defectors, the State Department has undertaken requests to seek consular access to these individuals in an attempt to talk to them and to see if there's interest in their returning home or at least meeting with their families.

In addition, the Defense POW/MIA Office has begun the daunting task of producing a more accurate listing of the Korean War unaccounted for. This involves reviewing and reconciling the official Korean War casualty list with the American Battle Monuments Commission's list of unaccounted for remains and the Central Identification Laboratory's Korean War forensic database. Already we have uncovered thousands of errors and inconsistencies, but there remains much more to accomplish before we have the desired goal of the most accurate listing ever. We hope to complete our first draft of this project in August of this year.

In addition to this, we are continuing our efforts to locate, review, declassify and centralize Korean War documents from both Department of Defense and National Archives sources. This effort is intended to provide more accurate information to the families, as well as make the information more accessible to the public in compliance with recent congressional legislation.

We are also looking into expanding our contacts with the Chinese government on the Korean War POW/MIA issue. Already the Chinese are accepting specific case inquiries, and we're currently preparing five additional such cases, which we hope to expand this effort into some joint archival research efforts with these Chinese.

Finally, with the approval of the use of DNA as a forensic tool in the identification of remains, families can now provide reference samples through their Service Casualty Office. Mitochondrial DNA testing requires a reference sample from the individual's maternal line, such as the mother, brother, sister -- mother, sister or brother, et cetera. The Service Casualty Office will determine who the most eligible next of kin is and arrange for a kit with detailed instructions to be sent to that person for a blood sample to be taken.

The Korean War is often referred to as the forgotten war. As I've demonstrated to you today, hopefully, that is not the case. Our current commitment to account for our servicemen from this conflict is stronger and more robust than at any time since the signing of the armistice. President Clinton reaffirmed this commitment in his dedication of the Korean War Veterans Memorial in Washington in 1994. Secretary of Defense Perry recently signed a DOD policy statement establishing the Korean War accounting effort as a DOD priority, with directions to the individual services to devote the commensurate resources to the effort.

For my part, I can assure you that the Defense POW/MIA Office intends to carry on its mission of accounting for our Korean War missing. We are determined not to let the daunting challenges facing us deter our efforts to succeed. And as American military experts deploy into North Korea next month to begin the first joint recovery operations, they do so in a concerted effort to remember and respect the brave servicemen for whom they are searching and working to bring home after so many years.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

REP. DORNAN: Thank you, Mr. Liotta.

How many in the room are family members of Korean missing-in-action? Quite a few. Do you know if any are waiting in the hall? Do we still have a line of about seven or eight people out there? I tried to get the bigger room because I knew so many of you who do not have military-assist travel and paid your own way here. And --

nobody? Good. Because what I was going to suggest was any staffers who are interested -- and I appreciate them being here -- they can come up and line the wall up here and make sure we have every family member inside the room.

Thank you for joining us, Mrs. Harman, and I was going to make an observation so you got in under the wire before we hear from our third panelist.

My wife, who thought she was going to lose me in Vietnam as a correspondent, because she knew as a Reserve fighter pilot I was stealing and begging every combat mission I could get on -- and I did get 14 -- I would have a lot of explaining to do if I'd been shot down in what I called a "Saigon Sam" suit with civilian identification. I don't think they'd have bought "Just a report; I'll walk back." They would have said, "CIA, you dead." And my wife sat there in the hearing room for the whole hearing yesterday on Vietnam and then talked for hours afterward, saw our best friend in the Air Force, the wife of a known POW in Laos for at least five or six years, the same as the sad, infamous David Herlicka (sp) case. She and Carol renewed friendships. Carol started to cry. And Sally said, "Mr. Pickett was wonderful in his questioning when you left the room. Where was everybody else? Why is there no congressional interest in this?"

J.C. Watts came for a while. Ben Gilman read a tough, but heartfelt statement; he's full chairman of International Relations, but he had to get back to other committee hearings, and he apologized to me three times today already for not coming back. Ike Skelton, who's always sensitive to these issues, came. Steve Buyer was there for a couple minutes.

But there's something about this issue where good people, thoughtful people, compassionate people say, "Well, that's it; let's move on." I've had combat officers who watched a wingman go down say, "Hey, I took my chances; it could have happened to me." And I say, "Well, where is your empathy? If it had happened to you, you've got brothers and sisters and a mother and an aunt and your dad, and they all die, and then your kids are 40 and 50 years of age and they start to go through that search in mid-life and want to know what happened to my dad. Why would you not be out in the front here?" I don't understand the lack of interest.

And then when I find these stories of bureaucrats coming clean now or Russian combat pilots coming clean, and I try to blend these together, which has been your job, Ambassador, I don't understand why we're letting something slip through our fingers here.

Jane -- Ms. Harman, at the beginning I mentioned that one of my heroes, Ike Eisenhower, said something that gave me a chill that I got hold of last night. This came out in the newspapers November 9th of '92, shortly after Clinton's victory. All eyes were on Arkansas. And just disappeared. I never even saw it. Nobody even sent it to me. Family members assumed that we're riding this and I'd be ahead of them. Listen to this article. It's very short.

"The U.S. government wrote off American POWs during the Korean War and knew that many U.S. servicemen were shipped to the Soviet Union," a national security aide to President Eisenhower said yesterday. In fact, retired Army colonel Philip Corso" -- C-O-R-S-O -- have any of you seen the BBC documentary where he's right on camera? Mr. Ambassador, you've seen it? Many of the family members.

They showed it at the Alliance yesterday across the river to the families. "He said he recommended to President Eisenhower the policy in which the administration falsely declared soldiers dead when they were known to have been captured alive. 'The fate of our prisoners fell through the cracks. It wasn't an accident. It was policy.' Confessing that live Americans in enemy hands after the war, Colonel Corso, 77, said in a news conference" -- I never heard of a news conference -- "the retired intelligence officer previewed testimony he's expected to give today" -- November 9th, '92 -- to the Senate Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs." I asked Senator Bob Smith last night. He said Kerrey walked out, McCain walked out, everybody walked out. One senator took the testimony from Philip Corso.

"He said, with its end-of-the-year deadline looming, the Senate panel, having concentrated its efforts on POWs from the Vietnam War, has turned its attention to more than 8,000 servicemen unaccounted for" -- that's four times Vietnam -- "from the Korean War. As chief to special projects during that war, Colonel Corso was ordered to keep track of American prisoners in North Korea and report his findings to Eisenhower. 'I kept getting reports that some of our men were being shipped to Manchuria and then into the Soviet Union.'" I'm told that all of this is still in the NSA archive. It's there. Somebody has to go through the laborious search. "But during the truce talks at Panmunjon, North Korea" -- we argued about the table shape for two years or the height of the stools -- "'the American delegation asked North Korea and the Chinese officials about the men only once, and unofficially at that,' said Colonel Corso." Fighting ended in July '53.

"After the postwar exchange of prisoners, Pentagon officials were flabbergasted to discover that hundreds of U.S. soldiers known to have been taken prisoner were not returned. 'I definitely know of two trainloads of American prisoners, about 1,000 men'" -- Ambassador, know what this does to the family? I'm sure you do -- "'taken to China and then switched to Russian trains and shipped into Siberia. None of those boys ever came back.' Colonel Corso said the prisoners were dead men because they were unlikely to survive and the Soviets would always deny holding them. He added that the Communists used personal data from the POWs to create false identities for their spies." And I remember that year as an airman basic reading a story in 1953 -- I looked it up recently -- on a camp in the Soviet Union patterned after a middle American village, with a soda shop, 1950s music, and they would learn to speak in the American idiom to move and act and think and talk like Americans before they were infiltrated into the Cold War and that's where they would have used this.

The last paragraph, to conceal the fate of the prisoners from the public -- this is the confession of the 77-year-old officer -- Colonel Corso said that he suggested in 1955 that Eisenhower declare the men dead. President Eisenhower said to me, "I think you're right. I accept your recommendation." The retired colonel said, "The American people were not made aware of this matter until this month."

Eisenhower, class of '15, I always wanted to go to West Point. That's why I'm wearing my West Point tie. Duty, honor, country. There's nothing honorable about that blight in an otherwise excellent

--

REP. HARMAN: Mr. Chairman?

REP. DORNAN: Yes.

REP. HARMAN: Would you yield to me just for a moment?

REP. DORNAN: Please.

REP. HARMAN: Because I appreciate your moving words and I would just like to say how important I think it is that you're holding these hearings and to say for myself, and I'm sure it's true for so many others on this subcommittee, that there are conflicting hearings scheduled and I just left one on proliferation of nuclear weapons which I know you're intensely interested in, too. And it's very hard to be everywhere, and I'm sure, I hope that many of the families know that we were in session until 11:30 last night.

REP. DORNAN: Midnight actually.

REP. HARMAN: At midnight, and this place seems to be working all the time.

REP. DORNAN: Yeah.

REP. HARMAN: So it's not an excuse, but so many of us have conflicting schedules. I would just like to add this. As you know, Mr. Chairman, you represented parts of my congressional district in California and on Pacific Street in Venice, California, there is a haunting mural that says, "Don't forget our POW/MIAs."

REP. DORNAN: I've seen it.

REP. HARMAN: And there's a list of names. I just want to tell the families that I don't forget and that I take these issues very seriously and that I join with you and our other subcommittee members in trying to find answers everywhere in the world where we have been at war and where there are people unaccounted for. And as the mother of two sons and two daughters, I think one of my worst nightmares would be having my children serve our country and never knowing what became of them.

REP. DORNAN: Mrs. Harman, thank you for bringing that up because you sound like me last night around 1:00 o'clock in the morning explaining to my wife again, and she's been a 20-year congressional wife, the divided duties around here and I'm glad you brought that up because I want to tell all the family members in the room that Mrs. Harman speaks for most members.

I should have added that I've had people coming up to me for the last several months thanking me for these hearings, apologizing for not coming, asking me how they're going. There is an intense interest in this. It's not like it's completely forgotten. I think what I meant to convey was the frustration of, well, what can you do about it.

I mean, half the House is younger -- well, not quite, almost, well, they were all weren't going to be home for Christmas. Some of them, I take it, are still there through 46 Christmases or 45.

So I appreciate you bringing that because I don't want the families to think there isn't great concern about this, and the truth is, I told Curt Weldon at the hearing that you just came from that what he was doing, what you've just been working on is the most important thing we can do in Congress today because one American city or one European city or Haifa disappearing to a nuclear device is more people than every tragedy and every war in the history of the United States, every killed in action, wounded, or missing, all put together, just one city.

So I said, "Curt, you're doing" -- because I was trying to get the big room. I said, "No, you keep the big room. I'm trying to clean up the past, you're trying to save a horrible tragedy in the future." So I didn't mean to set up you up, Mr. Brown, for any more pressure than you feel, but to Jane and anybody who's just joined us, this is the director of Korean Affairs at the Department of State with an extensive background. I've not had a chance to go over your bio, but I've had a briefing at how extensive your knowledge is. So please proceed, Mr. Brown.

MR. BROWN: Mr. Chairman, it's my pleasure to have this opportunity presented by the initiative you have taken to hold these hearings which I do think are extremely important, and I must say I have a certain sympathy for the comments you've made about the apparent lack of interest or the difficulty of generating interest in this subject because even some members of my own family have asked, "Why in the world are the State Department officials getting involved in questions of remains and MIAs who are left over from the Korean War," and I have to, I'm sure, explain it in the same way that you do, that we have a complete commitment to all of those people who have been sent overseas to serve their country.

REP. DORNAN: You've been at the Korean Memorial?

MR. BROWN: I have, sir.

REP. DORNAN: That answers everything.

MR. BROWN: It's beautiful.

REP. DORNAN: Haunting.

MR. BROWN: Yes. The return of remains of U.S. servicemen and an accounting for those who are still missing have been important issues for the U.S. since the end of the Korean War. We have been in active contact with the VPRK on the remains issues since 1985 through a variety of channels. I would like very much to acknowledge that a number of congressmen have played an important role over the last decade, including Congressman Sonny Montgomery, Senator --

REP. DORNAN: Who thanked me this morning for having these hearings deeply, told me to press on, and that he'll join me later. He has conflicts.

MR. BROWN: If you look at the record, you'll see very much his early involvement in this issue. And I would also mention Frank Murkowski, Senator Frank Murkowski. Mr. Chairman, your own comments and hearings last November helped to underline to the VPRK the importance of this issue and as has been mentioned most recently, Congressman Bill Richardson visited Pyongyang and his principal purpose was to convey his sense of the importance of this issue of the return of remains.

Over the last several months, the State Department has worked very closely with DOD on the remains issue. We served as a channel of communication with the VPRK. We have dispatched personnel to assist VPML negotiators in the negotiations you have heard about, and we have tried to provide the political advice we can provide on the overall context in which their work is being conducted with North Korea.

What is that political context? The U.S. VPRK agreed framework of October 1994 made clear to North Korea that the implementation of the nuclear agreement and progress on other issues of concern to the United States would be needed in order for North Korea's relations with the U.S. to improve.

In addition to the nuclear issue, we have made clear to the North Koreans repeatedly our concerns about a number of issues, including missile proliferation that you've just mentioned, the VPRK's support for terrorism, the importance of North/South dialogue, the reduction of the conventional military threat in the Korean Peninsula, and prominently, return of the remains of American servicemen who died in North Korea.

We have stressed repeatedly the importance of resolving the important humanitarian issue that this committee is addressing. Our South Korean allies have fully understood our efforts to deal with North Korea on the remains issue, recognizing the importance of this humanitarian issue to us, and I would like to express our appreciation for the understanding and support which the Republic of Korea has shown for this work.

Under DPMO's skillful and patient leadership, our consistent approaches to the North Koreans have produced some significant and welcome progress. As Mr. Liotta has indicated in his testimony, detailed negotiations with North Korea over the past five months produced agreement last week in Pyongyang to conduct the first joint recovery operations in North Korea next month.

These negotiations have taken place against the backdrop of 40 years of post-Korean War hostility between the U.S. and North Korea. North Korea is perhaps the most closed society in the world. The Korean People's Army, that's the organization with which DPMO reached agreement last week and with which DPMO will be working together to conduct these joint recovery operations, has been one of the most impenetrable elements of this North Korean society.

In this context, I think our agreement to conduct joint recovery operations involving U.S. military personnel in North Korea working cooperatively with the North Korean army is truly a major accomplishment. Apart from the return of remains, there is the related and important question of whether there are American POWs or MIAs still alive in North Korea.

We in the State Department fully support DOD's efforts to check every and all reports alleging that there may still be Americans held against their will in North Korea. While there have been reports of live American POWs, thus far the U.S. government has been unable to substantiate that any Americans are being held in North Korea against their will.

The agreement to conduct joint recovery operations bodes well for our ability to make progress on the repatriation of remains and to resolve the fate of American soldiers still listed as missing in the Korean War. That's the end of my testimony, Mr. Chairman.

REP. DORNAN: Thank you very much, Mr. Brown. I will ask my colleagues to indulge me because I've set a pattern on this committee of letting all the members go first and go last, but if you wouldn't mind, Mr. Pickett, I've been doing so much midnight reading on this that I'd like to ask a few questions first.

Ambassador, what is your assessment? I know this is tough, Mr. Ambassador, because it's a personal question and it's the kind of thing that the press feeds off and tends to want to, by isolation, exaggerate it, embellish it, or make it some sort of definitive statement based on hard-core knowledge. But I think the families are

entitled to ask you this since you put four hard years into this.

And Mrs. Harman, Ambassador Toon just proudly stated that over the 4th of July holiday, on that very date, he turns 80 and he thought this was a six-month assignment. So he was called off what he was beginning to think was a good, well-earned retirement. Here's the question.

What is your assessment personally about the transfer of American POWs during the Korean War? Let me use your own words back at you because yesterday I used it several times and used the word "obsession." The Soviets, who had their pilots running the air war, their best fighter pilots over there, you saw the photographs in the documentary of them in Chinese neutral clothing with no insignia in Beijing on the way to Mochdan (ph) and Manchuria and then down to Korean bases when they had enough real estate to operate out of there.

You've seen these officers with a general officer rank eventually and a chestful of medals. They would lust, I said yesterday, they would be obsessed at getting an F-86 Sabre and as many pilots as they could, and in the BBC documentary, you see extensive -- I saw this in the archives a month ago. I said I thought they gave phony germ warfare confessions and used bad grammar as they did in Vietnam. I are, an aerial war pirate of the blackest, most evil kind, et cetera.

Instead, here are complicated drawings of all the K-series air bases, K-13, K-16, where the ammunition depot was, if they'd ever had the wherewithal to bomb us, this kind of thing. The Germans would have lusted for for RAF bases during conflict, and then formations of how to tactically form up and fight and engage and break up into elements and dog fights. I couldn't believe they got this out of our pilots.

Now, what was released to us by the Russians was always by return pilots, much to their embarrassment. Never anybody that wasn't accounted for. Very clever. Back to the question. What's your gut feeling, Mr. Ambassador, about whether or not they acted upon where we agree they had this lust to get at our pilots, whipping them so badly in air combat?

AMB. TOON: Well, I think, Mr. Chairman, as you know, I knew the Soviet government pretty well having worked with it for almost eight years, three years as ambassador. And I am convinced, knowing the Soviet government, that they would have used every effort to get their hands on qualified American POWs. Now beyond that, I think we ought to recognize that the Soviet Union was really running that war in Korea. The Koreans were doing exactly what the Soviets wanted them to do, unlike the relationship between Moscow and Hanoi.

One of the interesting things that we discovered over the past four years is the relationship between Moscow and Hanoi was probably worse than the relationship between Washington and Hanoi, despite the fact that we were at war. But that was not the case between Pyongyang and Moscow. Moscow was running the whole show.

REP. DORNAN: Is it correct that Stalin had a Chinese pseudonym, Sun See (ph), that he would sign documents with? That was in that documentary, and they showed a document.

AMB. TOON: I've seen that allegation.

REP. DORNAN: Yeah, that he would have this Chinese document that he would sign documents with and that he was reluctant to unleash Kim Il-Sung. And Kim Il-Sung made the case and he said -- when they

said, "Look, the Koreans are collapsing. MacArthur will have the whole peninsula by Christmas. They're on the Yalu (ph) in a couple of points. We've got to go in." And it was a date I've never known, October 19th, that he signed using this Chinese name, "Go ahead, go at him," and then was embarrassed when the whole U.N. stayed in and the war went up to a higher level.

AMB. TOON: Now, Mr. Chairman, throughout my private conversations with General Volkogonov, my former opposite number, now deceased, and in my many meetings with Russian officials, I have expressed my deep suspicion that this happened. We have not found any archival evidence that this is the case.

Now, I did try to meet with a former member of the Politburo when I was ambassador there by the name of Mr. Punamayov (ph). He's the only living member of the former Politburo when I was ambassador. And I asked to meet with him in order to find out the answer to this question because I am convinced that if any American POWs came to the Soviet Union, the first person to know about it would be the top man, who was Brezhnev at the time -- who was Stalin at the time.

But the answer came back, yes, he would meet with me. Then two weeks later, the answer came back that he was ill, he could not meet with me. So I submitted my questions to him in writing, and the answer came back that he had no knowledge at all that would be useful to me.

So we've run into an absolute blank, brick wall on this whole issue. That's why I think it's important for us to talk to the North Koreans as members of the commission and to the Chinese, and find out, you know, just what the story is about this.

I have read the Corso testimony before us, and we have quoted this time and time again to our Russian opposite numbers. But they cannot find any archival information that would back this up.

REP. DORNAN: Can we find archival information on our side on Philip Corso? See, I can't believe that -- he admitted to me that he was partially -- (unintelligible). I can't believe that one senator, Bob Smith of New Hampshire, who was the junior member and felt much abused on that committee -- whether it's true or not, he felt abused by some other Republicans joining forces with a predetermined agenda battering him around, and that's the way he felt, and exhausting him, he told me. He was just at his wit's end. He sits there alone with Corso.

I mean, if Corso is trying to get something off his conscience, I'm all for truth serum, if he would do it -- he's a brave man. I'm all for polygraphing, and I'm all for getting his assistance to find archival evidence on what he bases it on, because you are a Russian expert, but I sat at a table with Henry Hyde at one side, opposite Yevgeny Primakov at Lubyanka, or a satellite at Lubyanka, and I said, trying to break the ice a little bit, I said, "Look, why don't you tell me if you've got any agents in the CIA right now, and we'll get rid of them and this will really establish a friendship."

Ames, Aldridge Ames was highly active at that moment and for the next year. And he gets this knowing look on his face and he says, like a little kid, "You tell me where yours are and I'll tell you where mine are."

Now, we walked out and Henry Hyde said to me, "This guy is a

tough customer." He's now the foreign minister. And this is a man who would pick up a phone and say, "You're sick," or, "You're not going to get your check in retirement, my ex-Politburo friend." "You're sick," and he calls the Archives and says -- they never destroy anything, thank God. It's like Nixon not following Buckley's advice to destroy the tapes that he owned until they became public knowledge; it was too late. And he says, calls the Archives and says, "Seal that section off. Don't show Ambassador Toon anything. And you shut your mouth." That's the stone wall we're running into.

So that's why I asked you your own gut feeling, and I guess I'll just have to go with your analysis that they would literally die or get people killed or die themselves to get this information because they're preparing for World War III and they don't want our planes to shoot them down at the rate of 7, 8 or 13 to 1. So that's where we're stuck, and it is a stone wall and that's why in my opening remarks I said windows opening, windows closing and why -- and probably Mr. Liotta will feel the brunt of my questioning on this -- why we can't make definitive statements about conclusive and credible and not credible and this an analytical paper, but we'll get to that earlier.

Another question, Mr. Ambassador. You already answered this one. It's on the Russian archives. But how about in the Russian archives, did we find anything on Chinese knowledge? Congressman Sam Johnson, who has enjoyed serving on this with you, told me, "The key is China, the key is China," China on everything, China on Vietnam, China on Korea, China on the Soviet cooperation. First -- (inaudible) -- went by train through China. Everything's China.

What do you think about the Russians? Did they ever say to you, "Go to China. It's in their archives"?

AMB. TOON: Many times.

REP. DORNAN: Many times.

AMB. TOON: They said the Chinese, the North Vietnamese and the North Koreans have the answers to the questions that you've put to us. And frankly, I think at some point, as I said in my remarks, we should sit down with the Chinese and the North Koreans and discuss this problem very frankly with them.

But as you know, I'm no longer a member of the government. I am a private citizen trying to enjoy life down in North Carolina, and I simply await the time when my colleagues in the State Department say, "It's appropriate now for you to approach the Chinese." And when they do that, then I'll be glad, together with Congressman Sam Johnson, who is head of the working group on Korea, to talk with the Chinese on this and try to find out what they know.

REP. DORNAN: Well, fortunately, in that culture, your four score of wisdom and years has some credibility, unlike some other countries that say, well, his time is gone. But the Chinese do respect that.

What is your -- you've answered question four -- your assessment of Chinese knowledge based on what you uncovered in Russia? You say you're entering your fifth year. This is a key question and it's one, if it's carried in the press or if the Russian embassy has a person in the audience, is the Russian cooperation increasing or decreasing this present moment?

AMB. TOON: Well, let me be perfectly frank with you in answering that question. The cooperation we've had from the Russian side is much better than I ever thought we would get, but it falls short of

what we need in order to answer the basic questions that we have on POWs and MIAs. I am convinced on the Korean POW problem that there are files in the presidential archives that would prove this point, but we have not been able to get our hands on those files.

Now, I can understand this. If, for example, tomorrow in Washington the executive branch should order CIA and the FBI to open up all their files to the former enemy, do you think there'd be wild enthusiasm in Washington about doing this?

REP. DORNAN: Good point.

AMB. TOON: And there is not wild enthusiasm in Moscow among certain circles, those circles represented by Mr. Primakov, whom I know very well. And I must say, I'm not wildly enthusiastic about his being foreign minister, but that's a personal view.

REP. DORNAN: I've been over to the Soviet Union 10 times, never to Russia, since the collapse. Just circumstance. I had other things to do. But when you were there, I went through there many times, there was an electricity in the air. You know how you had a morale problem with some of your troops. They would get there, the excitement of the Soviet Union, and then that grayness would close in, particularly in '86, 7, 8, 9, they'd say, "This is the most depressing place" after two or three months. "All my skills," you begin to weigh, and one of them was married, had his wife there, was active duty Foreign Service officer. They said, "Anything, anyplace in the world would be better this," because it was that tension right before the collapse.

And after that mood change, I'm sure you've seen some of these documentaries, and here is an example I want to give you and the family members about people's desire to talk at some point in their life, like these Soviet generals in uniform before a camera and Colonel Corso.

I saw a film on the -- what is the Russian word for memory?

AMB. TOON: "Pamyat."

REP. DORNAN: I think that was the name of the film. And they showed where apartment complexes had been built on mass graves. Now, I consider myself more than a student on the Holocaust, having visited 19 concentration camps, several more than once, from Babayar (sp) to Salisfields (sp) to Yasonovach (sp) in Yugoslavia and many trips to Auschwitz. And I'm looking at this like a Holocaust of hundreds of thousands of people's mass graves, and they're showing how they deliberately under Stalin and later built apartment buildings right on the graves.

And then here comes a man who wants to talk. Plain-looking Russian, looked for all the world like Solzhenitsyn without the beard, and he says, "I remember my worst day, I killed 300 people in the woods." And he said, "My arm was so tired at the end of the day, I could hardly hold it from shooting them in the back of the head, over and over." Describing how the people could be browbeaten into being submissive. And it reminded me of Yasonovach, of a corrupt, hate-filled ex-Catholic priest who started a bet with two other guards, who could kill the most people in one night, and the other two guards quit at 200 and he killed 300 using a sledgehammer. And there was the sledgehammer in a museum case, and it's been destroyed by Franco Tudjman. Didn't want any part of that bad memory of Croatia.

So I look at these. One is an archival thing in Yasonovach in what's now Croatia, and the other is a man I'm looking at on film talking about he killed 300 human beings in one night till his arm wouldn't come up anymore. And you could tell it was painful for him to say it, how he kept it secret for awhile, but now he wants to get it off his conscience.

There are people who will talk, who are willing to talk, but the leadership says, "Shut up." This pride thing, the current Yevgeny foreign service or the KGB, "Don't talk, don't talk, don't talk." And that's why it's so delicate to get through these openings and try and go with -- that's why I said earlier, private independent sources, skilled researchers. Not an eager young bureaucrat that says, "Well, it's not a mind set to debunk. I'm just tough. I want conclusive evidence and that's it."

So I have no more questions for you other than do you think, on a hopeful note, that the Yeltsin government, if it gets through the runoff, might be more forthcoming, the window might open up a little bit?

AMB. TOON: Well, the problem basically is this, Mr. Chairman. The people that I dealt with are still around in important places, and it's those people who block access to the information that we need. I'm talking about the Primakovs, people like that.

REP. DORNAN: And the people who would talk are on a pension, and it's a lousy pension and it's diminishing in value. And they want some peace, but they also want to get it off their conscience.

All right, Mr. Pickett, questions. What we'll do is we'll continue with the ambassador, and then we'll go to you. Thank you for joining us, Mr. Gejdenson of Connecticut.

REP. OWEN PICKETT (D-VA): Mr. Ambassador, you've indicated that timing might be the key to real success in being able to answer a lot of questions about the missing as a result of the Korean war, that you can't just walk in and take action and conclude what you have undertaken. The timing and being able to talk with the right people and having the right environment in which to pursue this is very important to success. I think you've indicated that.

My question relates to the organization of the commission that's been set up to investigate this issue, and goes to the question of whether you feel that there's adequate resources behind what you're undertaking to do, whether there's an adequate long-range plan to stay the course, to get to the point where the environment will be, quote, right to get to the bottom of this issue. How do you feel about that?

AMB. TOON: Well, I think, you know, you never are satisfied with the degree of cooperation you get from the government. But I think, in fairness, I should point out that we have managed to get the sort of cooperation that I think we need to carry out the job. I made it very clear when I took on this job almost five years ago that under no conditions was I going to fly Aeroflot, that I had to have a reliable aircraft.

REP. DORNAN: You've experienced the vodka breath that I have? They pass it out up and down the cabin for free. I thought it was water.

AMB. TOON: Well, I flew Aeroflot a lot of the old --

REP. DORNAN: I bet you did. So did I.

AMB. TOON: I've had my fill of that sort of thing.

But in any case, I made clear that under no conditions will I fly Aeroflot, I had to have my own aircraft. And we have had that all the way through. Now, under the Bush administration, we flew directly from Andrews Air Force Base and they plane stayed with us throughout our -- usually a week or 10-visit.

The Clinton administration -- I probably shouldn't say this -- but apparently in order to save money, we fly commercially now to Frankfurt, then we pick up the plane that was carrying Ron Brown. Now we a Gulfstream that usually takes us.

In any case, I do have that sort of cooperation. As far as finances are concerned, I think now in the Pentagon we have the sort of support that we should've had many years ago. So that, I think, has been adequately taken care of. Personnel problems from time to time are a little bit difficult, but I think that we have reach the point now where there is a general recognition across the whole government that this is an important issue.

REP.: Thank you. That was the main thing I wanted.

REP. DORNAN: All right.

Mrs. Harman, and then Mr. Gejdenson.

REP. JANE HARMAN (D-CA): I only have this question. I've listened carefully, and it's a very frustrating and sad circumstance in which we find ourselves. As the chairman pointed out, many families are sitting in this room. I wonder what any of these witnesses has to say to these families about the future for them. Should they remain hopeful? Do you think that in some finite period of time there will be more information? I realize it's unknown what will happen with the Russian election, and then if the Yeltsin administration will be cooperative. But do you have anything to address to these families?

AMB. TOON: Let me just say a word about this. I have made clear from the very beginning of this exercise that there was to be nothing classified. Now, there was a practical reason for this. I'm sitting down in Pinchurst, North Carolina and I have no way of maintaining classified files. And that has been followed all the way through. Now that means that any information that we have gotten from the Russian side, or from the other republics -- I've visited 14 of them as I told you -- has been made available to the families because it's unclassified. So as far as I'm concerned, everything that I know, they know.

REP. HARMAN: Anyone else? Mr. Brown? Mr. Liotta?

MR. LIOTTA: In terms of --

REP. HARMAN: Anything at all. I mean, you've been addressing your comments to this panel as you should. I'm asking you as a panel member to address any comments you might have to the families that are sitting behind you.

MR. LIOTTA: Well, I would hope that the family members do maintain the hopes, and expectations, and the demands that they put upon their government which we're trying to move forward with. One of the things which my office has done, is we've begun a series of outreach programs where we're going out across the country sending teams of people from our office to meet with family members in their home districts as opposed to having them have to travel to Washington, DC, answer their questions about their individual cases, update them

and give them briefings on what's currently happening within our office and the State Department with the US-Russian Joint Commission and other avenues to give them the sense of where our progress lies, where our frustrations lie, and what we're trying to do to overcome that in an effort to keep them fully apprised of where we're going, where we hope to be, and what's left to be done.

REP. HARMAN: Thank you.

Mr. Brown, any comments?

MR. BROWN: Just to add to that the hope that they would have the understanding that their government is working on their behalf, that we take their concerns seriously, that we are trying to do everything we can to track down the information to support DOD's efforts. This is a difficult problem and we will do our best.

REP. DORNAN: Thank you.

Mr. Gejdensen is here for the second panel. Bob Dumas is the brother of a Korean War POW Army private -- will be on the second panel. He's from your district?

MR. GEJDENSON: Yes, Mr. Chairman. I'd just like to commend you for holding these hearings, and just say in one moment that I know how difficult a situation this is. My parents survived Hitler and Stalin in Europe. And as a young child there were constantly stories of brothers and sisters and cousins who may or may not have survived the Holocaust or survived Stalin.

And I think for those of us in government, we have two responsibilities here. One is to make sure that any American military personnel who risk their lives for the security of this country and the entire planet, that they deserve an unending effort to determine their situation, whatever that might be.

Now we also owe to the families a responsibility to make sure that those who would profit from exploiting their feelings are not given any advantage. And I know from working with Bob how determined he is. And I know that all of us here understand that in some ways these family members have paid a greater price than those who have certainty about the loss of relatives. Now as a child I remember people used to come around and tell you for \$10,000 we can find a cousin or an uncle hidden away in Siberia somewhere. Virtually every instance the money disappeared and no information was gathered.

So that's why I think it's particularly critical that the government of this country, elected by its citizens, lead this effort to make sure that every honest effort is made and that people's emotions aren't simply toyed with.

I will not be able to stay because I have a 3 pm meeting that I must tend to. But I want to commend Bob for all he's done, and commend you and the committee for its efforts today.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

REP. DORNAN: Before you go, a quick story because it's \$10,000. The worst story I ever heard on Vietnam. I know the ambassador may not have heard this because it's Vietnamese true story.

Mrs. McDonald -- met her at the league family meetings -- her young a Navy pilot was one of the tougher cases -- a good shoot, or a radio contact on the ground. And she ran into a stonewall trying to get at some briefings. It was during this seal everything up period and things were leaking out slowly. She gets a call, come to Mexico City. This is a mom now in her 70s. She goes to Mexico City and some

evil creep says, this is a picture of your son -- half of it. Give me \$10,000 and I'll go get you the other half. She comes up with \$10,000, never hears from him again, and now she's dead. Now if that doesn't tell you the horror of this case and the scabrous people that will hang around the fringes. And the \$10,000 triggered that. So I'll give you a report on the Dumas family.

Thank you.

MR. GEJDENSON: Thank you.

REP. DORNAN: Mr. Ambassador, where was the one pilot? You said it was satisfying to at least get one case off. Do you find his remains somewhere in Russia?

AMB. TOON: Yes.

REP. DORNAN: One of those 14 trips?

AMB. TOON: No, what happened was -- see, I -- on every visit that I've made, in every city that I've visited, I've gone on Russia television or the television station of the 14 republics, and made an appeal.

REP. DORNAN: And you speak in Russian?

AMB. TOON: Right. If the local people don't mind that.

REP. DORNAN: Right, right.

AMB. TOON: Now, there's a feeling about -- reluctance to use Russian languages in some of the new republics.

REP. DORNAN: Right.

AMB. TOON: But if they don't mind it, then I speak in Russian. I usually start off with a few words in Russian in any case. But in any case, I appeal to the people to come forward with any information they may have about any American POW-MIAs, and point out to them that unlike in the past, when they would have been punished for doing this sort of thing, it would be commended by the local government. And I assure that my audience, on the basis of my conversations that day, with the presidents the foreign ministers and so forth, that this was the case.

Now in response to one of these appeals, a former member of a crew -- a trawler off the Vladivostok coast -- came forward with a ring, and offered to sell it to me. I pointed out to my opposite member, you just remind this young man -- young man of 75 -- (laughter) -- that he is holding stolen property. It was Dunham's ring -- Dunham's Naval Academy ring. And so he came forward with the ring and gave it to me finally, and we sent it to the family. Then we quizzed him very thoroughly about what happened. And he told us that the body of Dunham was pulled out of the water --

REP. DORNAN: Spell that -- Dunham.

AMB. TOON: I beg your pardon?

REP. DORNAN: Spell that -- Dumham.

AMB. TOON: D-u-n-h-a-m. Captain Dunham -- pulled out of the water off the Pacific coast. And he knows exactly where it was buried. So we made a joint team of American experts and the Russian experts and went out there and dug up a lot of territory before we finally found Dunham's body.

REP. DORNAN: Was Captain Dunham a fighter pilot or off a ship?

AMB. TOON: He was a air pilot.

REP. DORNAN: An electronic -- I'll get the full story. That alone is a dramatic story -- a ring -- a Medal of Honor winner -- Lance Cygen (ph) -- the chow hall is named after him at the Air Force

Academy -- his ring turned up in Thailand years after he disappeared and then died in captivity. Other members saw his sad shape from a beating (ph) for 30 days. But his ring turned up. That kind of little story to the family members, it chokes them up. And they, thank God, would be satisfied for a ring.

One final thing. Had you ever heard of the Clapper (ph) report -- that's General Clapper when he was head of the DIA -- on this experimentation and execution parties (ph)?

AMB. TOON: Yes.

REP. DORNAN: There are things I guess we still have to keep classified so as not to have more people pick up the phone and tell retired people, shut your mouth or you'll lose your dole -- or sealing off archives. But that's why you have to work with -- this more to the other two gentleman -- so that if Mr. Gejdenson properly representing his family in Connecticut -- we all have top secret clearances -- I don't want this friction back and forth. I want the bureaucrats -- and I say that with the best sense -- the investigators let's say -- to understand that we're the first line of contact. It's like the Willy and Joe cartoons of World War II. Write your Congressman if you don't like it here. And people do. And sometimes we can help.

So let me change the order here, Mr. Liotta, and let me ask -- because this is your baptismal appearance before Congress, I'll let you be the anchor man.

Mr. Brown --

MR. LIOTTA: And mess up your plans -- (inaudible) -- by saying it's my first time. (Laughter.)

REP. DORNAN: But, Mr. Ambassador, did you read the Rand report? Because I have met Paul Cole who's going to be on the next panel and he has my confidence. I saw him also in this BBC documentary. I'm not a bad investigator after doing six years of interrogating people in front of a camera, and winning Emmys for it. I'm pretty good at getting information out of people, getting to say things they didn't plan on when they came on my TV show. But I like Paul Cole's report. I know what a great archivist he is.

AMB. TOON: Well, I know Cole very well. I've had a number of sessions with him. I think he's pretty well informed.

REP. DORNAN: Good. All right.

For Mr. Brown, has the State Department, in fact, contacted the North Korean government to gain access -- we'll take the easy one first -- to the four defectors, who you all agree are alive and there and we've got their names and home towns?

MR. BROWN: We're in the process of doing that. We've indicated to them that this is an issue we want to raise and we plan to do so.

REP. DORNAN: And one intends to come home -- or would like to come home?

MR. BROWN: We have indications that one of them may want to. But until, of course, we have some way or arranging access to that person, we're not in a position to confirm that.

REP. DORNAN: Now if they were civilian defectors, under the Vietnam period, Jimmy Carter gave them amnesty. These are military deserters, and that's on the books. So they would have to go through a court martial if they come home.

MR. BROWN: I am not an expert in that aspect of it, Congressman.

AMB. TOON: Can I make a personal observation?

REP. DORNAN: Yes, please.

AMB. TOON: And you're right. I don't quite understand why we seek an appointment of these defectors in order to find out whether they want to come home or not. My own feeling is that we ought to ask them for any information they may have and just leave them there.

REP. DORNAN: That's the only reason. I agree, I agree.

Of course, if a guy was willing to take his medicine, go through a court martial just to get to come home, that he preferred American jail for a while to the depressive and near-starvation status -- that you're the expert on, Mr. Brown -- I would say, okay, that's fair if you give us information. But then they enter the category of this whole ugly industry that victimized the aforementioned mom, Mr. McDonald -- where they'd say, I'll make up stuff to get to come home. This is with Mr. Ronald Reagan in November of 1984 and said, polygraph, no, don't polygraph, truth serum.

Bobby Garwood (sp), get his permission. I said, I'm inclined, there's a James Bond streak in my generation, kidnap him and stick the truth serum in him, for God's sake, if we find out about why American pursers are going to court martial him, and if his detractors would be willing to say, yes, I'll truth serum, and I've seen it work on test pilots who couldn't remember a bailout, and when they give them the truth serum, on video, I've seen Fish Salmon (sp), famous Lockheed pilot, read off the instruments that a human wouldn't even remember, that it heightened his memory under truth serum, as he is skidding in an F-104 into the ground, a sloppy eject, a violent ejection.

Give them the truth serum and then, if it pans out, then they come home and face the court martial. But they owe it to their country, if they've ever seen another American or one of the language translators is there under POW status. That's why I may have some disagreement with Mr. Liotta that some of these reports are more than hearsay, and it's first-hand, and it indicates 60 to 70-year-olds, or depending on the siting date of late '50s or early '60s, they're two to three years older than I am in a guarded status. Was the request made, Mr. Brown, to the North Korean government -- you say you have made that formal request.

MR. BROWN: Yes.

REP. DORNAN: You're negotiating. Do you think that they will -- if they do give us access to these people, do you think they would be inclined to threaten or brief these people, you must not talk about any other caucasian you have ever come in contact with?

MR. BROWN: I would basically have to assume the worst --

REP. DORNAN: Assume the worst.

MR. BROWN: -- in that sort of circumstance, and we would have to be seeking access, if we can get it to him, and in the normal kind of circumstances where people would be able to speak freely.

REP. DORNAN: Right. How long ago was the request made?

MR. BROWN: We indicated this week.

REP. DORNAN: This week?

MR. BROWN: You have to understand, Mr. Congressman, that --

REP. DORNAN: Let me ask a cynical question, not in preparation for this testimony?

MR. BROWN: No. You have to understand that this is a very difficult country to deal with in which you have to make address in a

step-by-step fashion, and you have to be careful about the implications of what you do in one area for what happens in another area. We try and exercise good judgment in the way we go about it --

REP. DORNAN: Do I see a Congressman between a rock and a hard place. I understand that. We don't want Ambassador Toon called door slammed in your face and then you are down in the dark hole again for five years. But convincing family members not to groan when nobody does anything for 15 years, and then you have something fruitful and you say, all right, let's try and keep this door open by putting my foot in the door, then they say, well, this week, it's got to be a steady constant pressure and a trust reestablished.

Look, it's not easy to -- these family members may not be able to forgive President Eisenhower the way I've indicated I'm willing to take his whole life into context here, when their sons were written off, and this hero president who drove Hitler to suicide from lieutenant colonel status to a five-star general, and we wrapped it up in Europe in three years and less than five months, if you take April 30th, instead of a week later when the war ended in Europe.

This is a tough thing. They've got to feel constant pressure, and then they'll be able to trust you, let us wait a month, even two months, three months because we don't want these people to bring that damned door down in front of our face.

Had you read the Clapper memo?

MR. BROWN: I have not.

REP. DORNAN: Please read it. Have you seen the documentary that BBC has?

MR. BROWN: I have not.

REP. DORNAN: We'll get you a copy. I'm going to make it available to all the Congressmen. It may not be perfect and it may 90 percent on target, but I'll bet it is not much off 90, and right now I'm looking at it as kind of 100 percent.

Here's a tough question the families asked my staffer to be sure I asked today. You knew about these defectors in 1988. I'm putting all the weight of the State Department on you, Republican presidents, Democrat president. If we knew about it in '88, what happened over eight years here?

MR. BROWN: Well, in fact, I think we've known about the defectors since they defected. They defected in -- the four that we believe are still alive, and I say we believe --

REP. DORNAN: In the '60s.

MR. BROWN: In the '60s. So we've known about it for a long time. We haven't had an ability, really, to do serious work on this kind of thing until much more recently.

REP. DORNAN: My friend Steve Solarz, a liberal Democrat friend, and he's a friend, he went over there, cost a Southern Democrat his seat, Billy Ray Evans of Georgia. They got all the way up to the border area, they went into P'yongyang, and it seems like we lost an opening there. President Carter's opening that I read in my statement, was that '94?

MR. BROWN: That was '94.

REP. DORNAN: '94. President Carter has this charmed factor because he has been into so many danger spots, saved hundreds of lives in Haiti, in my estimation, personally saved hundreds of civilians from dying and a handful of -- and some young men and women in the

82nd Airborne. So he's got a mystique about him. They'll open up to him. He's like a, you know, good priest, he'll get the concession going.

I don't know, we've got to get on a different track.

MR. BROWN: As Mr. Liotta said, when Carter, President Carter, went there, he did raise this issue, and it was part of the process that has led to the success we've had.

REP. DORNAN: All right. Now, Mr. Liotta, you get the toughest question because you are a red-head, so I show you no mercy.

MR. LIOTTA: That sounds fair.

REP. DORNAN: Okay. At your Pentagon briefing Monday, now remember you have a second panel following you, you said, nobody is able to confirm these reports, that it was nothing more than an analytical exercise representing the views of one person. You said that the 19 intelligence reports, and I've seen most of them now, were a little more than third-hand accounts. In other words, the press was trying to create a fight between you and me by calling me, right after your press conference and saying, boy, all of this information seems to have been trashed over there, and they gave me some of your direct quotes. I think you'll notice that I said, I'll wait, please, until the hearing and I get to meet Mr. Liotta for the first time.

You said that your office has not been able to confirm anything. Could you give us some steps that you actually took to confirm these reports after they had been acquired, and to bring my colleagues up to speed, a Rumanian comes in this country as an immigrant, and he says, "I'll give you some information on Americans in Korea because you have caught me here illegally, if you'll let me stay." That sounds like all of the vicious reporting, false reporting, in Bangkok and Cambodia and Indochina. So they said, no, and he's kicked out.

So a good researcher says, hey, look at this I've found, let's see if we can find this guy in Romania. He goes to the INS, we've got everything computerized now. Within hours they find out he's back in the United States legally, and it has been so many years he is an American citizen. So they call the guy again, debrief him, polygraphs, and they say, can you give us the bus driver's name where you saw ten caucasians in a field, locking onto a pair of blue eyes as they track one another. I've read the debriefing. And he says, I don't know the bus driver's name, she was a North Korean. I know some other Rumanians on the bus. They aren't good, hearsay so far or one person's word.

They track down another Rumanian and he's in the United States, he is an American that lives in the same neighborhood, and the guy didn't know it, and he confirms the 1979 report. I call that a smoking gun. I call that corroboration. I'd call that one hell of a 1979 story.

So give us some specifics on how you came to the conclusion that it's an analytical exercise and just the view of one person?

MR. LIOTTA: I will be glad to, Mr. Chairman, and I appreciate your comments and your willingness to wait to hear from me before we could make any final determinations. I would hope that you would be able to read my entire transcript of my press conference and not the 30 second sound bites that go out in the press.

REP. DORNAN: Sure.

MR. LIOTTA: Because if you do, you will see that in my press

conference, I did not disown that report that my analyst wrote, and I did not debunk or recert the report that that analyst wrote. What I tried to do in that press conference in response to questions was put the report in its proper context, give an understanding to some people in the room of why the report was drafted, and what the report was attempting to convey. The information that an analyst doing his job as an analyst is trying to put forward, there is some information, there is some reporting that we need to follow up on. That we need to pursue that reporting and get to the bottom of it.

The fact is, Mr. Chairman, and members of this subcommittee, the reason that report that we have been reporting recently is because of the initiative of this office, of my office. We had had, up until about 1985, only a handful of reporting involving live sightings of Americans in North Korea, far fewer than the many hundreds of reportings we have had in Southeast Asia, as you are well aware.

REP. DORNAN: True.

MR. LIOTTA: Last year, we established, as we geared our office up to begin to tackle the question of Korean War accounting, we established an analytic team, and one of the things that that analytic team did was begin to look into the question of live -- of the possibility of live Americans in North Korea. And, as they should do, they sent out requirements and taskings to the various intelligence community resources where it could possibly provide information. It began the hunt, the look, for information and reporting that could provide us leads, and to work with information that we did have in trying to corroborate that information.

I will talk in detail, if you would like, of your -- (inaudible) -- sighting, which is the one that you are referring to. But in the course of that, the recent reporting that we have seen is all the result of the work of my office. The reporting which is coming out now is because we are asking the questions. We are going forward and saying, where is the information, provide us the information so that we can come forward and begin our search. We can look and we have specific and detailed places to go to look, targeted questions to ask so that we can get answers, not speculation, not hyperbole, but truth. That's what we are after.

Case in point, Mr. Opreka's (sp) reporting. We did have the report from Mr. Opreka of the bus ride that he took while he was working in North Korea as a Rumanian engineer, and in his report he gave us several facts that included the fact that they were on a bus, and that they were driving on a countryside road, and that they saw some laborers out in the field, that the laborers looked --

REP. DORNAN: Driving to a museum of all the gifts from world leaders to Kim Il-Sung and the news to him is strangely three hours north of P'yongyang, and one of the lines in report, Mr. Opreka's own feeling about locking eyes, as other people on the bus did, with these caucasians who were a half-a-foot taller than everybody else, and stood their expressionless and their eyes tracked them as the bus went by until the bus went around a corner, was he said it occurred to him later that these were other trophies, living trophies of Kim Il-Sung from the great war of liberation. Now, that's just a man saying, that was my own thoughts, and that they all talked about it when they asked the bus driver, she refused to talk about it, and from then on, they had the same guides for other weekend tours. It would be boring in

North Korea, but never again did they ever see that bus driver again.

So, in other words, if you have a Sherlock Holmes bent, or a Hercule Poirot feeling about anything, you can tell when somebody's lying and when they are giving you the whole full feeling of what they felt about that event. So it wasn't just -- you know, then.

Then he said that he didn't -- they didn't -- he thought they were lost but then, again, it was a pretty direct road that they just went straight from that spot, two hours and 15 minutes out of P'yongyang, 45 minutes more to the museum, that he began to think, they deliberately took us by there. That's when they talked -- and when they said, what were these, living trophies of Kim Il-Sung's? Is this a farm extension of the museum where they captures Americans as slave laborers? That's why I put credibility in Opreka's report.

MR. LIOTTA: Interestingly enough, during my trip to North Korea last week, they also took me to that museum. We travelled the same road that they went along in that regard. Let me explain to you why the difficulties that we have --

REP. DORNAN: Have you read the second Rumanian's report? I have not.

MR. LIOTTA: Yes, sir, and that's what I am going to highlight for you right now. Actually, one of the things that Mr. Opreka did for us was give us the names of other Rumanians who were on that bus. So we went and talked -- and he said, you know, talk to them, they can tell you what we saw. And that's exactly what we need to do. That's the kind of corroboration that we are after, not just one report, not just one eyewitness, but --

REP. DORNAN: Are you going after the other Rumanians?

MR. LIOTTA: Yes, sir.

REP. DORNAN: Excellent.

MR. LIOTTA: And we have interviewed two of the Rumanians who were on that bus, and they have given us two additional names, and we are in the process of tracking down those two additional people that were on the bus.

REP. DORNAN: Are they all saying substantially the same thing 17 years after the fact?

MR. LIOTTA: No, they're not, and that is what I would like to demonstrate for you. Mr. Opreka said that he saw about 50 farm laborers. One of the other persons, Mr. Tunesco (sp) that he gave us the name of and the person we interviewed, that he saw between 20 and 30 farm laborers. Mr. Opreka said there were no guards on these farm laborers. Mr. Tunesco said there were police present in the field.

Mr. Opreka said they were caucasians, appeared to be caucasians, Mr. Tunesco said the people were -- appeared white. Mr. Opreka said they were three hours north of -- I'm not saying it's a difference, I'm just telling you --

REP. DORNAN: No, no. That's good, I'm tracking you so far.

MR. LIOTTA: Mr. Opreka said they were three hours north of Pyongyang when they came across the site. Mr. Tunesco says that they were in Nampo, which is southwest of Pyongyang, about an hour and a half southwest of Pyongyang, not on the way to the museum.

Mr. Opreka said that he looked eyes and that the eyes were light or possibly blue-gray. Mr. Tunesco said the bus was driving about 40 kilometers an hour and that the laborers were 400 to 500 yards away, not a distance that you could see the colors of their eyes. Mr.

Opreka said they were all dressed in the same type of uniform. Mr. Tunesco said they were all dressed differently.

These are the kinds of questions which we're faced with. These are the kinds of questions which we have to resolve in order to determine. We have two eyewitnesses on the same bus doing the -- on the same event getting radically different accounts. That's not surprising, it's not surprising.

REP. DORNAN: One second. Now I'm pitting my 63 years against yours and I'll weigh in Mr. Brown. I'll bet he'll be on my side. Those are not radically different accounts. (Applause) I don't mean to put you on the spot, Allan, but white and caucasian is the same and you know we could run an experiment, and I have somebody senior to me, that you could put a bunch of people on the bus, and I've got fighter pilot's eyes.

One guy locks on a far target, 30 to 50s identical. You could have people on that bus say 10, 20, 100, 50, 60, they're all in the ballpark. One guy locks on the far people in the field while Mr. Opreka walks on this guy's eyes who stands up closer to the road. The other guys might not have even seen him. Forty miles an hour, I can pick up on things not only at 85 in a car. I flew an F-16 last weekend at 63 years of age and my pilot, David Dornan, 20 years my senior, didn't get a single bogey all afternoon before I did. I felt pretty cocky at the end of that flight.

He said, "You've still got it, Congressman," and I'll bet you do Cunningham. His eyes go 25 miles further than mine. This is not -- it's different, different. I'm just arguing with your adjective. It's not radically different. It's all in the ballpark. The main thing is, they're all corroborating bus, white caucasians.

For example, the trip. They took a bus trip every weekend. Seventeen years later, two people, both could pass a polygraph test. Are you sure, Yan (sp), it was on the museum trip? I thought it was on the trip southwest to Nampo? It's all in the ballpark. Don't you think, Mr. Brown? I'm trying to recruit you here.

MR. BROWN: I think I'll --

REP. DORNAN: I won't put the ambassador on the spot.

MR. BROWN: I think what you've got to do here is what Allan Liotta's office is doing. It's trying to get in touch with --

REP. DORNAN: Well, I'll tell you what's going to happen. If you find ten Rumanians, you're going to get ten slightly different stories or in some aspects, badly different, different weekend, different trip. But the overall story is going to keep getting confirmed. Those Rumanians on that bus saw caucasians.

For example, if Mr. Opreka said he saw no armed guards, the guy who said he saw armed guards adds credence to the story. He may have been locked on the people close to him going -- he even says in his report, what are caucasians doing out here in the middle of -- why would they volunteer to do creepy labor in a boring little town like this while somebody is looking afar and seeing guards? The guards make the first story even more important, not less important.

And the different clothing? You could get ten different descriptions on, because that's not the clothing Rumanians wear. So this is just -- tomorrow I was supposed to go see a marine dying of AIDS who got a bad blood transfusion after he was shot in El Salvador. He died at 11:00 o'clock this morning. I've got tomorrow morning, all

morning long, free.

I'm going to call you at your shed and I'd like to get the transcript of your press conference. I'm glad I didn't get painted by the news media to create bad blood between us, but I want to talk to you about this further investigation, and unfortunately, it's a 1979 story. I was a congressman in 1979. I was chairman of the POW task force. I'd have been all over this story if we'd of had it in '79, and here it is 17 years later.

And when we get the other panel, I hope I can get you the transcripts or I hope you can hang around for the other panel. Let me ask my colleagues if they have any questions and I've just got a couple more for you.

REP. : I don't have anything further, Mr. Chairman.

REP. DORNAN: Mrs. Harman?

REP. HARMAN: I'm sad to excuse myself, but I'm glad this inquiry is continuing.

REP. DORNAN: Okay. I'll give you a follow-up on the House floor. Can I come back to this thing, conclusive proof or conclusive evidence? We had a problem yesterday with the panel on Vietnam on what's circumstantial evidence, and this is causing friction between the DNPO office and Mr. Smith's office and my office. It even got into Al Punt's (sp) column today. One of Mr. Smith's staffers and my staffer is in the Wall Street Journal column today. He's called ubiquitous, that he's everywhere.

Well, I'll tell you, he had three Purple Hearts before his 19th birthday. That's not too bad, and he's written some great oral histories on Vietnam, including "Leading the Way," where he interviews Schwartzkopf and Colin Powell and the just-deceased General Warner, the black officer, four-star that just died.

So Al knows what he's doing and he also -- just to give you a little personal knowledge on my staff -- Mr. Chapman knows this, I don't know if Mr. Pickett did. He had a unit overrun and part of his squad was left behind. He goes to his officers, officers, but I did both, and he said, "We've got to go back for those men." The lieutenant said, "Do what you want. I'm not going back in there."

So this young 18-year-old sergeant organized -- or maybe a corporal then -- and went back in and rescued his platoon. That's not forgetting. That's not leaving wounded on the battlefield. And he brought them out. (Applause) And so, he gets the Bronze Star and his lieutenant probably got a Bronze Star for being in the area, right? It was a captain. The lieutenant got a Bronze Star or maybe the captain got a Bronze Star because by the time he left, they were passing them out like popcorn. And lately, people are dying over the honor of just little tiny dollar devices on medals.

Let me ask you about this museum. Now, my staffer has the name of the museum written down. Here's where my intelligence background comes in. I was an intel officer who used to be a fighter pilot. I don't want to say the name of the museum or the country for fear that there is a foreign service officer of a foreign embassy in here.

They'll say, "Don't ever let anybody go to that museum in our country," because guys who have gone to the museum in Hanoi, which they're cocky about, and we have found hard evidence and resolved some cases in the museum. When I went to the museum with David Herdlicka (sp) in 1979 -- I mean, excuse me, I've got Dave on the mind -- with

David Dreier, there's an American flag all battle damaged and burned in a case, and I said, "This bugs me. Cover me, cover me," and I reached around through the back of the museum case and furled Old Glory until you couldn't even tell it was an American flag. I just didn't want to see an American flag in a case in a communist museum in Hanoi.

And we found names and ID cards of persons and brought them back, but I know a lawyer, a liberal lawyer of principal, who was helping guys defect in Saigon on conscientious defector status and when he went to Hanoi, his Americanism came up because they thought he was on their side. "Oh, you're from New York," and he saw all these American names in the museum and he took down all these names and brought them back to Saigon and they had new respect for this conscientious objector lawyer working on spec in Saigon because he gave our guys off about 50 names of pilots shot down that they never knew what happened.

I had dinner with him in Saigon during the war and heard that story. So there's lots of ways you can get stuff in a museum, so I'm going to ask you in private later about a museum in another country, so let me ask you generically. Are we using these assets like museums to go in there on a trip like yours with Congressman Richardson and say, "Take us to your war museum"?

MR. LIOTTA: We did not during Congressman Richardson's visit, but during the delegation which I led last week, I insisted that they take me and my delegation to this war museum. They were reluctant, they did not want to take us to it, they were afraid that we would be offended in the very way that you've described so eloquently.

About mid-week, I said that I would not carry on with the negotiations unless they took us to the war museum.

REP. DORNAN: Good.

MR. LIOTTA: They agreed. They took us to the war museum and we spent half a day going through the war museum. We went through more rooms than any other American been to that war museum has been to and Senator Smith was the first to get into that war museum and visit a great many rooms and gave us a report and some pictures from his trip to that museum. So we've known about it and we were able to get some information from it.

While we were in that museum and going -- making the tour, we took numerous photographs of the things which they had on display there, which included U.S. military ID cards, blood chits from the war. There was one point that I made sure to raise to them was that at one point, we were in an anti-aircraft command post to show us what their brigades looked like and they had a book in Korean and I asked what the book was and was told that it was a shoot-down record.

So I pointed to the shoot-down record and I said, "This is the kind of archival information that we must have access to because it's taking this kind of archival information and it has the unit and where they shot it down, was anyone captured, what happened to the plane, did they get to the crash site, did they investigate it, find any bodies there, find any live prisoners there or live soldiers or airmen.

"These are the kind of archival information that we have to have access to, and that when we combine this archival information with the archival information that we have in our holdings right now, then we can come to a true understanding and we'd get direct evidence that

allows us to understand the fate of many of our unaccounted for."

They understood that and they said that they thought that we would be able to indeed move towards archival property and that we would be able to work together, and that is on our agenda to pursue. They know it's an objective of ours. They know it's very important to us and they know that we're going to continue to push and prod and demand access to that information so that we can work with it.

REP. DORNAN: The museum I was thinking of was a different museum, but I would have asked you about that one because Bob Smith, Senator Smith told me to. But there's another museum that I'll talk with you in private tomorrow and it may even be more fruitful because it's much bigger. It's a much bigger museum.

MR. LIOTTA: I'd like to talk to you about that.

REP. DORNAN: Are you aware that the Senate Select Committee, before it went out of business, said that a task force-China should be formed similar to Ambassador Toon's commission with Russia?

MR. LIOTTA: Yes.

REP. DORNAN: Have you started to implement anything like that?

MR. LIOTTA: We have not.

REP. DORNAN: We'd better move on it. Well, again, we may run into a wall given what happens with the Most Favored Nation vote with China, and that will be taken as a much bigger insult if they don't get it or it's taken away than we even can conceive of here.

MR. LIOTTA: Irrespective, Mr. Chairman, of bilateral issues between us and I'd be very interested in working with you and also discussing would a commission be the best way to get Chinese cooperation. I think some kind of scholars would tell us that it would not be the best way to get cooperation.

REP. DORNAN: All right. What is your office, the Defense Missing Persons Office, done to question Vietnam on their relationship with North Koreans during the Vietnam War? I just found out within the week that North Koreans came down to Vietnam - why this never occurred to me I don't know because I visited in the field around Cam Ranh Bay with the White Horse and the Tiger Korean division, Brock (sp) divisions, Republic of Korea.

The communists went to their allies, their axis, and they said, "We need your help on how to deal with these two Korean divisions upping the tension there," but has anybody asked, has anybody queried them on their relationship with North Koreans in interrogating prisoners in Vietnam or sending prisoners to Korea? Remember, Cubans came to Hanoi into our prison system and savagely tortured to death Major Earl Kobbie (sp) in front of other prisoners, and we found out who one of those people was and he ends up in New York as a brigadier general with the Cuban embassy at the U.N.

When I was a freshman congressman, I said, "Arrest this killer," and nobody had the stomach to do it in the Carter administration. He went back to Cuba and he's probably a three-star general now. Read the book, "POW." He beat an American to death smashing his head against the concrete screaming, "You G-D-M-F'er, liar, you faker," he called them. That was the name, the faker, because he would hit them across the face with a whip and he wouldn't even blink because his mind had been destroyed. Actually, he was taken off and died alone. We got his remains back. He's been buried in American soil.

Has anybody thought of following this line of questioning? Did

American prisoners come up here from Vietnam? Could we have access to your intelligence officers that went down to Vietnam from Korea? Anybody started to put together a profile on that?

MR. LIOTTA: I don't know the answer to the question, but I will get you an answer to that question.

REP. DORNAN: Okay. Because if the Cubans were there, believe me, fellow Asians were there especially since the Chinese were running the anti-aircraft program, had 300,000 people involved, and Ambassador Toon is correct. The Soviets ran the Korean War, but they funded 95 percent of the Vietnam War, but without the same control. But the funding made them an important player.

Final question for you and I'll turn to my colleagues. In negotiations with the North Vietnamese in the Clinton administration, when did you first raise the need to discuss any of these specific life-sighting reports from 1968 up to the present with the North Koreans? Have you done that on a trip over there or just here or in writing or what?

MR. LIOTTA: Three times, Mr. Congressman.

REP. DORNAN: Over there?

MR. LIOTTA: No. First raised in an offline conversation in New York City during the New York talks. We asked two questions. We asked about the defectors and whether -- you know, what the status of these defectors were and whether we could get access to the defectors.

REP. DORNAN: That was before Mr. Brown?

MR. LIOTTA: That's right.

REP. DORNAN: Right.

MR. LIOTTA: And that's what I said. This was off-line. It was not an official representation. It was not a part of the official talks. During the trip with Congressman Richardson, I asked in a car ride with a Foreign Ministry official -- I reminded them that General Wold had raised the question in New York about the defectors and also about the possibility of Americans being detained still -- American servicemen still being detained against their will. And we had asked for an answer from them. Did they have an answer that I could bring back to General Wold? I was told they did not have an answer ready yet. I reminded them that I would be hopefully coming to have the next round of talks, the technical talks with them, in about 10 days and that I would hope they would have an answer ready at that time.

During my delegation, we had a dinner with Ambassador Kim Yong Hong (sp), who was the head of their delegation that met with General Wold. And at that time he delivered an answer to General Wold's questions which basically said the so-called Americans in the propaganda film "Nameless Heroes" were not Americans, they weren't the defectors, and that everything -- that they have no Americans being detained against their will and that there's no -- they have no other information about it. And then they proceeded to harangue us about their POWs which we haven't given back allegedly.

The bottom line here --

REP. DORNAN: This is such a repeat of Vietnam it's tragic.

MR. LIOTTA: Yes, sir. And it's not -- and the bottom line was this was the same response that Senator Smith and Congressman Montgomery and other distinguished officials who have been able to travel and have asked these questions directly to the North Koreans have received. They received the same answers.

REP. DORNAN: Well, maybe this promise, because I may try to go over there in August, depending on how my own political race is going, because there isn't much credibility -- I mean, isn't much reward in tracking old issues like this in a hot election year, but I may put duty ahead of survival anyway and go over there. If other congressmen get over there, or senators, ahead of me or I don't get over, please promise me -- and you also, Mr. Brown -- that you will make it part of the briefing of any elected official from this country, which they pay great attention to, that they understand that the ongoing investigations are the hottest ones, and then give them the top secret part of it: "Don't blow this track that we're on, but we want you to have this knowledge in case you get a little mosaic piece that we put into puzzle."

Mr. Pickett?

REP. PICKETT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I believe I've gotten the information from this panel with your questions and mine that I believe we can get today, and I thank you very much. And I want to thank you, gentlemen, and wish you well in your undertaking.

REP. DORNAN: Thank you.

One final cleanup here. On 9 March '88 -- you can see it's redacted in the body of the testimony, and there's the full list, and it's the full intelligence distribution list. "In response to your request" -- about four lines redacted -- "three separate reports of such sightings which are attached. The first report dated April '80 indicates that" -- redacted -- "sighted two Americans in August of '86" -- redacted -- "on the outskirts of Pyongyang. About 10 military pilots captured in North Vietnam were brought to North Korea." "Captured in North Vietnam were brought to North Korea." And this is '88. "The second report, also dated April '80" -- apparently -- that was the very month I was chairman, the only Republican chairman of anything on Capitol Hill. Steve Solarz paid me the decency of making me -- because of my corporate institutional knowledge, he made me chairman of the POW Task Force. "In the third report dated March '88" -- that's eight years later now -- "indicating sighting as many as 11 Caucasians, probably American prisoners from the Korean War, in the fall of 1979 at a collective farm north of Pyongyang." Now, that may have been a repeat in March '88 of the Romanian report. It sounds like that.

But I'd like -- when I get hold of any of these documents, I like to send them back to you and say we got it, we're working it, we're doing this or that. And you can see, Mr. Toon, if they -- Ambassador -- if they do let you go, this is going to go on and on because of this situation of some of these countries like Korea coming out of the Dark Ages furtively. Are they out? Are they not out? Are they not out -- and it's anybody's guess what's going to happen in China, given the fact that, unlike the Russians, these people have a capitalistic ability to create things. In my district, in Disneyland, everything from a dollar refrigerator magnet to a \$3,500 bisque scene from "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" is all made in China. All Russia seemed to be good at was space and military, and the overlap was almost total. So we're going to see a hell of a century with the Chinese.

All right. I thank the panel very much. It wasn't as bad as you thought. I do want to keep this relationship going, but I am a Sherlock Holmes type, and I'm also an optimist. And that's a bad

combination. Thank you very much.

MR. LIOTTA: Thank you.

MR. BROWN: Thank you.

REP. DORNAN: If the analysts would please come forward.

(Pause as the analysts come forward.)

No, would family members hold off for just a second? I wanted the analysts to come up first -- Norm Kass, Insung O. Lee and John McCreary. And we're -- I'm going to start to pick up the pace here, mainly my pace, and I just want the families to hear the analysts before we hear from you. We owe you that.

(Pause as the analysts come forward.)

Mr. McCreary, Mr. Lee and Mr. Kass. Mr. McCreary is onboard. Mr. Kass is onboard. Mr. Lee, if you'll take your seat, we're off and running here. If you gentlemen would rise, please? Raise your right hand, please.

(The witnesses are sworn in.)

Thank you. Please be seated.

So as not to delay the suspense anymore, I'm going to start with a DPMO analyst, Mr. Insung O. Lee.

Since, Mr. Lee, your report moved across the wire services, I'd like to ask you if you have any statement or anything that you'd like to make, and then I have four questions for you.

MR. LEE: Mr. Chairman and subcommittee members, my name is Insung O. Lee, an analyst assigned to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, International Security Affairs Defense Prisoner of War and Missing in Action Office. And by Mr. Chairman's invitation, I appear before this committee.

I am somewhat confused as to whether to thank Congressman Dornan or not for this invitation, for I would rather spend more time conducting research and investigation. Nevertheless, I appreciate the opportunity to share my analytical views of the prisoners of war and missing in action from the Korean War. And, Mr. Chairman, thank you for your invitation.

Mr. Chairman, before I begin with my contribution to this hearing, I would like to convey to the public, especially the Korean War veterans and those KIAs, MIAs and unaccounted-for personnel from the Korean War -- of course, if they have ability to hear me, I would like to express my appreciation for their sacrifices allowing me to live in this democratic society. I consider all Korean War veterans, and especially those who have died or who are missing from the tragic war, my heroes, as I was a little child when the war broke.

REP. DORNAN: Like my colleague J. Kim, a little child looking at these soldiers from all these countries there to fight and die for your freedom. He tells me about that a great -- quite often.

MR. LEE: So, Mr. Chairman, I'm not a policy officer for DPMO, and my answers will be directed to the analytical areas. As a research analyst and a team chief in the Korea Division, I am responsible for directing and analyzing all sorts of both classified and unclassified information and make recommendations and advice to policy officers and my DPMO leadership.

With that comment, I'm ready to answer of the questions which you may have.

REP. DORNAN: All right, let me just ask a few questions first of Mr. Lee before the others -- well, no, let me get it all on the record

here.

Mr. Norm Kass is the Russian Division at the same office, Defense Missing Persons Office. Did you have a statement of any kind, Mr. Kass?

MR. KASS: No, sir, I'm here just to respond to your questions.

REP. DORNAN: All right. Good. I've got a few questions for you. And I'm sure Mr. Pickett might have.

Mr. McCreary, you are the Korean analyst at the Defense Intelligence Agency, and you've been an expert in this field for many years, I understand. How long?

MR. MCCREARY: Twenty-two years, sir.

REP. DORNAN: Twenty-two years. Will you prefer also just to respond to questions?

MR. MCCREARY: I am delighted to be here. I compliment you on your hearings. And I'm at your service.

REP. DORNAN: Thank you very much.

MR. MCCREARY: To the extent of my -- considering that this is an open session.

REP. DORNAN: You bet. That's right. And if there's anything that isn't -- that we can't discuss in open, remember that I have the standard congressman's top secret clearance. I can call the CIA to my office at any time personally or with other members and get a briefing on anywhere in the world. It's almost 95 percent there. But having served eight years on the Intelligence Committee, which means appointed by my minority leader, Bob Michel, and then reappointed by the speaker, Newt Gingrich, I have a little bit more access. I read the NID as much as I can -- the National Intelligence Daily -- to see if it's keeping up with CNN and "The New York Times."

Now, could you, please, Mr. Lee, describe the circumstances that led you to prepare this document? For example, how long did you work on it?

MR. LEE: Well, I've been -- as far as working the document, I have to collect all the information that I could from all sources. And I've been working on it for about a year and a half now. And the document itself was drafted -- took about three or four or five days of intense analyzation. And something that needs to be brought before the leadership of the DPMO, as well, as I looked at it, to the public, because the public had the need to know about the recent findings.

REP. DORNAN: I agree. Now, when -- what did you do with it once it was finally prepared? To whom did you provide it?

MR. LEE: Since I'm not the division chief, it normally goes through the division chief.

REP. DORNAN: Right.

MR. LEE: And so, therefore, when I drafted it, I showed that to my division chief, and he agreed that we ought to send this up to our leadership.

REP. DORNAN: Right. I want to ask you a personal question. I think I know the answer, but I just want to hear it. As someone of Korean heritage, who knows that 33,651 Americans died, another 10,000 in flying safety accidents in a combat theater and lost at sea and so forth, auto -- jeep accident, and whose own country suffered multiple times that KIA rate and as the aforesaid 50,000 missing, do you agree with Lieutenant Cho Chang (sp) that possibly 50,000 prisoners were held back and that there might be 10,000 alive of Koreans, South

Koreans, Brock Forces?

MR. LEE: I'm not sure about the figure itself. By his testimony about the interrogation of --

REP. DORNAN: Were you in on his interrogation, or did you read it?

MR. LEE: Well, I was not there physically, but one of our colleagues from another agency was there was also Korean-American, so therefore he have thought this gentleman was a Korean individual, but that was not the case. He was an American. And he was there when the interrogation took place.

As far as figures concerned, it's very strongly believable that the South Koreans who were captured are still in North Korea. One of my trips to Russia, I had talked to one of the former North Korean general officers, and he also stated that South Korean prisoners of war were taken to other places in the Soviet Union and used as laborers.

REP. DORNAN: A human coin of the realm to pay back debt -- pay back war debt. This happened with many Vietnamese -- as more bonded servants -- going to East Europeans countries, and working for peanuts to try and send money home. And that happened in the period before -- from the Saigon collapse in '75 to the wall coming down -- for 14 years there were a lot of sad stories of Vietnamese trying to work off a debt -- North Vietnamese -- trying to work off a war debt.

But that's a fascinating story in itself because Korea's an allied country, and here the same pattern that may have happened to a small number of American pilots or other American technicians -- is compounded by a factor of 10, 20, 100, 1,000 with our allied purses (ph). It shows you what happens when you don't win a war, and you've signed a cease-fire, and then a two-year phony negotiation, and then a sort of armistice with the Pyongyang.

Here's the big question. You stand by, of course, all the conclusions that you made in that memo dated March 26, 1996? You do?

MR. LEE: That's affirmative.

REP. DORNAN: I want to ask the family members coming up about that. And I want to tell you that we're pretty proud of you in my office because we think your analysis was straightforward and based on more than circumstantial evidence. You have cooperative reports in there. So I hope that there isn't a tension, but rather a team feeling at the office.

Do you believe, based on your analysis -- that I chose to call expert analysis -- this is a gut feeling thing -- I sort of asked Ambassador Toon -- do you believe that not only is your statement accurate, but you now are convinced personally that there's a small number of live Americans in North Korea who are not in the defector category? Or do you feel comfortable separating them from the defector category?

MR. LEE: Definitely there is more than one group of Americans there.

REP. DORNAN: See, that alone is a powerful statement. From definitely more than one group?

MR. LEE: From my analysis. The reason being is that this reporting was about -- Opreka (ph) case -- first sighting -- feel pretty confident that they have seen -- were Caucasians there. And it was revealed to our government in 1988. There's no question about

what they saw -- in my mind. And we are not discounting that Romanians who have seen those Caucasians out in the field. It's difficult to prove that the Caucasians are in fact former POWs, from my analysis. And from what I understand, Mr. Opreka (ph) and Tuncescu made conclusions based on a certain degree to some rumors that were prevalent in North Korea during that period. The Koreans were saying that there were POWs held back from the Korean War.

Now for the first time in the recent reports, a North Korean defector was able to distinguish US defectors from other groups of foreigners -- for the first time. In all the previous reports, there was really no differentiation there. And there was another defector who had personally seen and spoken to an American. Now that person may have been a defector -- a US defector -- but at the same time, may have been a POW.

REP. DORNAN: All right.

MR. LEE: The Opreka sighting can be argued that the group of Caucasians may have been part of a friendship harvest (ph) outing -- someone would contends that might happen. So we were looking at all different avenues of, either discounted or confirmed, of this sighting. And again, this idea can not be discarded, but there is little merit for the following.

Now, this instance took place on Sunday. Like many countries, even North Koreans allow their work force to take a break one day out of the week. And if, in fact, that they were planning to have any diplomatic corps or foreigners to -- for their public relations purposes -- may want to take them out to the field -- certainly I don't think it would be a Sunday.

REP. DORNAN: No.

MR. LEE: And also, that the Koreans have set aside Friday afternoons where office workers are drafted to go out to the fields and do some labor.

REP. DORNAN: Office workers are drafted? The word drafted could be replaced with dragooned, Shanghaied, ordered to go out and work in the field?

MR. LEE: I would say they were ordered to.

REP. DORNAN: Ordered?

MR. LEE: It's like standard operating procedures for their military as the training schedule. And every Friday afternoon, their place of duty is out in the field.

REP. DORNAN: Mr. Lee, did you hear my exchange with Liotta? And by the way, I took note at the end that there was pride of supervisor status -- pride of authorship -- that he was taking pride in your work because -- that wasn't what I'd picked up from the press conference. And I do want to look at the full transcript of it. But he was quite plain, he said, hey, this is my office developing all this stuff. This is good work. So I was happy to hear him say that.

But did you notice that, as mean as I got with anybody -- and I thought it was pretty tame myself -- was when I said, hold on, those are not radically different accounts. Now he's not a trained analyst -- at least not to my knowledge, is he? He's not a trained analyst. You are, you are, you are. The three of you are trained investigators.

Would you call those different sightings that he was relating -- I don't want to start an interoffice conflict -- but does anything

strike you as radically different?

MR. LEE: One thing I could say for sure is that the people they have observed were Caucasians.

REP. DORNAN: But that's a common denominator. And so when you get into a numbers game, isn't 10 or 20 or 80 all in the same ballpark in a field? It's like guessing beans in a jar. The range of guesses are phenomenal what people think when they see a large group of people, particularly if your view is fixated, as I said, on just a few people. And if you get eye contact, and you don't break that eye contact, everything else is peripheral vision. And a lot of people aren't trained to use their peripheral vision at all, they just get tunnel vision. So I hope that we see more pride of supervisor status about what you're doing.

Let me ask Mr. Kass a question. No, first Mr. McCreary.

Mr. McCreary, I assume I read a lot of your work product in the National Intelligence Daily -- the NID?

MR. McCREARY: That would be --

REP. DORNAN: Yes.

MR. McCREARY: Well, that's not true, that's not true.

REP. DORNAN: Not a fair question.

MR. McCREARY: I do not write for that.

REP. DORNAN: Right, okay.

MR. McCREARY: I prefer not to get into that.

REP. DORNAN: Right. But you have been a Korean area analyst for how long?

MR. McCREARY: For several decades.

REP. DORNAN: Okay. I'm sorry, I asked you that before.

Do you feel, as an analyst, that at the end of the Korean War -- 27th of July, 1953 -- I'm waiting to go to pilot training -- Eisenhower kept his promise -- as a president-elect -- he kept a campaign promise and was off to Korea in 1952. So the war has come to an end. Do you believe that there was the regular communist pattern at the end of that war of holding back prisoners -- in every conflict -- White Russian conflict -- every conflict communist hold back prisoners. Do you believe they held back prisoners -- South Vietnam and Americans -- and maybe some of the other nations involved -- Turks, Greeks, Brits, Canadians, whatever?

MR. McCREARY: What I believe is less important than what the evidence shows.

REP. DORNAN: That's what I meant, what the evidence shows.

MR. McCREARY: There's evidence that shows that that's true. That's right.

REP. DORNAN: That that's true?

MR. McCREARY: Including the work that Mr. Lee did.

REP. DORNAN: Have you read his report?

MR. McCREARY: I've read his background paper, yes.

REP. DORNAN: And you accept that as a pretty good piece of work?

MR. McCREARY: I took Mr. Opreka's deposition for the Senate Select Committee. I went to North Korea and verified, personally, the physical plant and the things that he described. I was with Senator Smith on his trip.

REP. DORNAN: Excellent.

MR. McCREARY: So I have no question. He's the only American I've ever met that has a medal given by Kim Il Sung, as a matter of

McCreary

fact. So I personally have verified, at least to the extent that I can, to the extent that a trip to Pyongyang can. The observations he made -- he said there was a thing here, I saw it. He said there was thing there, I saw it. He said there was a museum in Myo Hun San (ph), there is one.

REP. DORNAN: Mr. Opreka?

MR. McCREARY: Now that establishes the probability.

REP. DORNAN: Mr. Opreka has a medal personally pinned on by Kim Il Sung?

MR. McCREARY: That's correct.

REP. DORNAN: That's a piece of evidence we hadn't come across.

MR. McCREARY: It's just a testimony to his bonafide -- he was not lying about being in North Korea.

REP. DORNAN: So a person like that you wouldn't feel you had to give him sodium penathol, he's a good witness.

MR. McCREARY: Tunescu was with him.

REP. DORNAN: Right.

MR. McCREARY: We knew about Tunescu in 1992. We tried to get there, we ran out of time and money, and we couldn't find him. We knew about the other witness.

REP. DORNAN: Right.

MR. McCREARY: The Senate Select Committee did, we just simply just -- you know, it was a bridge too far.

REP. DORNAN: So you went through the museum with Senator Smith?

MR. MCCREARY: Yes. I went farther than Senator Smith. I broke away from the group.

REP. DORNAN: And you would probably concur with my analysis of my friend, that this man's heart and soul is wrapped up in seeking the truth on this issue -- Senator Smith?

MR. MCCREARY: There's no question about that.

REP. DORNAN: No question about that. I agree, Mr. McCreary.

And you stand ready to go back on another trip, if this window begins to creak open a little bit more?

MR. MCCREARY: I'd go with you, if you go. (Laughter and applause.)

REP. DORNAN: That's what I was leading up to.

What about -- I resisting asking this question before -- Mr. Santoli, now that he's in the Wall Street Journal his cover is blown -- he wants me to ask about the museum in China. I always like to assume there's a Chinese foreign service officer who's very aggressive and very loyal in the room.

But there are war museums in China. I went to the anthropological museum where our North China Marines took away the actual skull of Peking man -- we said it differently in those days -- but they had the plaster of Paris that we left them. I went to look at all the anthropological exhibits. And like Mexico, in their anthropological museums, no English translations. Their museums are not like ours with triple translations. But their museum is a little dusty, but in pretty good shape. They must have one hell of a war museum somewhere around Beijing. Have you ever heard of one around Beijing, Mr. Lee?

MR. LEE: Not in Beijing, but the On Dung (ph) has a museum, and in it we have found that there were dog tags of US pilots who were shot down.

REP. DORNAN: Now that would be hearsay.

MR. LEE: -- follow-up with those couple of cases.

REP. DORNAN: That's hearsay?

MR. LEE: No, sir, it's not hearsay. We have copies of dog tags that were sent with a rubbing sand -- we've been able to analyze and determine in one case -- an MIA case that --

REP. DORNAN: Have you seen the BBC documentary?

MR. LEE: No, sir.

REP. DORNAN: Have you seen it, Mr. McCreary?

MR. MCCREARY: No, sir.

REP. DORNAN: You know more than this documentary, so I would really like your opinion on this. In the documentary is my good friend, Bud Nihuran (ph) -- 21 victories in Europe -- our first double-ace, our first triple-ace, our first quadruple-ace -- shot down in May with the other person who had 20 kills -- Johnson. And they both escaped and evaded. They sent him to the Japanese theater, he shot down one. And then he went to Korea and shot down five. You won't find him on the ace list because he let his wing man take credit for number five. He figured he'd have more chances. And the wing man got back and they looked at his gunnery film and his guns jammed. That was Bud Nihuran's victory. So he's an ace in Korea. They captured him. He's in the film. There have been hints in my office that he might have been the F-86 pilot taken to Moscow to brief at a Science and Technology Museum. I can't believe that. I may be such a close friend. I took him to the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Britain with his wife Joan and we became very close and I see him several times a year and he always has lunch when he comes here. I'll talk to him again, I'll ask him maybe if he would take sodium pentothal, and I bet he would, assuming that he is not recalling something.

But I want you both -- we're going to have to -- I guess we are setting up a screening DMPO office. Have you see it Mr. Kass?

MR. KASS: No, sir.

REP. DORNAN: You've got to see this film because these are live interviews with general officers spilling all about getting their arms compound fractured from Saber Jet 50 caliber machine guns. But I'll show that film to you and we will talk about visiting some of these other war museums, and hopefully they won't clean up the rooms and hide the material from us, and we can get some progress here.

Mr. Kass, what initiatives are being taken to find sources of information independently? Now, Mr. Toon is on the record under oath saying he thinks the world of one of my panelists, Paul Cole, who is also interviewed live in color in this BBC documentary. I was very happy to hear that because Mr. Cole has my confidence, and I think there is great value in an independent analysis.

My first experience with this was under George Bush, the B team at the CIA. Remember setting up a blue ribbon team to say, wait a minute. Our analysis here is breaking down, and we are all honorable patriotic Americans, let's split into teams here, and the B team came in with a totally different analysis of what turned into a book, A Clear and Present Danger, the Soviet lurched toward just crushing their economy so that everything would go into war production.

Now, what is your opinion of independent analysis helping something like the Missing Persons Office?

MR. KASS: I'd say it is not only desirable, it's essential.

REP. DORNAN: Essential.

MR. KASS: Yes, indeed, and I would also say that if you examine the four-plus years that this Commission has been in operation, what you will find over in BOD and DPMO is that we have had, through the life of the program, parallel efforts to those of the commission, because I think one of the enduring premises we make is the fact that you cannot -- you can learn only up to a certain amount through the commission for a number of reasons. There are many difficulties that we encounter, both in terms of reaching people and in terms of getting access to archives, and the only way to address the effort, if it's going to be a serious research effort, is to explore alternative methods and alternative support research that would allow us to develop leads which then could be used to go back to the commission and pursue them.

REP. DORNAN: Do you follow what I meant when I said a Sherlock Holmes attitude?

MR. KASS: I think I understand the idea, yes.

REP. DORNAN: But there are people who are born cynics, impossible, couldn't happen, too many years, baloney, he's lying, it's a dead lead, going nowhere, don't do it, don't do it. You remember when IBM was famous for one little arrogant thing on your desk that says "think." I would like to put up a sign in the DMPO office that says, "No mindset to debunk." That's a little too much in your face. (Applause.) It's too much in your face, but the opposite of that would be in a positive way, a mindset to uncover the impossible, the Gordian knot, whether it's mythological, allegorical or what Alexander the Great says, pretty big knot, pulls out his sword and cuts in half. There goes your Gordian not, onward to Persia.

I mean, there's got to be a positive mindset, and that's why I like investigators who say, you know what, this looked impossible, but it led me to follow this lead, and then I went to that lead and then I went to that lead. We go to court all the time with circumstantial evidence and get convictions. Bugliosi (sp) has a book out that I just sent for, Vincent Bugliosi, who said he has sent people to the death chamber, or had them lose their life on circumstantial evidence, 1/50th of what O.J. Simpson beat the rap on. And then I hear people say, it's circumstantial evidence, it's hearsay, it's this or that.

We has an indictment yesterday -- no, an unindicted co-conspiratory, yesterday, his picture is on the front page. Bruce Lindsay (sp), to get at hearsay evidence.

Now, I just have one more question to you, and Mr. Pickett, and then we'll go vote, and then we'll come back until 5:00. Do you believe -- I want to follow up on what I asked Malcolm Toon, what is your opinion of the status of Russian cooperation, increasing or decreasing?

WITNESS: Decreasing.

REP. DORNAN: Pardon?

WITNESS: Decreasing.

REP. DORNAN: Decreasing, window closing. Thank you.

Do you believe that the GRU, military intelligence and the KGB under the eye of the foreign minister who ran it, Yevgeny Primakov, has been fully cooperative with the commission's efforts?

WITNESS: No, I do not.

REP. DORNAN: Do you believe there is still pertinent archival information being withheld on Korea or Vietnam in Russian archives?

WITNESS: Not that I think, I know.

REP. DORNAN: You know, and yet they say to a distinguished diplomat with four decades of living, go to China, go to Korea, go to Vietnam, find out there. All of that is diversionary and disingenuous?

WITNESS: I think it is an effort to deflect attention from what they know and what they are ready to share.

REP. DORNAN: And just stall and buy time. Do you believe that American prisoners, and I guess you can pick up on Mr. McCreary's answer, and so I'll put it in the way he answered, is there hard evidence to you that American prisoners were taken to Russia after -- during Korea?

WITNESS: There's certainly evidence, and I would consider it significant evidence.

REP. DORNAN: Not hard, okay, significant.

WITNESS: Really, it's quibbling over the adjective, but I think there is -- I would consider it strong evidence to suggest that, yes.

REP. DORNAN: And Vietnam, any evidence that people from Vietnam went to Russia?

WITNESS: There is evidence of that as well.

REP. DORNAN: As compelling or about the same?

WITNESS: I cannot discuss the details of that with you.

REP. DORNAN: Excellent, chat with me off camera.

And how about Russia after World War II?

WITNESS: With regard to the transfer of Americans on to Soviet soil or the presence of Americans on Soviet soil, we already know existed following World War II. We found that out through the commission and other sources as well.

REP. DORNAN: Right. This is hard to reflect in a written record. But could I ask the family members, do you have confidence in these three men? Is there anybody who doesn't have confidence in these three men? (Applause.)

Are you building confidence. We've got a long way to go.

WITNESS: (Inaudible.)

REP. DORNAN: Right. Right, separate them.

All right then, here's the problem. Mr. Pickett and I have five votes, roll votes. Now, they will be five-minute votes.

Mr. Pickett, do you have any questions of our analysts?

REP. PICKETT: I've got a couple of questions I'm going to submit that they can answer for the record, Mr. Chairman. I think probably we are going to have to leave very shortly to go over and vote.

REP. DORNAN: Right. Now, there's no sense going over right now, when we have 15 minutes. We will set up the panel, swear them in, start it. I hope you can come back with me. Then we will go over and catch the tail-end of the 15 minute vote, then we are going to have four five minute votes with about two to three minutes in-between.

I am not apologizing to families, because I think it was good for you to hear the top level, as long as we questioned them, then the analysts, and I have access to these people all the time, and I have confidence in all three of these people, so that's why it's much shorter than the other one, because I'm not so sure at the top. I felt a little better after today, but still I have more questions.

Their answers created more questions. But I don't have anything else for you three gentlemen.

If, very quickly, you could change places with Pat Dunton, with Bob Dumas, with researcher Paul Cole, and with Irene Mandra. As fast as you can get up to the table, I will swear you people in. And we are joined by Captain Red McDaniel in the back of the room.

Captain McDaniel, you honor us with your presence.

Thank you, Mr. Kass.

Thank you, Mr. Lee.

Thank you, Mr. McCrary.

Mr. Mandra, hello again.

Is Mr. Dumas here?

MR. DUMAS: Here I am.

REP. DORNAN: Please take the second seat.

Bob, I flew with a Robert K. Dumas in an F-100.

Hello, again, Mr. Cole.

MR. COLE: Good morning.

REP. DORNAN: And, Pat.

If you can all three stand, raise your right hand, do each of you solemnly swear or affirm that the testimony you will give before this subcommittee in the matters now under consideration will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Thank you, please be seated.

I'm going to ask you, since your entire written statement, if you have one, will go in the record, so that we can kind of get this going. The second bells will go off in a minute, and then we will stay about four minutes, and then we will be gone probably the better part of a half-hour, and then it should be open-ended. I, for one, like this clustering of votes because we are not running over burning up all this electric train time from this building, and that way we should have another long hour of testimony.

Again, I want to publicly state that Mr. Owen Pickett of Virginia has been an absolute champion to sit at my side because this, he knows, is a keen area of interest of mine, and he has gone way beyond just being a good vice chairman, he has picked up a tremendous interest himself, because he is the congressman for one of the biggest military conglomerates, mostly Navy, in the country, and much respected in the whole Newport, Newport News, Hampton, Southeastern Virginia area.

So we will just go left to right here. Mrs. Dunton, I've met you in my office for the first time recently. We have nine minutes on the vote, we will take about four of it right now. Please proceed with any opening statement.

MS. DUNTON: I would like to tell the committee that I have been working on this since I was 21 years old in 1969.

REP. DORNAN: You were how old when your dad was shot down?

MS. DUNTON: Three years old.

REP. DORNAN: Three years old.

MS. DUNTON: He was shot down on April 12th of 1951. When I was 21, I decided it was time that I found out what happened to my father because the government hadn't seen fit to try to discover what had happened to him, or inform my family of what had happened, and I'm saying that to dispel the myth that this is new. That we are Johnnie-come-latelies. Families have always been doing this. There are many

of us out there that have been trying to contact the government or people in the government who would get the answers for us. And we were consistently put off.

I went to the National Personnel Records Center in 1969 and asked them for information. Well, their excuse now is that, well, we had a fire in 1954, so we don't have anything to give you. In 1969, they said they had no record of my father ever serving in Korea, much less have any information on -- well, that's a little bit of my background.

REP. DORNAN: Let me ask one question. In 1965, you do the arithmetic, in '65 how old were you? In '64 when Ev Alvarez (sp) was shot down in the Tonkin Gulf incident, how old were you, '64, August 5th?

MS. DUNTON: About 17, 16.

REP. DORNAN: All right. During the entire next decade, from 16 to 26, did you have this feeling of, here we go again?

MS. DUNTON: Absolutely. I tried to contact the National League of Families in 1974, when I first found out about it, and I wanted to get in touch with those families and say, please don't do what we did in Korea. Don't do what our parents did and what the wives did from Korea because they had listened to the government who had told us to -- we'll get you the information, we are promising you we will get the information.

REP. DORNAN: Right.

We will come back and finish your statement. Mr. Cole, please let me rearrange the order. I'm going to go to the relatives first. Mr. Dumas and then to Ms. Mandra, and then we'll come back to you, and just tell Mr. Pickett here that Mr. Cole did this long, extensive report for the Rand Corporation. He's in this documentary that I'm going to send to you.

He has been -- I hate this word "trashed", it's overused -- but he has been critiqued severely, sort of discredited, and that's the nonsense that has to stop. Everybody should accept everybody else of good conscience, and the cynics ought to occasionally back off and let the optimists have their day to see if there is anything to be -- to use a word from some of your families -- anything to be ferreted out in the area of intelligence.

All right, we'll take a recess. (Sounds gavel.)

(Short recess.)

REP. DORNAN: (Sounds gavel.) The subcommittee comes back into order. Thank you for your forbearance. I'm supposed to do a speech on the House floor. I'm going to cancel it for you folks so this will be open ended. I can always do what we call a special order -- (chuckles) -- that's what general officers put out -- general orders and special orders. I never knew if the House adopted that military term or not, but maybe when George Washington was presiding over the Continental Congress he started issuing general orders and special orders.

But we will proceed here, and I'll tell you something that's just peculiar that just hit me. I come back and whatever minor level of tension there is when I have bureaucrats in front of me -- and you'll notice that for all my tough image around this place, I don't conduct a hearing like some Hollywood movie -- (changes tone of voice) -- "I think the witness is lying, I think the witness is stonewalling me. I'll wait here till hell freezes over until I get an answer." The

toughest I ever get is I repeat what I said to Mr. Liotta -- "Wait a minute, I question your adjective -- 'radically' different testimony on the bus sightings of the Rumanians." But I suddenly realized as I sit down here there's no tension here. I have a panel before me that is going to answer every question to the best of their ability, no equivocating, no shaving, double entendres, no nuances, just straightforward search for the truth, and we go back to you, Mrs. Dunton, to pick up where you left off if you wanted to say anything else in an opening statement.

MS. DUNTON: I have quite a long opening statement. Would you mind if I go ahead and read it because I think it does have some pertinent --

REP. DORNAN: If -- look, you've worked hard on it, the family members learn so much from sharing other people's experiences. You kicked into this in your maturity just as Vietnam was taking off, you concurred with my feeling that you said, "Here we go again," and you watched the agony of all these missing-in-action, shoot-down, with one horrible extension -- because I lived through them both, one as a young enlisted man during the -- I joined in October of '52. You may not have been at the hearing yesterday when I said the lead army psychiatrist of the team that debriefed every single returning prisoner from North Korean camps came by to talk to us to give us something to do as young pre-cadets. I'd just turned 20, I picked up a fascination with this, I picked up a fascination with escape and evasion stories, I read about the first F-80 pilot to evade from North Korea to South Korea with both his ankles severely broken and his ankles fused with his feet at an angle like this so he walked the whole distance on his toes -- I read that -- and then had to have his ankles rebroken and reset, went back to flying. I read that in '52 before I joined. I've always had a keen interest in escape and evasion, and then I ended up being a pilot myself -- ejected twice -- once in the mountains, rescued by a helicopter in Arizona; once in the ocean in the guard, rescued again by a Navy helicopter, and I'm always thinking the stress I was under nobody was shooting at me. Many trips to Vietnam thinking there when my imagination would leave the moment of trying to film something with a Bolex (ph) camera that if I get shot down I'm in deep trouble because I'm a civilian, how do I explain my presence in Indochina.

And then, as a congressman, in my 20th year span -- 18 years in office, two-year gap -- I want to learn from you folks, but I want you to share one another's story. So read your statement and we'll all track your experience, and then you two folks can do the same. And one question because you weren't there yesterday -- I suggested to Delores Apaca (ph) and to Joanne Shirley (sp) -- that's her last name -- that we form in the families a coalition -- keep you individual identities, there's strength in numbers of different groups on letter signing, making statements to different groups. But we have to have a coalition of the alliance and the Korean War family groups, and are -- is there more than Korean War family group?

MS. DUNTON: Not that I know of.

REP. DORNAN: It would be -- little local groups maybe came together years ago.

You three people have to have a coalition working group to get to Mr. Santoli (sp) and his counterparts -- stand up and identify

yourself, Dino, and pronounce your paisan last name -- (laughter) -- with all its Italian flourish.

MR. CARLUCCIO (SP): Dino Carluccio.

REP. DORNAN: Carluccio -- Dino Carluccio and Al Santoli. (Deepens his voice) -- These are my soldiers. (Laughter, applause.) He just reported to Senator Bob Smith, the only man who conducted a short, two-hour hearing on Korea in almost half a century -- 45 years or so -- and then you will have a coalition so we can stay on track and this won't be broken.

If we lose the leadership in the House -- the Republicans -- I have utmost confidence in this gentleman from Virginia, that he'll have a series of hearings on this and keep it going. Mr. Clinton can't break any more promises on this. I didn't learn till yesterday that he's never come to a league meeting -- an alliance meeting or sent a high-ranking representative, just analysts and briefers. I guess General Wold is the top of that food chain. So we'll try and keep this continuity going so we don't get another dry spell of five or ten years where nothing happens, and we'll write Korea and pray to God that they'll just keep opening up, and who knows? We can get another miracle like the Berlin Wall coming down.

So take as long as you want, Mrs. Dunton.

MS. DUNTON: Thank you.

I think we got to the part where I was 21 years old in 1961 when I started trying to find the information on my father. I contacted senators, congressman, the KAT (?) Air Force Specialty Office, VA offices, government, private agencies, all with the same "no information" response.

When the Air Force Casualty Office told me they had burned the records of the Korean War missing because they did not have the space to keep them, I realized I would have to do the research myself. Part of my research involved on-line computer communication. This is where I met my first other Korean War MIA daughter. A close bond developed rapidly between us, and as we learned how similar our experiences were in attempting to gain information about the loss of our fathers, soon we were sharing experiences with other families. We were all in the same situation -- either we got no information at all, or the text trail led to still classified documents, and those documents are mostly still classified to this day.

Unable to get declassifications or results individually, we realized a collective approach would have more strength. The Korean/Cold War Family Association of the Missing was formed and incorporated in Texas in 1993. This is how long it has taken the families to get together again. In the '50s there was a family association called the Fighting Homefront, and they wrote letters, they went to Congress. I know my grandmother was physically removed from the Senate building because she said she was going to sit there until she talked to her senator.

REP. DORNAN: What year was that?

MS. DUNTON: 1954.

As the president of the association, I am before you today to state clearly and for the record what our association believes can be done to account for the Korean War missing.

Presently, the Defense Prisoner-of-War/Missing-in-Action Office, DPMO, under the authority, direction and control of the Assistant

Secretary of Defense, International Security Affairs, is tasked to serve as the Department of Defense's focal point for all POW/MIA matters. We are aware that a few family members have received assistance from this office. We are also aware that there are committed individuals who have worked in this office in the past and a few that are there now.

However, those few personnel who are assigned to work on the issue of more than 8,000 Korean War unaccounted-for must attempt to function within a bureaucratic and political which, according to the Inspector General's report, still has not clearly defined its goals and objectives on this issue. One officer at DPMO recently defined his job as paper-shuffling. We asked him -- because a lot of times we don't know what these people do. We ask, "What is your job? What do you do?" He said, "I shuffle paper."

REP. DORNAN: At what location were you when you were told that?

MS. DUNTON: I was at DPMO talking to DPMO personnel.

REP. DORNAN: In Crystal City?

MS. DUNTON: Where were we?

REP. DORNAN: Through that door with all the keyed locks on it?

And he said, "My job is a paper-shuffler."

MS. DUNTON: Yeah.

REP. DORNAN: What level? He wasn't an analyst like the three men we have here.

MS. DUNTON: You didn't have him testify today.

REP. DORNAN: But his title is analyst?

MS. DUNTON: No. It was -- No, he wasn't an analyst.

WITNESS: A casualty officer.

REP. DORNAN: A what? A field officer?

WITNESS: A casualty officer.

REP. DORNAN: Then the kind they're going to send out in briefings across the country.

MS. DUNTON: Exactly.

REP. DORNAN: Building up toward --

MS. DUNTON: The one's that talk to the families.

REP. DORNAN: How many of you today were part of the hearings yesterday? All right, some of you were. You heard the analysis of Bill Bell who's given years of his life to this, including two plus in Hanoi, that he feels this is the way to finally shut down or discourage annual meetings. So that's the level it'll be handled. And this is what I've meant for years as a Congressman for two decades: Don't put bureaucrats there who are in a dead-end of a career.

That's why I could never understand an otherwise nice man, Paul Mather (sp), having a job for 15 years, stalled out of lieutenant colonel in Bangkok, or Chuck Trowbridge (sp) who I thought I could trust over the years, who spent about 20 years in a slot accomplishing nothing.

WITNESS : (Off mike.)

REP. DORNAN: All right. Go ahead.

WITNESS: Debunking.

REP. DORNAN: What? And debunking. No mind set to debunk. Constant debunking. Go ahead.

MS. DUNTON: Another high-ranking official within the US-Russian Task Force for years has called for the family members to beg for more

personnel and more money. At the same time, his office spends thousands of dollars paying for limos, expensive hotels, picnics and tours for Russian members of the joint commission. When the families had asked for research on Korean War, they have consistently told us that we don't have the analysts to do it, we don't have the money to get the analysts to do it, we'll need to go back to the Hill and get us some more money. It's constant -- what we hear from them as far --

REP. DORNAN: Somebody has told you, "Go to the Hill, to the Congress of the United States and get us more money."

MS. DUNTON: Yeah, we did it once already.

WITNESS : (Off mike) -- million --

REP. DORNAN: Well, that was the million that my friend Murtha --

MS. DUNTON: Jeannie (sp) and I, right here, Jeannie and I, we were on the Hill just like we did five weeks ago, and said DPMO does not have the funds to do this. They don't have the funds to do the Korean War research. We want the research done. We need to get funds to do this specifically. It was done in the '95 authorization act, and it was a million dollars.

REP. DORNAN: Well, be advised, if you want to get tough that they have the money to send a male and a female analyst -- and I'm not making any assumptions that it was party time because I understand they are a mismatched set, but we all get surprises. But a male and a female who are supposed to be qualified senior administrators went out to Monterey, California, not a stick in the eye, to an administrative school for a month last year and the year before and a week refresher last week. So remember that. If you need their names, I'll get you their names. Go ahead.

MS. DUNTON: At great tax payer expense, DPMO has produced few tangible results for Korean War missing. You heard them today. They claim one, and that was actually a Cold War shootdown, I believe. Now at a critical time in our history when it appears joint recovery teams might be allowed into North Korea, we must have our house in order before we move forward with the North Koreans.

DPMO has had the time, the personnel and plenty of money to be prepared, yet they aren't. They are not prepared to do this. They do not have the lists ready. They don't know who is missing where, much less who is missing. It is time to try a more productive and efficient approach.

Our association believes the Congress of the United States can do a service to Korean War missing, their families and the American tax paying public by defunding DPMO for Korean War accounting. We propose that Congress use only half of what DPMO states they spend on Korean War accounting, approximately \$4.5 million annually, and fund an independent private entity capable of producing results for Korean War missing and their families.

At this time I submit a copy -- I've got one here -- of our proposal. I think, Congressman Dornan, you already have one. And I will get copies for everyone. And we ask that this be included in the record. Briefly I will address parts of the proposal. The objective of a private sector research entity is to provide the fullest possible accounting for the POW/MIAs and the answers to the family members. That's it, two goals. The families define an accounting for the missing in four parts: the discovery of live American, missing service personnel. That's the main part, our biggest goal of course. Two,

the recovery of remains. Three, the identification of remains. And, four, provide the information to the family. Let us know what happened.

The key to achieving these goals is well-planned, methodical research in United States and in foreign archives. As the Air Force Casualty Office aptly phrased it, the database on the missing from the Korean War is grossly incomplete. That's what they said. In order to discover if any American missing service personnel are still alive, case files need to be built, leads need to be followed, files have to be analyzed to develop new leads. Waiting for information to fall out of the blue isn't research. Research is aggressively planned. It's methodical. It's proactive research, work constantly in the records.

REP. DORNAN: Please, a footnote for your morale -- I have had recently, in the last week or so, analysts in my office who have almost used those very words. They have been volunteering their concept of what an analyst is, looking for opportunities to go in the field, picking up a phone book, tracing one lead to the next instead of creating dead ends by debunking something. They say, "Well this is worthless. It's probably just hearsay or lies." They go after it, and it's been done so little and it's borne so much fruit already -- I'm talking about Korea, not only Vietnam -- that now we see what could have been done with a proper attitude at the top over the years. It doesn't mean there weren't people there with that attitude like Lieutenant General Eugene Ty (ph) who coined the phrase "a mind set to debunk".

WITNESS : Mr. Trowbridge (sp) is the guy he was talking about.

REP. DORNAN: Yeah. It was basically the reason I don't mind jumping on Trowbridge's case is that he's already on termination leave. He leaves with a gigantic federal pension very soon. I look back at horror at how I treated him in a friendly way for 25 years. You know how to play a congressman I guess, or when I was just a concerned citizen. You know, act like you're as aggressive as he is, you're as optimistic as he is, and you're out there looking for leads, boy! And you're going to nail this thing down.

And this is the way communists in Korea and Vietnam and Russia which were here for Mr. Cole, treat us when we walk out of the room -- American negotiators. We leave the room. This is the arms control czar. I don't know what their cultural body language is, but it would be like -- (laughter) -- "Are these Americans easy to roll or what, comrade?" Then I heard this from our best negotiator. I've got to get this three-star general's name that spoke fluent French and Spanish and who was our lead negotiator or the head of the administrative team in Geneva. They just have this attitude that we're stupid, easily pushed around, and easily lied to so they have contempt for us.

Overlaid in China's case by a certain cultural contempt that Henry Kissinger sums up in one story. He said to Cho Enlai, "You really think we're not as intelligent." He says, "Well, you're not bad for a Westerner." That's his attitude to Dr. Henry Kissinger. So it really is true that they just think we're pitiful. We get it from our own people that make us think that -- that they're pitiful. Then we get the feeling they're laughing at us behind our backs when we leave the room -- our American people are. Then they go back to shuffling paper.

Go ahead, please.

MS. DUNTON: It may sound extraordinarily simple to build a case file. It would seem only common sense to have our facts in hand before pursuing information from North Korea, Russia or China. But true case files for the Korean War missing have never been accumulated by any department of the federal government, and DPMO seems to be overwhelmed by the task. It's an archival challenge but not an impossible one for professionals in the field.

We ran into this when the Task Force Russia was first tasked to go over and look for the missing that Yeltsin had pronounced they should have some information on. Task Force Russia couldn't find information to ask the Russians about. They didn't know enough about the Korean War missing. The families supplied them the information about who was lost, where they went down, what kind of plane, the background of the missing people because there were no case files for them to work with. Those were the families that knew about Task Force Russia at the time. That was not by any stretch of the imagination all of them.

Existing records are scattered across the United States in various facilities, the majority of which have never been declassified. Intelligence collected at the time and over the next decade by the CIA, NSA, DIA, DOD and others was never analyzed and matched with appropriate missing service persons. This indicates to me that the Department of Defense never had a true intent to recover those left behind. There are many of the families which have built case files themselves in spite of the government's obfuscation. We have followed leads and analyzed what information we could gather in order to develop new leads, but we are limited by access to documents which are still classified and the funds it takes to do it. The assistance we have gotten did not come from DOD. They've impeded our process. We have received valuable assistance that has provided concrete results from private researchers, dollars and archives.

The recovery of remains not only requires research efforts but obviously access geared toward loss. Since the end of the Cold War, everyone knows that we're now working on negotiations with North Korea to get access there. It's undeniably critical to use qualified personnel in the recovery operations and to minimize acceptance of curative remains in order to maximize identification probability. But we can't move ahead with politically motivated recovery plans based on flawed methodology. If we use politically motivated methodology to do something that should be as scientific -- or an archival method of approaching -- it's not making sense here.

But it's just you can't politically do a scientific project. The recovery of remains should be a scientific type project, not, "Okay, we'll let you go here or we'll let you go there." It needs to be set up with a long-range plan, and we determine, the scientists determine, the archeologists determine where -- what the best possibilities are for recovery of remains.

The identification of remains for the majority of the cases will require the use of the most modern technology available -- mitochondrial DNA. In order to use this technology, reference samples must be collected from the family. Now, some of the families that know about this process have already sent in reference samples to Afville (sp). But the majority of the families don't know about this.

The majority of the families have never been contacted about these possibilities. There is also 866 unidentified remains that are interred in the punch bowl in Hawaii. And the families need these identified. It's already on our territory. Why can't we get these remains identified for those families and for those men?

The families want the live men located and all the information that can be had as to what happened to the missing. It has become painfully apparent that Department of Defense is not the entity that's going to accomplish the task. We are denied access to documents, access to eye witness testimony, access to live sighting reports. I was told just last summer that DPMO had no live sighting reports on Korean War missing, absolutely none. They were taking me on a tour of the Vietnam section of the files, and they said, "And these are our live sighting reports section." And I said, "Well, where is it for Korea?" "We don't have any for Korea; there are no live sighting reports for Korea." I have documents that say there are. I knew that wasn't true. But is their department saying this to me.

DOD is serving political purposes of governmental bodies and lacks the proactive intent and motivation to put the accounting for POW/MIA first. It has to come first. In a formal finding in '91, the DIA concluded that the Department of Defense was not capable and would not have the capability to do the type of research required to resolve Korean War and Cold War cases of the POW/MIA issue, and we agree completely. We need an open organization whose activities are held accountable by the consumers it's designed to serve.

In closing, I wish to refute a statement that's been used by the Department of the Defense and many of its agencies since I can remember, and that is, "We don't want to give the families false hope by giving them interim information or giving them just a little bit and letting them go off on their own." For over 40 years the real false hope the family has had is that the government and the Department of Defense would keep the promises made to these missing men and their families.

REP. DORNAN: Thank you. One of several questions, but then we'll go to Mr. Dumas. Was -- now, the Vietnam families -- and Carol Herdlicka (sp) is in the room -- they've got to appreciate this. And when I think about Vietnam and Korea, I just reflected on '54. Is your grandmother in heaven? Still alive? She's gone to heaven. Here's your grandmother demonstrating the Senate in '54. Dave Herdlicka and I in pilot training. He's shot down in '65. So you're 11 years apart there -- your grandmother's demonstration. But Herdlicka is '75, '85, '20, '95 -- what? It's 31 years ago. So Herdlicka and Wilson are closer than you'd think talking about two wars that we just so quickly started going through this pathetic dance again. So, when you say to me -- and Carol Herdlicka, who has gone through so much redacted material and false material in her husband's file trying to get rid of another case using his -- not even his general area of his shootdown. To have somebody tell you, "Well, we can't release these documents to you," it's infuriating to a Vietnamese-era family to say, "Good god, we're talking about something 30 years ago; who are you keeping this secret from, except me? And you've already given them all the top secret information, asking them to divulge information. So you're only keeping it from those who have a loved one interest here." To add another 11 years to it -- or,

excuse me -- your dad's shootdown was '52, right?

MS. DUNTON: 'Fifty-one.

REP. DORNAN: 'Fifty-one. So you add another 14 years to it. Who told you that they can't release something classified to you? Where did they say, "No, this is classified; we can't give it to you"?

MS. DUNTON: They've got classified -- which time? I'm stunned. Which area? Every place we've been. The National Archives has classified documents. Air Force -- remember that place? Montgomery, Alabama -- Air Force Historical Society -- rooms full of classified documents.

REP. DORNAN: Remember we talked about the Air Force material?

Let me ask Mr. Dino Carluccio (sp) a question. Did you guys ever get access to any of the Air Force classified material?

MR. CARLUCCIO: Just got told the law that we wrote required all this stuff be declassified by this past January.

MR. : So they're in violation of the law.

REP. DORNAN: Everybody's already in violation. (Applause.) Let me ask Mr. Cole a question out of sequence. You've done -- have you done some archival research in Great Britain?

MR. COLE: Yes.

REP. DORNAN: Don't they have a statute of limitation on all of their secret information? For example, I remember in "Time" magazine a few years ago it was divulged British war plans for a war with the United States. And it wasn't 1820, following up the War of 1812 to '14. It was 1920s. They were anticipating, you know, a possibility. "If we got in a war with the United States, here's what we'd do and how many battleships should we have to their emerging naval strength." Again at the naval treaty signed here in Washington in '22. So we all had a good laugh because we'd fought World War II together and they'd been at our side in Korea. And then in Vietnam their ships are going in and trading with the enemy. Don't they have something like 25 or 30 years where they say, "Okay, time limitation, no sensitivities involved, take it"?

MR. COLE: No.

REP. DORNAN: They don't?

MR. COLE: No.

REP. DORNAN: They'll lock things up forever, too?

MR. COLE: Well, the British have the Official Secrets Act, and I find that in my experience -- I was jotting down here how many foreign countries I've either done archive research or organized research projects in. It's about seven or eight. The British are most restrictive. The most --

REP. DORNAN: The most restrictive?

MR. COLE: Yes. Most secretive.

REP. DORNAN: Who is the least? Are we -- we're the least secretive?

MR. COLE: We are far and away the most open, and it's large measure to the Freedom of Information Act, which is unique, and it's also to the kind of legislation you're just discussing, because it gives private researchers the tools to pry information out of the archives. For example, and I don't want to get into too much detail here, but there was a change in the Freedom of Information Act, and I can't put a date on it right now; it's like two or three years ago, something like that. Prior to that, if I went to the archives and

said I would like to have this document declassified, the presumption was that I had -- was against me. I had to prove that I needed this document for some legitimate purpose. It's now been turned around. This is because of legislation. The presumption is it should be declassified, and it's up to the originating agency to state why it shouldn't be. So this has made things much easier for researchers.

So no matter how bad things are here, believe me, it is far worse everywhere else in my experience.

REP. DORNAN: Yeah. But when all the presidents from this period are dead -- Nixon, Truman, Roosevelt, Ike -- I don't understand what possible rationale, except that we still have a hostile relationship with North Korea and we still have U-2s flying in the area, which has been in the open press, we still have serious intelligence-gathering because of their lurch toward nuclear capability. We're putting money in there for light reactors to try and get them to be a decent nation. I still don't understand, with particular combat intelligence, there is -- can you think, Mr. Cole, of a rationale for holding back any combat stories or after-action reports from 1950, '51, '2 and '53?

MR. COLE: I don't have to think of them. I mean, they exist. I have an opinion on these things.

REP. DORNAN: Please.

MR. COLE: But, by and large, you'll find two methodological problems. I can think of two concrete examples. One is looking for the debriefs of Air Force POWs from Korea. No one has found those. There's, like, 16 fragments of the several hundred floating around. One of the potential problems that I would have, if I went to the archives, is that this would be considered information of a personal nature, and I would be denied access. Whether or not this information was actually personal is another matter. I'd have to appeal it. I'd have to -- it'd take years to dig it out.

Actually I think of three things. The second thing is it's rather routine to be denied access to material on the ground of sources and methods, and you can't look at the material to make a determination. So, even if you have this blanket declassification decree signed by the president, then there are still exemptions to sources and methods.

The third thing is that, as you know from your own experience, it's not a simple thing to get a document declassified, unless it's already been reviewed. Called "available for research" is what the National Archives call it. You can --

REP. DORNAN: What do they call it?

MR. COLE: It's called "available for research."

REP. DORNAN: "Available for research."

MR. COLE: The documents are still classified, but you just put a declassification strip on the photocopy machine and that's how you declassify it.

Now, documents that aren't available for research but are stored at the archives, if I want to get access to them, then it's the originating agency that has to review these. So, if it's -- take the example of the Air Force POW debriefs. Say -- assume for the moment that we actually do find them and that the office that prepared them no longer exists. Then you have to find somebody in the Air Force structure who has now taken over a role of a defunct office and get them to review those documents to see if they're available for

research. And usually the answer you get back when you file such a request is "Take a number." Particularly with the CIA. The CIA is my favorite example. I've got a zillion stories about them. If you filed a FOIA request with the CIA, they're very efficient in sending you, you know, the answers and so forth to your letters, but it usually says that you're number 437 or 1,200 in your case.

MS. DUNTON: Twelve hundred and sixty-five. I've got a 1,265 --

MR. COLE: And the record for me in -- I keep track of these things just out of, I guess, morbid curiosity -- is nearly four years and six months I waited for a document to be declassified by -- it was an NSC document. So there's no sense of urgency. And also I have no recourse to the methodology that would allow these documents to be reviewed more quickly. But I have to -- full stop. These procedures exist in the United States. We can do these things here. But they don't exist elsewhere.

REP. DORNAN: Well, in the butcher shop, if you take a number, or Starbuck Coffee, somebody's going down the numbers. How do we know that somebody is assiduously going down a list of 1,266 people and saying, "Well, he doesn't exist anymore" or "He graduated and changed, went into medicine." "He's not writing this thesis paper." "She doesn't need it; she passed away." Who's going down the list that you suddenly a call five years later that says, "By the way, you're 1,266; your number just came up"?

MR. COLE: Two things. Well, you don't get a call. You just get the documents in the mail, for example.

MS. DUNTON: Or a denial.

MR. COLE: Or a denial. You wait five years, and you get a denial. But there's two things that I should point out here. One is, if you look at the structure of the State Department, where they do the declassification reviews, within the State Department, that office is called the "elephants' graveyard." It's really understaffed. If you look at the computers they use, just to put the logo of the State Department on a document when they're reviewing it, their computers are so slow, you know, they press the function and go get a cup of coffee.

The second thing is I've received one time in my experience with the FOIA system a letter from the CIA -- this is after a couple of years -- saying, "Do you still want these documents? If we don't hear from you in 30 days, we're going to flush your request from the system." You know, so there's what? Once again, full stop. In my experience with the FOIA, it's a very effective system, but it's very, very slow. Just because of the magnitude of requests I suppose. But there's ways you could address that in my personal opinion, but it requires some fundamental --

REP. DORNAN: But occasionally you see books written and stories written, so somebody does get through the FOIA process and gets a story written.

MR. COLE: Oh, and a lot of times historical material is, as it's called, available suppose, but there's ways that you address that, in my personal opinion, but they would require some fundamental --

REP. DORNAN: But occasionally you see books written and stories written, so somebody does get through the FOIA process and gets a story written.

MR. COLE: Oh, and a lot of times historical material is, as it's called, available for research -- boxes and boxes of material that you've seen --

REP. DORNAN: All right, let me -- it's just a learning process for me, so let me press on and get this to everybody.

Mr. Dumas.

MR. DUMAS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

REP. DORNAN: Is this your younger or older brother, Bob?

MR. DUMAS: This is my younger brother. I had five brothers on a front line at one time.

REP. DORNAN: Korea?

MR. DUMAS: Yeah, in Korea -- myself and four other brothers. You're only supposed to have two.

REP. DORNAN: Any sisters who were nurses?

MR. DUMAS: Oh, no. One sister, but she wasn't in the service. This is my 46th year. I started in 1950. I served two tours of duty in Korea.

REP. DORNAN: Two tours?

MR. DUMAS: Two tours.

REP. DORNAN: What number brother are you of the five in age?

MR. DUMAS: Number two.

REP. DORNAN: Number two. What was your older brother doing?

MR. DUMAS: My older brother was in Korea in the Third Division.

REP. DORNAN: And which is the brother that's missing?

MR. DUMAS: That's Roger. He was in the 24th Division, Company C.

REP. DORNAN: Overrun in --

MR. DUMAS: Overrun by the Chinese in the northeast --

REP. DORNAN: In November. November? December?

MR. DUMAS: November 4, 1950.

REP. DORNAN: All right, go ahead with your statement.

MR. DUMAS: I think the statement I gave to the committee is in front of you.

REP. DORNAN: I've got it right in front of me here.

MR. DUMAS: All right, I'll try to condense 46 years in a few minutes, which is hard for me to do.

Anyway, in 1953, when the conflict ended, he was still living. He was ready to be released, he was getting on a truck to go home, and a guard took him off with a bayonet and marched him up a hill.

REP. DORNAN: Other soldiers witnessed this?

MR. DUMAS: Yeah, there's one in California right now, Bobby Caruth (ph) from Redding, California.

REP. DORNAN: This is why Al Santoli wanted me to have you on the panel.

MR. DUMAS: Yeah. Yeah, he lives in Redding, California. Bobby Caruth. He just had a stroke about three months ago, he's doing well.

REP. DORNAN: How old are you, Mr. Dumas?

MR. DUMAS: I'm 66.

REP. DORNAN: And are your -- any of your other three brothers alive? Let's assume --

MR. DUMAS: No, they're all dead, but my -- they're all dead but one -- one more.

So anyway, he didn't get released in 1953, and Colonel Hosser (ph) was right when he said there were many, many American POWs that

were not released on that day in August 1953 and again in September 1953. But he was seen alive again in 1956 and 1957 by an ex-POW from Seattle, Washington, by the name of Walter Enbaum (ph), who the government said was never a prisoner of war at all, but he was in Camp Number Five with my brother from 1950 to '53. He was released in '53 and re-upped -- reentered the Army/Air Force in 1956, and got another tour of duty over in Korea. They sent him back to Korea instead of sending him to Europe. They sent him back to Korea. And out on patrol one night on the DMZ line, the 38th parallel, he was captured with six other men in a patrol.

Unbeknownst to the North Koreans, they forgot about him three years earlier. They took him back to Pyongyang and he was put in a cell block which was made out of stone -- the whole building was made out of stone. While he was there he saw my brother and 25 other American POWs.

REP. DORNAN: Pause right there. Camp Five -- Al Santoli has shown me some pictures of these huge camps along the -- was Camp Five up near the Yalu?

MR. DUMAS: It's on the Yalu River.

REP. DORNAN: And it's rolling hills.

MR. DUMAS: Yeah, you've got a hill on the right hand side, and it comes down into an inlet.

REP. DORNAN: So now his experience is totally different, he's in a block-type prison in Pyongyang.

MR. DUMAS: Yeah, he's taken right to Pyongyang, the capital.

REP. DORNAN: Let me just jump ahead. He's always been discredited? The government has always said that --

MR. DUMAS: Yeah, they've always discredited him. I was in federal court in 1982 to change my brother's status from missing/presumed dead to prisoner of war, and at that time this was brought into federal court. But the U.S. attorney for the government said that this man was not a POW.

REP. DORNAN: In '56.

MR. DUMAS: No, in '82 -- 1982.

REP. DORNAN: No, no, I mean, did they -- did they say he was a prisoner in 1950 to '53, but he was never recaptured?

MR. DUMAS: Oh, he was in the Air Force from '56 to '57, but they said he was never recaptured.

REP. DORNAN: Right, right --

MR. DUMAS: In '56 --

REP. DORNAN: -- acknowledged that he was a prisoner for the first go-around --

MR. DUMAS: No, no, they won't acknowledge he was a prisoner even in 1950, '51 and '2 and '3, but I have his release list from the state of Washington in alphabetical order -- he's on a release list from 1953 as a prisoner of war from the state of Washington.

REP. DORNAN: Right.

MR. DUMAS: I got all the states.

REP. DORNAN: Did he ever polygraph?

MR. DUMAS: No, no. He gave me a sworn statement notarized, though, from the state of Washington, and I also have him -- his testifying at the VA in Seattle, Washington, for a friend of his that was also in the camp with my brother and gave a statement to the

government.

REP. DORNAN: All right.

MR. DUMAS: He testified that he was bayoneted by a Chinese gun in the buttocks, and the VA in Washington took his testimony as a POW, a prisoner of war, so I've got a D-14 (?) form that doesn't say he was a prisoner. It just says he was in from '56 to '57 and he was released with a general discharge. That's the way they did things back in those days --

REP. DORNAN: Right.

MR. DUMAS: -- gave him a general discharge.

But anyway, while he was still in Seattle, Washington, he called me about seven years ago and told me he couldn't talk to me any more, that he works at the Commerce Department, which is a federal job, and that they were putting pressure on him, and he couldn't talk to me no more. That was the last time I spoke with him. And that was in 1956 and '57.

REP. DORNAN: Any -- when he said he was captured on this patrol -- see, this story is so compelling, the cynical side of this optimist says, "Can't be true, this is a Walter Mitty story," that this prisoner is now fantasizing and trying to get back into the swim of things, and he's picking out a prisoner from the prior imprisonment -- your brother -- and he's spinning an outrageous tale.

I had a friend during that period who -- we teased him at a drive-in, and he lifted up his shirt -- he was a few years older than I -- and says, "Here's where I was wounded in Korea," and it was a recent appendix operation, and he had never left basic training. He was kicked out. So some people will tragically fantasize about things.

Now if he was captured in a patrol, and he was Air Force -- Air Force bases are usually back from the DMZ or the armistice line, where -- and other people were captured with him and then they were all released at some point?

MR. DUMAS: Yeah, just like -- (inaudible) -- in 1968. Eleven months after your capture, after the war --

REP. DORNAN: Right.

MR. DUMAS: -- you are released by the North Koreans.

Don't forget, Chairman Dornan, this 1953 to 1996, we've had 1100 men captured on the 38th parallel.

REP. DORNAN: That's right, and all released.

MR. DUMAS: All released except a few -- one or two other stragglers back and forth.

REP. DORNAN: Right.

MR. DUMAS: A lot of people don't know this in this country.

REP. DORNAN: Right.

MR. DUMAS: Because at that time, from --

REP. DORNAN: Like the recent helicopter pilot, the Kaiwa pilot

--

MR. DUMAS: Yes, right, but from '53 into the '60's -- the middle of the '60s, there was no fence along the 38th parallel, and if you ever -- if you happened to walk into North Korean territory, you were captured, or if they walked into South Korean territory, they were captured. This went back and forth for many years until they put that demarcation line fence up later on in years.

REP. DORNAN: So the other -- do you ever find any -- how many

people were captured with him the second time when he was Air Force?

MR. DUMAS: Six besides him.

REP. DORNAN: And they -- all six were released?

MR. DUMAS: All seven with him.

REP. DORNAN: Seven.

MR. DUMAS: It would be seven with him.

REP. DORNAN: Have you contacted any of the others?

MR. DUMAS: The only one I got was him, and the -- Major Cully (ph) -- the Pentagon said they were looking for a Major Cully for years, they never could find him. There was a Sergeant Hill that was also in that patrol from Massachusetts, but the government wouldn't give me their address, wouldn't give me nothing on these people. You couldn't get nothing from them. Everything was classified.

REP. DORNAN: See, cameras -- C-SPAN cameras grind at certain hearings around here, and people will look at them -- there are junkies that look at everything, it's their taxpayer money being spent in most cases, but a lot of things can go on and be boring, and people will just tune out.

I don't think that this type of a story is anything short of fascinating to most Americans, and if there were a C-SPAN camera grinding away, it was on C-SPAN I or II, somebody would look and say, "My god, I was one of those six guys --

MR. DUMAS: Yeah, that's what I mean.

REP. DORNAN: -- and I'm going to corroborate this." It's hard to get these stories out, it's not grist for the mills of People Magazine and things like that because that's all, you know, the glitterati, and the young set. It's too bad you've had to fight this struggle alone.

Continue with the story. So up to the point of '82 you tried to sue the government.

MR. DUMAS: Yeah. Well, before I get to that. He had given a statement, just one statement by a notarized -- had it notarized in Seattle, Washington. On his statement, he names 15 ex-POWs that were in the camp with him in the first time he was a prisoner of war, when the government said he wasn't a POW -- he names 15 prisoners that were with him in the camp.

REP. DORNAN: Sec. if we had a proper list of the 8,000, we could take those names, computer-check them, and in today's state of the art, it --

MR. DUMAS: I got the list.

REP. DORNAN: -- spits out the answer in seconds.

MR. DUMAS: I got the list.

REP. DORNAN: You did.

MR. DUMAS: I got the list of 8,000.

REP. DORNAN: So --

MR. DUMAS: 8,200 --

REP. DORNAN: So do they --

MR. DUMAS: -- and they're all on the list.

REP. DORNAN: And they're all on the list.

MR. DUMAS: Every one of them is on the list. All the guys he named in that statement is on that list. Sonny Preston -- Sonny Preston knew my brother. He's on the list. I mean, I'm --

REP. DORNAN: And he says these are all people I saw alive.

MR. DUMAS: All people that he was in the camp with -- prison

camp -- all these people.

Now if you want to jump ahead a little bit to 19 --

REP. DORNAN: Now let me go back one second. Did anybody speculate why you brother was taken off at bayonet point?

MR. DUMAS: Oh, the only speculator was Bobby Caruth (ph) from Seattle -- from California -- from Redding, California, that was with him.

REP. DORNAN: What did he say he thought they did it for?

MR. DUMAS: What did he do -- what was that again?

REP. DORNAN: What -- why did he think they singled out your brother?

MR. DUMAS: All he said to him was "Where are you going?" and he put his hands in the air and said, "I don't know." That was in August of '53.

REP. DORNAN: Now let me tell the family members what Mr. Cole suggested I do.

Al Santoli and I, a few weeks ago, went up to the National Archives branch one and only -- the National Archives where our Constitution, Declaration of Independence is, right over here on -- across from the National Museum of Art, and we went up to Maryland, and it is a fantastic facility. Mr. Cole, one, gave us a sample of films to ask for to get -- I couldn't spend the hours of laborious, hard work that he did researching. He wanted us to get a flavor. The researchers up there, partly because of your introduction, were most friendly and accommodating -- matter of fact, into helping all of you family members. We go up at Hollywood, state-of-the-art movieland -- I used to do this for awhile, I lasted all of three days it was so horrible with white gloves, taking down the edge numbers on editing film -- and I flashed on that, we started to look at the stuff, and we're looking at film exactly of the period your son -- your brother was captured and you are in combat with your other brothers. And we see this film that I can see it vividly, there was even a slight older tint to the film, but very clear, very good film, and they have three copies of each -- one stashed away, one kept here. I mean, we are a rich country, and by god, we could solve this because we do do things right in an archival sense. It's getting access to it.

They're in Pyongyang, there's no bomb damage, the people aren't even hostile, they're more curious. We're both making the same observations without even telling one another, and as I've suffered with Vietnam photographs like the Hrdlicka (sp) picture -- it's so obviously Hrdlicka it's ridiculous, but it's grainy, it's in the rain, the guy's got a poncho on, he's got a bayonet at his back -- but here are moving pictures, so I hit the pause button, and I say, "Now, Al, here's what we suffer with in Vietnam. Eight families will identify this person's face that's blocked by the guy's head in front of him. But we're not dealing with stills." I hit the button. We're dealing with motion pictures. He's coming at me and he's turning, and I could identify this guy a thousand times over, particularly if you gave me a list of my unit, jogged my memory on the names -- that's Bill, that's Fred, that's Mike, that's Skip -- and bingo, you go through everybody.

So I'm looking at this, and we start to hear prisoner testimony before the war's over, and I'm starting to flash back on prisoner exchanges because, after all, the war came to a screeching halt, MacArthur is fired in April, I'd just turned 18 that month, I'm

anxious to go in -- venturesome-type young man. My dad got three -- (inaudible) -- in World War I, my brother -- older, younger, same way. I love brother stories. Beau Geste was our favorite movie, three brothers -- so I look at this film, and I say this guy's in '51. You know, a felt thing on a table, he's in Japan somewhere, a typical, young high-school dropout or a not-well-educated guy, but very forthcoming, and he tells a story of a lieutenant, singled out like your brother, taken to the top of a hill, and they told him, "America is that way. Run. Run for it." And they start laughing. He's got his hands up and he says, "No." They say, "Run." "No." So they shoot him eight times on the spot and kill him, dump him in a grave that they just had him dig. He said, "We went up on the hill the next day and they hadn't even covered his body. We buried other guys who died in the camp." And he gave this lieutenant's name. This is all in the archives that Mr. Cole has been through extensively. And I said, "Al, this is one depressing operation. I've got the flavor here. I know what's available here." And then Al says to me, "What about the Air Force records? What about this? What about that?"

So you don't need a reason why they'd single out somebody like your brother with a bayonet. They -- this is the tragedy of POWs. It brings out sadism in the guards, it brings out this god-like power of arbitrariness -- you see it in the movie Schindler's List. He looks at the little boy, puts his fingers on the window, and says, "You are merciful, you can do anything you want," picks up his rifle, goes right out and shoots the top of the little boy's head off out in the yard when the little boy thought he was home free.

MR. DUMAS: For no reason at all.

REP. DORNAN: No reason at all. Just to -- he's in that sick, god-like role.

So you tell a story like this, and while you are telling it, I'm flashing on these young guys being debriefed in Japan and where all these debriefings are, so I said to Al -- and I'm going to ask Mr. Cole this in a minute -- I said, "I wonder if after the war was over, using a modicum of imagination, we said let's assemble all the sergeants and senior corporals of the 24th infantry division, coined assist, pay their way to come to wherever their home base is, and go into an auditorium and run all these films -- I remember having gang officer calls in the auditorium with a World War II building at George Air Force Base and seeing the first film available on the F-105 Thunder Chief, and everybody flying the F-100 is going, "Whoa, it keeps getting better! I want to fly this monster." And we would have -- we had Israeli officers come and tell us their gun -- air battles and everything. So this would have been the same period -- '55, '56. I'm flashing on something I actually did -- call in the whole unit, we're going to have a mass gang showing of all of these films. Here are all the rosters of the order of battle six years ago, and we want to identify every person here -- who is home and who is not. Done. I said, "Al, do you think they did that?" "No, probably not." Life marches on, and this is the failure of this country to bring its wounded -- and a prisoner is always psychologically wounded -- back from the battlefield. And that's why Vietnam sticks in my craw -- because I tracked it all during the war as a journalist and a reserve officer with friends in captivity and half didn't come back -- saying in Hawaii, "You're going to do it right this time, right?" We got

better -- we've got computers, we've got a database, everything, and they did everything just as screwed up as in Korea.

MR. DUMAS: Exactly what you're talking about is the -- are these photographs -- exactly what you are saying.

REP. DORNAN: Are these the ones I already saw, Al?

MR. DUMAS: Yeah.

MR. SANTOLI: (Off mike.)

REP. DORNAN: Yeah, I saw them. Yes.

MR. DUMAS: These men never came out. We have four identifications right now on this picture -- my brother in the right-hand corner, Mr. -- (inaudible) -- he's who the government said was never a prisoner of war and that he didn't send a letter to Senator Kerry, but the FBI in Arkansas had his handwriting analyzed -- it's the same handwriting that they received in 1992 from him, a --

REP. DORNAN: So now he gets the POW medal --

MR. DUMAS: No, he gets nothing. They won't recognize --

REP. DORNAN: Oh, they're still denying it?

MR. DUMAS: Yeah, of course. They're not going to tell him he's a POW. Weldon East (ph) is the fellow that sent a letter from North Korea that says, "I'm sick, I was born in -- (inaudible) -- Arkansas. I'm still a prisoner in North Korea and I want to come home. This was 1992. John Kerry had that letter in his possession for a month and a half before he turned it over to the family in Arkansas. When he turned it over to the family in Arkansas, the FBI in Washington said it was a hoax.

REP. DORNAN: Did you track this case, Dino?

MR. : (Off mike.)

MR. DUMAS: I'm only saying what the family told me what they did with the FBI in Arkansas. His sister, who lives in Arkansas with her husband, received a letter from him in 1950 before he went overseas. They analyzed his handwriting -- the FBI -- in Arkansas with the letter that he sent. It's the same handwriting. But the government said he was never a prisoner and that -- he was a prisoner of war, he was captured in 1951, but this wasn't from him, this is a hoax.

REP. DORNAN: Well, in the Defense Missing Persons Office, is anybody going back over the Korean photographs imagery, Mr. Cole? Anybody trying to do what we never did in the first place -- a thorough photographic scan of every face? At NPIC (sp) down here in the old Navy yard, they have technologies and skills they didn't have after Korea.

MR. COLE: Well, first off, I don't know what DPMO does. I'm not employed by them, and they don't share their methodology or insights with me.

I do know what happened to the materials that I have uncovered, and I can give you two examples. In one of the archive research projects that I undertook for the Office of the Secretary of Defense in Ukraine, we found a whole bunch of Korea war photographs. It turns out that, you know, the Tass photographers that were running around North Korea were actually working for the KGB, which is no surprise. These photographs were found in the KGB archives in Kiev.

I turned -- oh, I also found a bunch of photographs from Vietnam as well, and these photographs were of American POWs, and also some rather graphic -- I mean, gruesome photographs of dead Americans that were photographed by the -- you know, the Tass photographers. I

turned those over to DPMO, and then a fellow by the name of Larry Jolodon (ph) wanted to get some photographs of POWs to use for his book, "Last Seen Alive," and one of the photographs that I uncovered in Kiev is on the cover of his book. And Larry -- who is now a foreign correspondent somewhere, so he told me this directly --

MR. : (Off mike.)

MR. COLE: Pardon?

MR. : He's in Sarajevo.

MR. COLE: He's in Sarajevo.

REP. DORNAN: Sarajevo.

MR. COLE: He told me when he asked for these photographs from DPMO he got them, and they -- he said to them, "Where did you get these?" He knew they were from me because I showed him the photocopies that I kept. And their answer was, "We don't know. We don't know where we got these."

So I think they -- in my personal opinion, I don't think anything was done with those photographs. I think one photograph from Vietnam was -- since it was -- they said some cryptic comment to me like this was useful in the resolution of a Vietnam case, but -- Pat?

MS. DUNTON: I know what happened to those photographs. I was at a Camp Two reunion in San Antonio, Texas. DPMO was there, they had the photographs, they presented it to these ex-POWs, and one photograph was identified. I was standing right there when the man identified it, and as it turns out, that is the photograph that's on the cover of the book you just said. The man is still alive. He lives in South Texas. And I told Larry Jolodon (ph) that, and he -- Jolodon said, "No, they told me none of these people were identified." And I was standing right there when DPMO had this particular picture identified long before they gave it to Larry Jolodon.

MR. COLE: The second part of my answer involves -- now this is still photographs we just discussed -- the motion pictures. For a reason of -- you know, I do a lot of different projects, and I do historical research for a number of organizations, it's kind of my business -- I had reason to revisit the Korea War collection, and in the process of going through some documents from the Korea War Crimes section of the Judge Advocate General in Korea, they are preparing war crimes trial files in case we ever got our hands on these people who murdered our servicemen once they were captured. This is in textual records now -- documents. I found two reels of film. Now that's not supposed to happen. There's a whole section at the Archives Motion Picture Branch. And this sent the archivists into sort of a dither because the textual people didn't know what to do with a reel of film, and it was the original. And you know, having gone there, there has to be a so-called reference copy. You're not supposed to look at the original.

Well, before we figured out that this was the so-called archive copy, we looked at one, and it was from a -- it was a film of an atrocity site, all right? And just a slow combat camera footage of panning down this terrible scene. Well, there's two reels of this, and that told me two things: DPMO has said -- they've told your office in writing, and they've told me -- that they've looked through those textual records and have analyzed them. They say they photocopied every piece of paper that's in that archive group -- RG153. Whoever did it overlooked two reels of film. This is very

unusual, so whoever --

REP. DORNAN: It seems highly unlikely.

MR. COLE: So whoever did it -- now they can't say -- they can't turn around and say, "Oh, yeah, we saw that," because it's archive copies. They couldn't have seen it, so whoever does this research for them -- now I used to be a university professor so I feel comfortable grading people, you know. I would write at the top of this, "Come see me in my office." (Scattered laughter.)

Then, in the motion picture archives at College Park, I found some of the films that you saw, and what you're referring to where it shows these POWs is actually captured enemy film.

REP. DORNAN: That's right.

MR. COLE: We don't know who made the film -- if it was Russians or Chinese or Koreans. We just know we captured it. We don't know the providence of those films -- it's just impossible to determine right now, in other words, where they came from, if they were just kept by the air force or if they were kept by the army or whatever. They've been sitting somewhere for a very long time.

In my estimation, since they were captured enemy films, they were treated as an intelligence product, and they probably just sat in a vault somewhere.

The second thing about the motion picture archives in this context is the so-called 293 files, which are the basic document for unrepatriated servicemen -- all MIAs and POWs. It has an IBM card. Many people have seen this, many of the family members have seen this. It's stapled in the back of the casualty jacket.

There are 17 reels of film that show the Kakura (ph) facility in Japan in 1952 in operation. It shows the bodies coming in the doors

--

REP. DORNAN: We saw that.

MR. COLE: -- it shows every step of the process with -- showing -- the file showing the guys writing -- you know, doing the skeletal charts showing -- and also with the identities of the individuals that they are working on.

There are two reels of film that are only in the archive version. I requested to have reference copies made. That tells me as a researcher -- you know, all researchers are very curious of what other researchers are doing, but you have to be sort of clever to find out

--

REP. DORNAN: Including the DMPO calling down there and saying, "What did Congressman Dornan look at? What did he want to see? What is Al Santoli looking at?" You know, I don't want to play this game. Call me and ask me what I looked at.

MR. COLE: Well, exactly. That's -- it's -- excuse me, it's sleazy. No, you don't go snooping around another researcher's stuff unless you come up and ask them directly. You don't go ask the archivist, "What's that guy doing?"

My point here is that there is actually 19 rolls of film -- reels of film -- two that exist in the pristine archive version. I have requested those to be made into reference copies. That tells me that nobody has looked at -- either they hadn't looked at it before, or if they had, they were so incompetent that they didn't ask for the last two reels of film. Once again, full stop -- what does this tell you about people who are looking into the Korea War evidence that exists

in the archives? They go through boxes of documents and ignore films, they don't even look at films, which raises -- and I have my own views on this and I'm starting to monopolize it -- but it raises profound questions about the competence of the people who are allegedly doing research.

REP. DORNAN: Well, Pat's term comes back to mind -- "I shove papers around" -- and that's not someone driven toward an objective the way you would be as a researcher.

Let me come back to you, it's very valuable to have you come into the flow at that point, but let me -- do you have anything else to say, Bob? And then I'll go to Mrs. Mandra.

MR. DUMAS: Before Irene's (speech, just this ?) -- these photographs were given to the Defense Department over a year ago, and they blew these up to the size that we have here, and the Defense Department told me that these were very important because they never saw anything like this. These are men that never were released. Now we're not talking about 150 men here. We're talking about maybe three or four thousand.

REP. DORNAN: Well, now, wait a minute. They told you nobody in that picture has ever been released?

MR. DUMAS: Well, according to what I was told by the guy that brought it out -- you know, the fellow that brought it out in '53 and they gave it to the AP in '78 -- 1978 -- Associated Press in Washington gave it to me --

REP. DORNAN: All right.

MR. DUMAS: -- and he said he snuck it out in a shoe -- in the bottom of his shoe -- the film, because the AP photographer who died -- had died in the camp, and he took the film, put it in his shoe, and when he was released in '53, he took it with him. But he didn't have it developed until 1978 when he read about me in an AP story. Then he developed the film, and these are the two photographs, and he gave them to AP in Washington, and they -- he told them that these men were never released -- none of these men came out.

REP. DORNAN: Circa '78 -- 1978 he said that.

MR. DUMAS: Yeah, and then I gave this to the Defense Department

--

REP. DORNAN: Last year.

MR. DUMAS: About a year -- a little over a year ago, and I said to Monte Wizda (ph) -- I believe he's a Colonel Wizda -- I said, "Colonel Wizda, look at these. These men have never been released." He said, "Well, I'll have them analyzed at the Pentagon. We'll blow them up, and I'll give them back to you." You know, the -- I didn't give him the originals, but just a copy.

REP. DORNAN: And he blew them up and gave them back to you --

MR. DUMAS: He gave them back to me.

REP. DORNAN: Do you know this Colonel's name, Al, or do you -- okay --

MR. DUMAS: Colonel Wizda -- and he said that he was going to send this picture to every BFW, American Legion, and DAV post in the United States so they could identify some of these men.

REP. DORNAN: Has that been done?

MR. DUMAS: Never been done, no. No, he never did it.

REP. DORNAN: Can we get a letter with Senator Smith and me and ask why this wasn't done?

MR. DUMAS: He never did it.

REP. DORNAN: Yeah, of course, that's an excellent idea. That's imaginative.

MR. DUMAS: Send it to all the veterans' posts so the ex-POWs that belong to these posts could identify some of the men in this photograph.

REP. DORNAN: My American Legion post in Pacific Palisades, the Ronald Reagan post, would put that -- it ought to be bigger than that, to tell you the truth, it's that clear -- would put that up on a bulletin board and it would sit there for two or three years. Nobody would -- they'd never take it down. They might frame it and make it part of the hall.

MR. DUMAS: I'll leave it with Al tonight -- both these photographs.

REP. DORNAN: All right, well, we'll track that. You know, sometimes you don't get anything done around here because people say, oh, it will die in the House, it will die in the Senate. They thought they'd tamped down Senator Bob Smith till I pop up over here, and we find out that when we sent letters together, neither has to threaten to subpoena -- it comes. Something about, "Oh, god, they're coordinated on this, we might as well give it to them."

So we'll follow that up.

Irene, your statement, please.

MS. MANDRA: Congressman Dornan, members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to speak on behalf of my brother, Sergeant Philip V. Mandra, and for all of the POWs and MIAs from Korea and Cold War.

In 1953, at the end of the Korean War, my family and I were told that my brother was dead. We were told that no American soldiers were left behind in Korea. I believed our government. We mourned and went with our lives. Congressman Dornan, we were lied to. Our boys were left behind alive. They were shipped to China, the Soviet Union, and North Korea. I am from a generation that believed our government to be of the people, for the people. I was wrong.

What I have learned has shocked and surprised me. I found out on my own that Marine search teams reached my brother's location within 15 to 20 minutes of the explosion. Search teams found nothing. There were no bodies. Where did five Marines go within 15 to 20 minutes? Our boys were dragged off by the Chinese. I learned that Phil was hit with a concussion grenade, not gunfire. His wounds were survivable. Inquiries of my government yielded little to no information. Information on Korea was still classified in 1988, some 35 years after the Korean War. There was nothing being done to account for the 389 known prisoners left behind.

What I had to contend with and what has upset me the most is the apathy I have seen within my own government. In 1992, all this was changed, and I had hope and faith again when the government started Task Force Russia. This organization was short-lived before the Department of Defense took over under Ed Ross and a cloak of secrecy prevailed. Information surfaced about my brother in 1993 when a Russian colonel identified Phil's picture from an album of the missing. This colonel unequivocally --

REP. DORNAN: Irene, just one second. This is the general that I

saw on the film in the BBC documentary.

MS. MANDRA: Yes, Colonel Molinin (sp).

REP. DORNAN: Totally believable.

MS. MANDRA: Stated that he saw an American soldier in a Magadan prison in the 1960s. The Russian side of the commission didn't believe this colonel, but Ambassador Toon and the task force said the colonel was very credible. The information I received on that interview with the Russian colonel was redacted. When I protested, I was told by my government that all of the names were blackened to protect the Russians' privacy. How dare the United States government, my government, protect the rights of privacy of Russian citizens? What about my rights? What about my brother Phil's rights?

This is only of the problems I've had with the handling of the MIA affairs and DPMO. My problem is not with the people at DPMO. It is the agency itself. The unwritten policies of the organization are dictated by lifetime bureaucrats. Most people working in DPMO are decent, honorable people. They are hindered by antiquated laws and by people in authority who are protecting wrong decisions that were made years before DPMO's control, afraid that our government may be embarrassed by its previous actions.

After the privacy incident, I flew at my own expense to Moscow and met with the Russian side of the commission. I immediately received all of the documentation that I could not get from my own country.

REP. DORNAN: By the way, where did they film you for that documentary? Here in the United States?

MS. MANDRA: Yes. That was during --

REP. DORNAN: At your home?

MS. MANDRA: -- the Korean dedication in July, this past July. Yeah.

REP. DORNAN: I was at that, but I left when someone else arrived a little higher in office than I.

MS. MANDRA: I was promised that a team would go to Magadan and would investigate the prison and speak to the surrounding communities. I had to wait 18 months before a team was sent. This was 18 months added to my brother's death sentence, 18 months he didn't have to give.

If I may just stop for a minute, Congressman Dornan. And the only reason they went was because I approached Ambassador Toon at a cocktail party, and I said to him, "Ambassador, you promised me" --

REP. DORNAN: Here or in Moscow?

MS. MANDRA: No, here in Washington. "You promised me that you would send a team to Magadan." And I said, "You have never researched what has happened with my brother." And at that moment he called men over and said, "We haven't been to Magadan yet?" And they said, "No, Ambassador." He said, "Get a team going." Eighteen months after Colonel Molinin came forward and said, "I saw Philip Mandra in that prison."

(Audio break)

WITNESS: -- sets of remains that came back in 1954, couldn't identify 400.

REP. DORNAN: So they went through two-thirds 800?

WITNESS: Yeah.

REP. DORNAN: And remember, we're pushed down to the Pusan

pocket, then Inchon comes in, and we go all the way back. And fighting back we probably left these temporary grave-sites all the way up to the Yalu. Then we get pushed down to the ragged 38th parallel line and so now we can go back to all these - in South Korean control - all of the temporary ones there, and that's what probably started coming back. But we never got to our temporary grave sites north of the current armistice line.

WITNESS: Exactly.

MR. DUMAS: You asked me a question before about the federal court case I had in 1982 and I won that case.

REP. DORNAN: I didn't know that.

MR. DUMAS: I'm the only man in history to ever win a federal court case to get a status change in this country. No one has ever done that.

REP. DORNAN: So -- (inaudible) -- declared your brother a POW and then what?

MR. DUMAS: Yeah, they made him a POW then presumed him dead again, so I said to the judge if he's a prisoner of war, no one saw him die, how can you presume the man dead. And he said to the U.S. attorney, how can you do that? So he said I'll have to go back and ask the government.

So he comes back two weeks later, he said, Well there's a classification on these men til the year 2006. I can't give you any more information than that. But you want to know the reason why no one has ever been classified as missing - I mean as a prisoner of war in this country?

REP. DORNAN: Why?

MR. DUMAS: Well I went to federal court - I spent six years in federal court and I didn't even have to go to federal court because they were carrying all these men as prisoners anyway - all those years. Now listen to this, here's a document I got in federal court and this is what it says, this is a memorandum - United States memorandum.

Because Richard Childress, remember him?

REP. DORNAN: Yeah.

MR. DUMAS: He looked at this and said it was a smoking gun. And this is what it says. While I was in court - this is from the Secretary - office of the secretary - this is from the office of the secretary of the Army, this is William Clark, the chairman of the military board of review that your missing persons bill and John Halls (ph) missing person's bill is gonna have to deal with this. Because this is William Clark's signed on the bottom, his initials, chairman of the military board of review. And this is what it says

I have received your memo of November 17, 1982 concerning the case of private Roger Dumas which is presently being pursued by his brother Robert Dumas and a Mr. Frank Viluti (ph) - a law student. We are in agreement that every effort to keep this matter out of the public eye should be made. Its clear from your memo that you wish no additional information be provided to the Justice Department. It is also an understanding from my conversation with Major John Burton - Maj. John Burton is the litigation officer in my case - that the Army will not turn over the documents that Dumas is seeking under a court order. Because of the nature of this case, and the undesirable precedent that might occur, your course of action seems appropriate.

So this was presented to the judge. And the Army said it was a hoax. But, when I came out of court in 1986 - this was in my file in federal court - this is the routing slip from the military board of review with all the military board of review names on it - all the people that were on the military board of review in 1982. And this is what it says.

And you remember Jim Buckley - Senator Buckley from New York:

REP. DORNAN: Right.

MR. DUMAS: A good Republican senator --

REP. DORNAN: I know him personally.

MR. DUMAS: -- who was a judge in this - in Washington for many years.

REP. DORNAN: Court of Appeals.

MR. DUMAS: And this was written to him but it never got to his office because they stopped it. And this was in my file in federal court and this is what it says.

The change of Roger Dumas status to prisoner of war will cause a precedent for all the cases. In other words if they change them to prisoner of war before I won the case in federal court - the military board of review - it would open a can of worms for every other case in this country, including World War I, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, Persian Gulf, not Persian Gulf, because that didn't happen at that time.

REP. DORNAN: Right. We will write to 8th Army headquarters and ask if your brother's name is on that list of 389, that they still --

MR. DUMAS: It is on the list, I got the data sheets.

REP. DORNAN: Right. Is your son's name on that --

WITNESS: No.

REP. DORNAN: No, I mean your brother.

MR. DUMAS: I got the data sheets. I just want to say one more thing and then I wanna go because I had a bad operation six weeks ago, I had a major operation, and it's taken a lot from me. But, here's a picture of Jesse Jackson. Everybody knows who Jesse Jackson is. He ran for president in 1987. At that time he called me and asked if I could set up a meeting with the ambassador of North Korea, Pak Gui-liang (ph). This is Pak gui-liang right here.

And I said what for and he said because I want to deal with your brother's case. I want to find out about - if there's any live Americans in North Korea. So I set up the meeting at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in New York City on December 9, 1987. In that room with Jesse Jackson, Jesse Jr. - Jackson Jr., myself --

REP. DORNAN: Now a congressman. He's now a congressman, Jesse

MR. DUMAS: Yeah, congressman Jesse Jr., this is Mr. Chong (ph) who's back in North Korea, who was the aid to Pak Gui-liang (ph) the Ambassador. This is Jackson, myself and a businessman from South Korea by the name of Peter Yanboha (ph), but he had an office in New York.

When we sat down to start the meeting, I had a tape recorder. I taped everybody in this country for 35 years. I have 500 tapes of White House tapes, Pentagon tapes, I have tapes of the North Koreans - 600 calls of the North Koreans, they don't even know it, so I don't care if they do know it. So what happened this day was that Jackson said to the ambassador, who's back in Korea now, he just left about a month ago, Mr. ambassador, if you have live Americans in your country,

if you would release them to me, I will come and get them on December 24, 1987. It would be good for both our countries.

And the Ambassador said yes Mr. Jackson - Reverend Jackson, it would be good for both countries. So after a little news conference downstairs in the hotel with South Korean newsmen, no American newsmen, just South Korean newsmen --

REP. DORNAN: Right.

MR. DUMAS: -- he grabbed me by the arm and said get upstairs, I want to talk to you. So we get back upstairs, we sat down, and he turned to me and he says, my God they've got live Americans from the Korean War. He just told me. He said we're going to have to do something, we're going to have to go get these men.

I says okay, but don't tell the State Department. If you tell the State Department the trip is off. Now this was December 9, 1987. So I don't - you know - you just say what you want, but he gets on the phone and I don't know who he talked to at the State Department, but when he gets off the phone he said we're leaving on December 24th.

So he wrote a letter that was hand-delivered by me the following morning. I delivered the letter the following morning - that Friday. I got the letter right here, by Jackson, its right here - two pages. And he tells - I think I give you a copy, you got it in your office.

So when he got off the phone I said the trip is off. And he got mad at me. He said nobody can tell me where to go - you know - I can go anywhere in the world.

REP. DORNAN: Sure.

MR. DUMAS: You can go anywhere in the world but North Korea. Nobody goes to North Korea. No one in this country will ever go to North Korea.

REP. DORNAN: -- (inaudible) -- passports in those days with Albania and China.

MR. DUMAS: Right. So what happened was I got phone call.

REP. DORNAN: But China was out by then.

MR. DUMAS: I got a phone call at 10 o'clock in the morning from Chicago from his right-hand man, Reverend Ahn (ph), who was a minister, and he said the trip was off, they put sanctions on North Korea's travel to this country, the State Department, and North Korea put travel restrictions on going to Pyongyang. That was December 9th.

This man in the middle, Jackson, has never opened his mouth since that time. And he's been talked to by many reporters trying to get him to tell what that meeting was about that day. I know because I was in the room.

REP. DORNAN: What does he say?

MR. DUMAS: He won't talk to no one about it.

REP. DORNAN: Well I'll write to Jesse Jackson. I bump into him occasionally, I've been to his house for dinner, we have a good acquaintanceship under maybe opposites attract, but obviously that ambassador told him - and we'll close on this.

What I have been told for the past forty years, and I have been told this in 8th Army headquarters in Korea when I took a codel of five or six congressmen - head of the rules committee, Jerry Soloman; chairman of international relations, Ben Gilman; then the now much demeaned former congressman Billy Hendon (ph) of North Carolina; David Dryer, California - number two on rules; we all went over there on Valentines Day in 1986 to Hanoi.

And we went through Korea on the way back. And I said lets see if they still use the 389 figure. So I prepped everybody, pretended I was dumb and said the commanding division commander - the three-star commander of Korea, I said we still talking about live Americans left behind in Korea. Yes sir Congressman.

What's the number - 389. The current governor of Connecticut did - wow --

MR. DUMAS: John Roland (ph).

REP. DORNAN: Roland - Dornan, very good, still how many years ago was that, I said oh - I said ten years, is it stil 389?

Now here's what we're told. They all go what, what, what? We're here, we're coming back from Vietnam, why don't we do something about Korea? That's a bigger number than Vietnam. Nobody says we left behind anybody in Vietnam, definitively.

Here's what the general officer tells me. Lucks predecessor, I'd have to go back and look up his name. He said congressman, the North Koreans umpteen times over the last -- it's eleven years ago -- three decades have said to us do you want your live prisoners back? Yes we do. Then talk to us bilaterally. Here's the punch line.

Our response through our State Department for all these years has been no. It was a U.N. effort, our first police action. It was a joint effort. You North Korea - we're in the U.N. then - you will talk to the U.N. We will not deal with with you unilaterally. And the North Koreans would say - not an ambassador to Jesse Jackson would say in New York - then go to hell.

We want you the world's superpower to deal with us unilaterally. We want to talk to you and if you do we'll talk about your live prisoners. Otherwise go to blazes, we're not dealing with the U.N., we don't recognize them, it was a criminal effort, all the countries in the world ganged up on us, and we don't recognize the U.N.

And that's what I've been told for 40 years.

MR. DUMAS: Right. But you've got to remember Solarz. Remember Solarz? He went to North Korea twice, 1980 and 1992.

REP. DORNAN: I did not know he went.

MR. DUMAS: He went twice.

REP. DORNAN: Wasn't '92 after he lost the election?

MR. DUMAS: Yeah, and he went in 1980. 1980 he spent 12 days and he met with Kim Il-sung for 3 days. Believe me when I tell you this, I have a 12 year dialogue with the North Korean government.

REP. DORNAN: Right.

MR. DUMAS: And listen, this is what he told me, Pak Gui-liang (ph). He says Solarz was in our country for 12 days and for 12 days I tried to get him - my people tried to get him to talk about the prisoner issue in my country.

No, no, this is true - ask Pak Gui-liang (ph), ask Mr. Chong (ph), ask Mr. Lee, they'll tell you. You know what he says, this is what Solarz said. He says I'm not here to talk about American prisoners of war, I'm here to talk about reunifying families from South Korea and North Korea.

So when he came back in 1980, they invited him to the mission in New York where I used to go - or where I still go. And when he was at the mission here they brought it up again. He said I told you I'm not interested in American POWs. I'm only interested in reunification of families of South and North Korea.

And the second time he went in 1992, they brought it up again with him, in North Korea, and he still refused to talk about American POWs. And I made a speech in New York City, in Manhattan, right in front of all the workers - about 5,000 people at 12 o'clock noon - and I mentioned Solarz, that he went to North Korea and was told about the Americans and he didn't want to talk about it. And boy they boo'ed him. Five thousand people were boo'ing him in Manhattan, New York.

This is proof - this is God's honest proof.

REP. DORNAN: This is incredible.

MR. DUMAS: It's not incredible, Congressman, Mr. Solarz held hearings on this right here in this room.

REP. DORNAN: Mr. Wolf (ph) from New York, who was chairman of the Asian and Pacific Subcommittee of then-called Foreign Affairs, was defeated in 1980 by John Butleau (ph) who took up such an interest in this that it destroyed his freshman term and he never got re-elected again. Got Billy Hendon (ph) defeated, he came back in '84. And I got to know him and he got defeated again in '86.

But that's when Steve Solarz became chairman of Asian and Pacific Affairs in January of '81 and rode it beautifully, used it to travel more than any other Congressman in history, except me and I'm 30 countries ahead of him. And then he was defeated in a Democrat primary in, what, '92?

MR. DUMAS: '92.

REP. DORNAN: '92. And if it weren't for the bounced check scandal, he would today be the ambassador to India. And he must be very hurt that that never worked out.

MR. DUMAS: Yeah.

REP. DORNAN: Everybody would love him. The talk about him was he's going to be the next secretary of state under the next Democratic president, which would have been Clinton that very year. Solarz's losing a primary, Clinton's pulling off a 43 percent victory, I will track that down, I'll ask Steve personally, we get along, but the main thing is I smell that the North Koreans like direct, straight contact.

MR. DUMAS: Contact, straight talk.

REP. DORNAN: And that they'll get out of me.

MR. DUMAS: Right.

REP. DORNAN: And if Mr. McGready (ph) - is he still here? If he'll come with me as a Korean expert to Korea, I'll go to Korea and then go down to Vietnam.

MR. DUMAS: One more thing too, Congressman. Jackson told the South Korean newsmen that afternoon - that morning, or afternoon, I'm sorry at 2 o'clock - that there were no live Americans according to Pak Gui-liang (ph). That is what he told the South Koreans. But upstairs, he had told a different story upstairs. I think maybe he wanted to keep it quiet until he went to North Korea --

REP. DORNAN: Sure.

MR. DUMAS: -- and brought someone home.

REP. DORNAN: Well the ambassador would have told him, if you want to come over and do this, you've got to deny it right now.

MR. DUMAS: Yeah, right.

REP. DORNAN: Alright look folks, anybody - Pat you want say - anybody in the audience want to say anything? John, do you want to ask a question? Mr. Santoli do you have any questions? Diane do you have anything? Does anybody have anything else to say.

We've gone real long. I want you to understand I'm not giving anybody short-shrift and there's no juice out of these hearings for me politically. Personally, it's very frustrating because I get this feeling this is never going to end. Yes sir, and then Pat you end it.

MR. HALL: The Russians have said they're not going to let the Americans -- (inaudible) --

REP. DORNAN: They've used that Vietnamese line?

MR. HALL: The Russians -- (inaudible) -- holding anyone against their will.

REP. DORNAN: Alright I'll repeat this gentleman - what's your name sir?

WITNESS: Roger Hall. I'm a researcher of the Vietnam era.

REP. DORNAN: Oh your - I know you Roger, sure. Roger Hall, a researcher, said that at some point during this joint commission, the Russians said we have not - we are not holding anybody against their will, which Pak (ph), the foreign minister or deputy foreign minister used over and over to me in 1979 in Hanoi and again in 1985 in Hanoi. Pat, where do we go from here?

MR. HALL: -- (inaudible) --

REP. DORNAN: Well let them get married and then have family and interests and children.

MR. HALL: -- (inaudible) -- change in conditions -- (inaudible)

--

REP. DORNAN: That's right.

MR. HALL: Some of the conditions may exist. They may have a -- (inaudible) -- that they cannot acknowledge. -- (inaudible) --

REP. DORNAN: Good point Mr. Hall. Yeah, Pat Dunton (ph) did you have a final thought.

MS. DUNTON (ph): Three things. One, their remains out at CILHI can be identified, but its going to take mytochondrial DNA matching to do it. In order to do that they have to contact the families.

They don't know where the families are. None of the services --

REP. DORNAN: How many sets of remains do they have?

MS. DUNTON (ph): Eight hundred and sixty-six. I give you --

REP. DORNAN: -- (inaudible) -- that punch-bowl.

MS. DUNTON: Yes, at CILHI. I get this information from CILHI that they would need.

REP. DORNAN: Then they - oh that - oh I'm sorry - correct, your right, you can't get DNA - Lucy goes all the way back 2 million years at the Oldivi (ph) Gorge, but it has to be a matriarchal line.

MS. DUNTON: Exactly. Okay, you asked where we should go from here? We need the Korean War out of DPMO. They're not doing the job, they're not going to do the job. We need it privately researched, funded, whatever it takes. But I really don't believe DPMO is going to be able to ever do that job.

REP. DORNAN: Well the next hundred and thirty-eight days when you wake up in the morning will go by quickly. It may be a new day if Mr. Clintons defeated. I will talk to Speaker Gingrich about a - an earmark, a designated allocation of money. I have all the right friends on appropriations: Bill Young, terrific guy; Jack Murtha, used to have Bill Young's chairmanship of defense; to get some money and say this is to be spent on outside contracted researchers and archivists.

And I just learned something very simply from Dr. Cole that has

never occurred to me - I interchange these terms - a researcher is not an analyst, you can have great intelligence analysts, but researchers are equivalent to the people in the field, like an air attache in the embassy in Moscow is the researcher. He's going out in the field, he looking at stuff, he covertly taking mental pictures of photographic pictures and he sends it back to DNA - DIA at Bolling and they analyze it. So now that's clear in my head.

We need outside contracted researchers for this one simple reason only, that has finally penetrated my brain, that is not that dense - I like to think I'm very clever - and that is simply if you have a contracted person, you give him a contract. He has a goal. He has a starting point. He has a set budget. He has a conclusion point, and he gives you work product. And that is the exact opposite of somebody assigned who is quote pushing papers around and patting people on the head and then saying boy I'll be glad when this job's over for me and I move on.

Yes sir. This has got to be the final, the gavel's in my hand. No, I'm sorry Irene, let me ask and then you.

WITNESS: Representative Dornan, what's going to be done to move our government to get the live POWs back from Korea. And Russia. Don't you think something should be done to push them, to pressure them?

REP. DORNAN: Well you're probably one of those who groaned when I said - Mr. Santoli (ph) said ask him, Mr. Brown, when did you make this request? And he said this week. The whole room groaned. Right, and then I said well let me ask a cynical question, softening my attack, I said it wouldn't be because of this hearing would it? Oh no, no, no, but there is the circumstantial evidence that the timing is very unfortunate.

So we'll keep on them, that's where we need your help. This is Al's principal duty on my staff. John has a lot of other things to worry about, like what to pay the younger nephews and grandchildren in active - of active duty - from these military families. But as long as I've got Al with me I'll stay on track. Give me your input.

We'll now drive the - if I go to Korca and I can see it formulating in my mind that I've got to go there, I will say I want to go to the language school. Give me a break, I've got a very aggressive personality but a big smiling face. Let me go to the language school, let me see how you do it. Let me talk to these defectors. I'm not going to yell at them after all these years. After all, they bought themselves 30 wonderful years in North Korca.

And I'll say let me talk to them and find the one who wants to come home and say look, you want to face courts martial, you know, we've got laws on the books, you know that, how badly do you want to get out of here? But you heard what Ambassador Toon said, I didn't argue with him, but I was rejecting it. Did you hear what he said?

Go to them and say you bastard you're never coming home, we don't want you back, but we want you to be cooperative now and tell us everything you can. Have you ever seen anybody here - I almost laughed out loud - but I just said okay, he'll be 80 on the 4th of July, goodbye.

WITNESS: Good.

REP. DORNAN: But I want to go to these guys and say I'll help you get home. I'm a catholic, you want to go to confession, I will

forgive you. I'm ordered by Jesus to forgive you. But give me something here. You take truth serum here, you polygraph here, and then we'll come home and I'll testify at your courts martial that you've already been given one hell of a sentence.

We're letting child molesters and serial killers come up for parole. Polly Klass's murderer gave the double finger to the courtroom yesterday. And Rush Limbaugh says we're more upset over that - some liberals are, that he flipped them a double bird - than they were that he killed and tortured this little girl. And had her in the car, maybe, when the cops pulled him over.

So we'll get something out of this, you just keep calling in the plays from the sidelines and I will go to Korea. And maybe you can all vote to say who's the best one to go. I'm looking for a new Ann Griffith (ph), with new ideas on the Korean side, to go over there and not be coopted by a federal bureaucracy.

MR. DUMAS: Well one more thing, you've got to remember there's a toll free number now to the Capitol. So he's going to be bothered like hell by everybody.

REP. DORNAN: That's right.

MR. DUMAS: There's a toll free number, anybody who wants it --

REP. DORNAN: But it clicks you into 224-3121 --

MR. DUMAS: Something like that, but it's a toll free number.

REP. DORNAN: Alright, no, no, he's a workaholic and we'll get something done. Irene you get the last word.

MS. : Thank you, Congressman, I just wanted you to know that the flyer I made up I had done in Russian and I am trying to send it over there with a little reward, with his picture, my phone number and what have you. And DPMO approached the Russians and asked for addresses of asylums, because given our men, their age and the hard life that they have lived, anyone who's alive they take them now and throw them in asylums when they can't work any longer. So now I approached them and I wanted the addresses of the asylums so I could send my brother's picture - and the Russians turned me down.

Now if they had nothing to hide, could they not give me --

REP. DORNAN: Irene, I may be one of the world's greatest travelers and I love to travel alone. I love new experiences and I love to just wing it, I would have gone to Ekaterinburg with you. And I've been on the subways in Moscow as long ago as '72 and '66. And I've had a guy put his arm inside my arm - You Americanski. Didn't speak a word of English. - young man.

And eventually through sign language he says you want to hear my Nat King Cole records. This is summer of '72, I'm on my way to Vietnam, flew combat missions with the VNAF air force and I said let's go. I go to his house, I thought oh my God, this is worse than poverty housing in any barrio, ghetto or white-trash area in America.

The wall - the light switch had so much dirt on it from hands over 20, 30, 40 years, that it was an eighth of an inch thick. I'd never seen such living conditions. Orange crates - and he was a young American - I mean a young Russian who had fallen in love with America just in his head and had this record collection. And he wasn't a Jewish refusenik that I met with later, just a Russian.

We would have found somebody like that. We'd have found a cab driver, you give him a few rubles and say take me to where they dug up the - the forest where they dug up the Czar's body. Take me this -

take - and after you soften them up and they think you're just a history buff, you say take - what's the name of the prison --

MS. : No, I asked for addresses of asylums outside of St. Petersburg and Moscow and the Department of Defense approached the Russians and --

REP. DORNAN: Oh you mean you were going in the blind to try and find an asylum --

MS. : No, no, I'm trying to mail flyers to these places with pictures of my brother. So I feel that if he is an inmate there, that one of the doctors or the nurses or someone would contact me because I have a reward - \$5000, for this man's location. And the Russians will not give addresses to the Department of Defense. This is what the Department of Defense --

REP. DORNAN: See here's what I'm afraid of, I'm afraid that if I get re-elected, I keep this chairmanship and I subpoena - I ask to come before me the pilot of Malcolm Toons Gulf Stream - that an Air Force pilot would tell me I was on every trip, I tagged along, it was all a bunch of B.S. and vodka and cavier and schmoozing and nobody went for the kill - to say take us to a grave and produce here.

And all this money's been spent - he says he's into his fifth year, and we have one buried American - Dunham - from an ad in Red Star that I find out was Senator Bob Smith's idea. It's not much product for five years of work. We've got to - that message that my chief of staff brought me says you wife wants to see you.

What she wants to know is what happened at the hearings today, because she had plenty of crying from yesterday's hearing. Woke up this morning and going why are you alone on this, like a lot of other projects. Well I'm not alone, I've got him, I've got you, I've got Senator Bob Smith who's a great guy.

The subcommittee adjourns. (Applause).

END