

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

TRIBUTE TO STUDENTS PARTICIPATING IN OPERATION VALENTINE

HON. FRANK TEJEDA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. TEJEDA. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the students of R. T. Barrera Elementary School, Pearsall Intermediate School, and La Vernia High School for writing valentines to our Armed Forces stationed in Bosnia. These valentines were sent to our troops through the Operation Valentine program, a nationwide valentine writing campaign designed to boost the morale of our men and women serving in the U.S. military in Bosnia. Through the pens and pencils of these children, more than 150 valentines of love and support were sent to uplift our troops.

A 1st grade student from R. T. Barrera Elementary School wrote, "I am a first grade student in Roma, Texas. Thank you for being so proud of our country. We miss you and we want you to come home."

A student from Pearsall Intermediate School wrote his valentine addressed to "Dear soldier." He went to say, "I am from Pearsall, TX. I am 9 years old. I like football. My favorite team is Dallas Cowboys. They are champions. We miss you. We are proud because you are peacekeepers. * * *"

La Vernia High School also expressed support. Members of the La Vernia High School Student Council wrote 50 valentines to both mobile forces and land forces stationed in Bosnia. One of these valentines, written by an 11th grade student council member, stated: "Happy Valentine Day * * * you are admired and appreciated for everything you have accomplished and sacrificed for our country, you are respected and supported (no matter what you might do). Never forget that you are a leader and looked-up to by me and the rest of our Nation. Stay safe * * * and always remember that you are in our prayers."

These wishes are just a few of the scores of valentines that young people across my district wrote to our soldiers involved in the Bosnian peacekeeping mission. I commend all the schools for supporting our Armed Forces, and I am honored to share their remarks with my colleagues today. I speak from experience—letters from home, expressing love and support for a soldier while stationed overseas, uplifts morale and keeps spirits high. I trust these valentines will do just that.

SALUTE TO ALL ISLAND HANDICAPPED SPORTS, INC. SLED HOCKEY TEAM

HON. PETER T. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute a very special group of athletes, the All Island Handicapped Sports, Inc. sled hockey team. This outstanding collection of sportsmen has done themselves, and all of Long Island, proud, representing New York at the Wendy's International Sled Hockey Tournament in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

The team defeated Hamilton, 3 to 2, on a goal by Tony Fitzgerald, assisted by Larry Northorn, and two goals by Vic Calise with assists from Larry Northorn, Rich Northorn III, James Abatino, and Tony Fitzgerald.

Downing Kitchener/Elmvale, 3 to 1, the team was led by scorers Fitzgerald, Larry Northorn, Calise, and William Schwarz. Defeating a determined Chicago squad 4 to 2, the team reached the gold medal round against a very tough Kingston, Canada team.

Although downed 7 to 0 by Kingston, the New York team earned the tournament's silver medal. Throughout the tournament, the New York team got stellar goal tending from Ryan Bora, hard-hitting defense from Dr. Stephen Mordecai, William Schwarz, Chuck Albert, and Donald Saracen, and excellent line play from Joey Messing, Vito Giambruno, Zachary Lynn, Gregory Nelson, Anthony Donaroma, Jonathan Rotkin, and Mark Turan.

Every member of the team can be proud of earning the tourney's silver medal. As a fan of the Brooklyn Dodgers, I would like to offer the All Island Handicapped Sports team the following encouragement: wait 'til next year—I know you can bring home the gold.

NEW YORK SLED HOCKEY ROSTER

James Abatino #62, Chuck Albert #8, Ryan Borja #20, Victor Calise #9, Anthony Donaroma #3, Anthony Fitzgerald #22, Vito Giambruno #83, Zachary Lynn #1, and Dr. Stephen Martucci #2

Joseph Messina #52, Gregory Nelson #13, Lawrence Northorn #60, Richard Northorn III #14, Jonathan Rotkin #5, William Schwarz #16, Donald Sorokin #32, and Mark Turan #99.

IN RECOGNITION OF DOROTHY BARNES

HON. RALPH M. HALL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. HALL of Texas. Mr. Speaker, one of the privileges that I have most enjoyed as a Member of the House of Representatives is the op-

portunity to offer assistance to the hundreds of veterans who reside in the Fourth District of Texas, and today I would like to recognize and pay tribute to someone who has devoted countless hours in this cause—Dorothy Bate-man Barnes, whose exemplary service as the Van Zandt County Veterans Service Officer has earned her the respect and gratitude of those veterans who have called on her for help.

"Dottie" Barnes was appointed to the veterans post in August, 1984. A native of Wills Point in Van Zandt County, she contributed to the war effort in the 1940's while working in the accounting office of North American Aviation. Years of Federal Government service followed, the last 7 with the Department of Defense. Her late husband, Maj. (Ret.) Matthew J. Barnes, was a veteran of World War II and the Korean war, and was wounded in the Korean war and left for dead but managed to escape. This ordeal gave Mrs. Barnes a heightened awareness of veterans' needs and an empathy for their plight.

Known for her dedication, professionalism, and long hours of service, Mrs. Barnes was presented the Outstanding Veterans Service Officer of the Year award for the Dallas Region in 1991, having been selected from 200 officers for the annual award. Commenting on the award, she stated, "My main purpose in life is serving the veterans of this county and anybody else who walks through my door." In addition, she was given a Distinguished Service Ward by the United States Marine Corps League and has received frequent commendations from the Van Zandt County Judges and Commissioners. The county's consultant on the Americans With Disabilities Act stated that Mrs. Barnes "may be one of the best veterans services officers in the country."

Veterans Service Officers routinely provide an array of assistance to veterans—including compensation and pension matters, hospitalization, insurance, transportation, education, G.I. home and farm loans, disability retirement, military records, and others. Mrs. Barnes provides all these services—and more. She works long hours and takes paperwork home with her at night in an effort to provide efficient service to those in need. She organized the first veterans' health screening clinic in the area, which continues to be an overwhelming success.

In addition to the long hours that she devotes to veterans, Mrs. Barnes somehow finds time for a number of other worthy causes. She is a member of both the Canton and Wills Point Chambers of Commerce, a member of the Business and Professional Women's Club, holds lifetime memberships in the Wills Point Historical Society, the Van Zandt County Genealogical Society, and the Van Zandt County Friends of the Library. She served as chairman of the Van Zandt County Historical Commission for a number of years, is the current vice-chairman, and was chairman of the

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

county's Sesquicentennial Committee. She is also a certified nursing home ombudsman and is chairman of the Selective Service Board for the East Texas area.

In recognition of her outstanding service to the county, Mrs. Barnes was named Van Zandt County Citizens of the Year in 1987. She also received an Award of Achievement and Appreciation from the Wills Point Chamber of Commerce and was given an Award of Merit for Outstanding Achievements from the Genealogical Society.

Mr. Speaker, Van Zandt County is truly fortunate to have a veterans service officer with the depth of experience, compassion, and integrity that Mrs. Barnes brings to her job—and a citizen so devoted to community service. Dorothy Barnes embodies the highest ideals of both government service and civic responsibility, and she deserves our profound gratitude and respect. I ask my colleagues to join me today in paying tribute to this outstanding American.

TRIBUTE TO TEXAN WHO WILL
OFFICIATE AT OLYMPICS

HON. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me today in a tribute to a great citizen of Texas, Mr. Herbert Allen, Sr., who has been selected as one of the track officials for the Summer Olympics Games in Atlanta, this coming summer.

Mr. Allen is very deserving of this opportunity and responsibility. He has officiated the Texas State High School Track and Field Championships and the Texas Relays at the University of Texas at Austin for the past 6 years and served as referee of the State High School Track and Field Championships. He also officiated the Olympic Trials in 1992, the NCAA Track and Field Championships in 1992 and 1993, the Mobil Track and Field Championships from 1989 through 1995, the Youth National Track and Field Championships from 1992 through 1995, and the Junior Olympics Track and Field Championships last year.

Mr. Allen also coached at Klein High School, taking the Bearkats to the State final-four baseball tournament in Austin in 1983. He was the first African-American baseball coach to take a team to the Class 5A Final Four and was named the Houston Post High School Baseball Coach of the Year in 1983. Later that same year, Mr. Allen coached the North All-Stars to a 5-3 victory in the Astrodome in the Texas High School All-Star Baseball Game. In 1986, Mr. Allen was honored with induction into the Texas High School Coaches Hall of Honor.

Mr. Allen's job this summer will be on the field officiating the long jump and triple jump events, during the Olympic Games, July 22 through August 4. He will also work the Olympic Trials in June.

Congratulations to a great Texan, Herbert Allen, Sr.

ST. PATRICK'S DAY 1996: A DAY OF
CELEBRATION AND DEDICATION

HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, we are all looking forward to St. Patrick's Day festivities back home.

For me, the upcoming celebrations bring back memories of the wonderful friends I made in Ireland last year when I accompanied President Clinton on his historic visit to that beautiful country—and of the message they conveyed in their words and actions: We want peace.

For those of us involved with Irish issues, the recent setbacks brought true heartache. But that's why now, more than ever, the United States must stand firm in its commitment to help the Irish people win a lasting peace.

Perhaps our best opportunity to do this is by promoting opportunities for economic growth in Northern Ireland and the Republic. This will be mutually beneficial, since one-third of all foreign business in the Republic is United States-owned.

We've already taken several steps toward that goal. President Clinton has appointed a Special Envoy for Economic Initiatives on Ireland, and the White House convened a conference on trade and investment in Ireland. This week I was proud to vote to continue funding for the International Fund for Ireland.

But I firmly believe we must do more. Along with my New York colleagues PETER KING and TOM MANTON, I have introduced H.R. 2844, the Ireland Economic Development Act. My bill would authorize the issuance of loan guarantees for economic development and job creation activities in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

I think Dan O'Kennedy said it best: "Prosperity and peace go hand in hand—that's why the Irish American Unity Conference strongly supports H.R. 2844, the Ireland Economic Development Act."

I urge all my colleagues who are friends of Ireland to cosponsor H.R. 2844 before going home this St. Patrick's Day.

And every Member of this Congress should support the MacBride Principles, which I and 226 other Members of Congress cast our vote for earlier this week.

I authored the New York City MacBride Principles Contract Compliance Law, which made it illegal for the city of New York to award contracts to companies which discriminate against Catholic workers in Northern Ireland.

We should have a zero tolerance policy for discrimination: That's the statement we make when we vote for the MacBride Principles.

Last, but by no means least, my heart goes out to all the families still threatened with cruel separation by deportation proceedings. I am committed to continuing my work on this issue with members of the Ad Hoc Committee for Irish Affairs, and I urge my colleagues to get involved.

We all love taking part in the fun of St. Patrick's Day celebrations. But this year, as we

put on our green shirts, we must all resolve to roll up our sleeves and do the hard work to help realize a bright and promising future for Ireland and her people.

LEGISLATION TO AMEND FOREIGN
ASSISTANCE INTRODUCED

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to introduce legislation which amends the Foreign Assistance Act [FAA] and the Arms Export Control Act [AECA] to make improvements to certain defense and security assistance provisions under those acts, to authorize the transfer of naval vessels to certain foreign countries, and for other purposes.

There are two titles to this bill. The first title—Defense and Security Assistance—is nearly identical to the text of title 31 of H.R. 1561, the American Overseas Interests Act, which the Committee on International Relations marked up and reported out during the first session of the 104th Congress.

Title I amends authorities under the FAA and the AECA to revise and consolidate security assistance authorities, in particular by eliminating outdated policy and statutory language. In addition, this title moves provisions which have been carried on annual appropriations measures into permanent authorization law where they belong. In other words, title I of this bill fulfills the committee's responsibilities as an authorizing committee.

Title II of this bill—Transfer of Naval Vessels to Certain Foreign Countries—authorizes the transfer of 10 ships to the following countries: Egypt, 1; Mexico 2; New Zealand, 2; Portugal, 1; Taiwan, 4; and Thailand 1. Eight of these ships are being sold, one is being leased, and one is a grant transfer (Portugal).

Legislation authorizing the transfer of these naval vessels is required by section 7307(a) of title X (U.S.C.) which provides in part that "a naval vessel that is in excess of 3,000 tons or that is less than 20 years of age may not be disposed of to another nation (whether by sale, lease, grant, loan, barter, transfer, or otherwise) unless the disposition of that vessel is approved by law . . ." Each naval vessel proposed for transfer in this legislation displaces in excess of 3,000 tons and/or is less than 20 years of age.

The United States will incur no costs for the transfer of the naval vessels under this legislation. In addition to the revenue generated by the sale of eight of these ships, which amounts to over \$70 million, title II of this bill will also generate over \$500 million in revenue to the public treasury and private firms for repair, reactivation, services, and future ammunition sales.

I commend this bill to the Members of the House of Representatives and, in particular, to the Committee on International Relations.

NATUROPATHY ADVANCES IN
PUERTO RICO

HON. BILL RICHARDSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be able to advise my colleagues in the House that the Legislature and Governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico have committed themselves to provide legislation which would license and regulate the practice of naturopathy in Puerto Rico, and at the same time, assure to the citizens of Puerto Rico the freedom to be able to continue to select health-care practitioners of their choice. I commend the Legislature and the Governor of the Commonwealth for this commitment.

As Members of the House may already know, modern naturopathy was introduced into Puerto Rico in the 1950's. Subsequent thereto, traditional naturopathy began to be promoted earnestly in the 1960's. However, it was not until the 1970's that naturopathy began to flourish in the island paradise, largely as a result of the efforts of Dr. Carmen Martinez, Dr. Ivan Martinez, and Dr. Norman Gonzalez.

In the 1980's, the profession of naturopathy began to organize with the establishment in 1981, of the Puerto Rico Association of Naturopaths [PRAN]. In 1983, PRAN established a Self-Examining Board and Continued Education, and called for legislation to regulate the practice of naturopathy. The legislation was opposed by certain groups wishing to limit economic competition and the legislation ultimately died. Another legislation effort was launched in 1985, but once again, the legislation died. Other aborted legislative efforts followed but each were unsuccessful. The current legislative effort, unfortunately, is facing strong opposition from the leadership of certain medical doctors in spite of 90-percent support from the citizens, including health-care practitioners, as reflected in a February, 1996, poll.

Late in 1995, the Puerto Rico Supreme Court, in a four-to-three decision, confirmed a lower court decision that held that naturopathy was a part of medicine and consequently, only a licensed medical doctor could practice naturopathy. This decision led to such an uproar throughout the Commonwealth that the legislature and Governor enacted a law which established a 1-year moratorium delaying the implementation of the decision of the Puerto Rico Supreme Court while enabling the legislature and Governor the opportunity to present and enact legislation to license and regulate the practice of naturopathy. This moratorium, which recognized and established the naturopathic profession as a different science, separate from conventional Naturopathic Associations which is composed of PRAN, the Puerto Rico Association of Naturologists, the Christian Federation of Naturopaths, and other supporting organizations.

In February of this year, Senate bill 1329 was introduced and hearings were expected shortly in both the Senate and House. The bill is a comprehensive bill designed to recognize and regulate the naturopathic profession in

Puerto Rico who practice traditional naturopathy. The bill includes provisions to certify the competency of, and license, the existing naturopaths in Puerto Rico, which approximates 200 doctors. It also establishes a mechanism to examine and license future naturopaths who have successfully completed a comprehensive educational curriculum in naturopathy.

Unfortunately, legislation to extend, and possibly alter the existing moratorium, is now being considered by the Senate majority party leadership in response to lobbying from the leadership of certain medical doctors.

During the next several weeks, other colleagues and I will report further in the House regarding the progress of naturopathic legislation in Puerto Rico. We will also report on further developments in the naturopathic profession in Puerto Rico. Each of us warmly applauds those members of the Puerto Rico Legislature and the Governor who hold steadfast to their original commitment to the people of Puerto Rico to regulate the naturopathic profession.

TRIBUTE TO R. HUGH "PAT"
UHLMANN

HON. KAREN MCCARTHY

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Ms. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a distinguished business and civic leader, R. Hugh "Pat" Uhlmann, who would have celebrated his 80th birthday Sunday, March 17. Born on St. Patrick's Day 1916, Mr. Uhlmann died February 7, 1996 having contributed his generosity and kindness to our community throughout those years. Mr. Uhlmann always will be remembered as a renaissance man with a bright mind and warm heart. His principal in life defined his every action: what is hateful to you, do not do unto others.

A talented and highly successful businessman, Mr. Uhlmann spent 50 years as a member of the Kansas City Board of Trade, where he began his career as a grain trader in 1938. He was president in 1960-61. After serving our Nation during World War II, Mr. Uhlmann rejoined Uhlmann Grain Co. Later, he was vice-president of Midland Flour Milling Co. before buying control of Standard Milling Co. with his father and brother, Paul, in 1951. The name was changed to the Uhlmann Co. in 1981. He served as president, chairman, and chairman emeritus.

Mr. Uhlmann was a trail blazer for Jewish Kansas Citians. He was often the first Jewish person appointed to boards or accepted into business and social clubs in Kansas City, opening the door for others who would follow. Mr. Uhlmann encouraged many Kansas City businesses to hire their first Jewish employee. Mr. Uhlmann was also committed to opening doors for other minorities. He was a voice for tolerance who spoke quietly, but effectively. Many families and individuals of all backgrounds have been touched by Mr. Uhlmann's sincere interest in helping others. One son recalls a winter day when he watched from a

window as his father gave a stranger outside the coat he was wearing. When queried, Mr. Uhlmann explained that the man had just lost his job, was down on his luck, and needed the coat far more than he did.

Mr. Uhlmann's energy and generosity will have a lasting effect on our community. He was a founding member of Friends of the Zoo, president of the Friends of Art, a trustee of Children's Mercy Hospital, Rockhurst College and a contributing member of many other civic, religious, cultural and educational institutions.

His unique blend of humor and intellect led to opportunities as a radio commentator and columnist. His love of life was displayed through numerous hobbies; reading, gardening, cooking, golfing, fishing, and horseback riding. Longtime friend Henry Bloch of H&R Bloch said that Mr. Uhlmann often served lunches in his office and that it was an honor to be invited. These lunches were an opportunity for lively exchange of ideas and commentary on key issues and a chance to experience Mr. Uhlmann's culinary talent. Mr. Uhlmann took up painting at age 74 and won awards for his work. Mr. Uhlmann left this world with a lifetime of exhilarating experiences unmatched by most people.

His most lasting legacy is his family. Mr. Uhlmann said he knew when he met his wife, Helen Jane, 57 years ago that they would marry. Theirs was a marriage of unconditional love, loyalty, and fun that makes most enviable. In the written memorial Mr. Uhlmann wrote of Helen Jane: "I sit here with tears in my eyes thinking how close we have been and what a beautiful life we have had . . . When I found out about my cancer, her love, concern, encouragement and high spirits that she put on for my benefit have made it possible for me to go on." Pat and Helen Jane's three children, Patricia Rich, John and Robert, are the pride of his life. While Pat also adored his seven grandchildren he loved all children. He enjoyed telling wonderful stories and he had a way of bringing out the child in all of us.

Pat Uhlmann has been an inspiration in my life and has enriched the people of Kansas City in ways few individuals have ever achieved. He will indeed be missed.

REOPENING OF THE SAN DIEGO
SYMPHONY

HON. BOB FILNER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to mark the revival of the San Diego Symphony Orchestra on March 15, 1996. Two months ago, the orchestra was silenced—and there appeared to be little hope for its restoration.

The orchestra's reawakening was the result of generous gifts from the Price Charities and the Jacobs Family Trust, an outburst of support from the community as a whole, and most of all from the musicians of the San Diego Symphony. Not only did each musician forgo more than \$2,700 in lost salary, but their work and dedication to their institution inspired community support.

Although not all of my constituents attend the San Diego Symphony, even those who stay at home made very clear their belief that San Diego needs a great professional orchestra. Every major metropolitan area in this country has such an institution at the heart of its musical life. San Diego Symphony Orchestra musicians teach our children how to play musical instruments and provide our children's first exposure to serious music. Symphony musicians play for other artistic institutions in the community, such as opera and ballet companies, and perform in our schools, churches, and synagogues, making all of them shine with their professionalism. And the symphony brings our downtown to life at night providing lifeblood to many businesses.

The San Diego Symphony Orchestra is as important to our community's health as are the Chargers, the Padres, first-rate hospitals, and our major institutions of learning. The San Diego Symphony has not only provided San Diego with great music, but has brought great musicians to live in our community and, through its internationally recognized recordings, has let the world know that San Diego is not only a great place to visit, but is one of America's great cities.

That is why I have consistently fought for support of the arts. The arts are a vital part of the American adventure and a major American industry. Support for the arts not only enriches us spiritually; it is a wonderful investment in our economy and in our children. In this era of global competition, in no area do we compete more effectively than in the arts.

Let us hope that the generosity of the Jacobs Family Trust and the Price Charities and the dedication, generosity, and solidarity of the musicians will allow the San Diego Symphony to serve all the residents of the San Diego area for many more decades of excellence.

RESOLUTION ON TAIWAN ILL-CONCEIVED AND ILL-TIMED

HON. DAVID E. SKAGGS

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. SKAGGS. Mr. Speaker, when the House voted on House Concurrent Resolution 148 concerning the defense of Taiwan I voted "present." This was the first time since I came to Congress that I voted this way on final passage of a piece of legislation. I want to explain why I did so.

This measure should never have been brought to the floor of the House of Representatives for a vote in the first place. Both the timing and the content of the resolution could only create new doubts in the minds of people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits about a crucial aspect of American foreign policy. And creating new doubts inherently creates new dangers. That, at a time when our objective ought to be to defuse a situation that's already complicated and dangerous.

What do I mean? Well, a vote in favor sends a dangerous and confusing message about the extent of the American commitment to defend Taiwan. It would encourage those in Taiwan who want to push for independence,

leading them to believe the United States would intervene if China reacted militarily. A vote against, however, sends the wrong message to China, giving the Beijing Government the mistaken impression that the Congress is not united in its condemnation of China's recent aggressive attitude and behavior.

Either a "yes" or a "no" was contrary to the interests of my country, so I voted "present."

The distinguished chairman of the International Relations Committee, Mr. GILMAN, has said that the resolution is meant to be a reaffirmation of current policy concerning United States relations with China and Taiwan as set forth in the Taiwan Relations Act [TRA]. Unfortunately, the resolution includes a commitment that does not appear in the TRA. Paragraph 7 states that the United States should "assist in defending them (Taiwan) against invasion, missile attack, or blockade by the People's Republic of China." This language could confuse China and Taiwan by giving the appearance that the United States has ratcheted up our commitment to the defense of Taiwan.

What is our policy toward Taiwan?

For 24 years under six Presidents we have followed a one-China policy. This policy was set out in three communiques and was enacted into law as the TRA. It has been and continues to be the policy of the United States that any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means is of grave concern to the United States. The TRA specifies that the United States "will make available to Taiwan such defense articles and defense services as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient defense capability."

This Congress and the American people are united in their opposition to attempts by the Government of China to bully and coerce the people of Taiwan. The President has said that the United States will promptly meet our obligation under the TRA to respond to any threat to Taiwan's security.

A resolution reiterating our commitment to a peaceful resolution of differences across the Taiwan Straits would have been a helpful measure. But this resolution is different, and potentially seriously destabilizing. It can be read to imply a very significant change in policy, a change with extremely problematic consequences. It can be read to give the impression of a division between the President and the Congress. It is an irresponsible piece of legislation that should never have come up.

RECOGNIZING THE 240th BIRTHDAY OF AARON BURR

HON. RICHARD BURR

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. BURR. Mr. Speaker, February 6 marked the 240th birthday of Aaron Burr, who was born in 1756. Aaron Burr had no direct descendants, but many of us in the Burr family are collaterally related. And during this year marking Aaron Burr's 240th birthday, I would like to take this opportunity to share with my colleagues some of the positive contributions Aaron Burr made to our great Nation.

Aaron Burr was a colonel in the Revolutionary War and was the third Vice President of the United States. He was born in Newark, NJ, and graduated from Princeton with the highest academic record yet achieved. His father, Rev. Aaron Burr, Sr., and grandfather, Rev. Jonathan Edwards, were the second and third presidents of Princeton. Aaron Burr participated in the 600 mile winter march on the fort at Quebec as an aide to General Montgomery. During the assault, Montgomery was mortally wounded and Burr attempted to carry the man to safety. Burr also served on Gen. George Washington's staff and spent the winter of 1778 at Valley Forge. Assignment took him to the Hudson Valley and several skirmishes with the enemy. He distinguished himself in New Jersey at the Battle of Monmouth on June 28, 1778.

Following the Revolutionary War, Aaron Burr practiced law in New York City and pursued an interest in politics. After serving in the New York State Legislature and the U.S. Senate, he ran on the Republican ticket for the Presidency with Thomas Jefferson. While it was intended that Jefferson would be President and Burr Vice President, the Electoral College's initial vote resulted in a tie vote between the two men. The election was then thrown into the House of Representatives, which eventually elected Jefferson as President and Burr as his Vice President.

Aaron Burr's finest accomplishment during his tenure as Vice President occurred during the impeachment trial of Supreme Court Associate Justice Samuel Chase. In 1804, Jefferson was incensed at the Federalist-dominated judiciary. He feared that it would nullify an act of Congress by declaring the act unconstitutional and thereby subverting the will of the people. As Vice President, Aaron Burr presided over the impeachment trial that began on February 4, 1805, with the Jeffersonians hoping that Burr would lean their way. Aaron Burr, however, acted impartially and Chase was acquitted on all counts. The newspapers of both parties agreed that although the trial began as a political inquest, it ended as a memorable example of judicial procedure at its best. One of the papers reported that Burr conducted the trial "with the dignity and impartiality of an angel, but with the rigor of the devil."

I would like to thank the Aaron Burr Association, which is dedicated to presenting a more balanced view of our third Vice President, for their assistance in providing research for this account of Aaron Burr's contributions to our young Nation.

SALUTE TO ALEXANDER MELESHKA

HON. PETER T. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute Alexander Meleshka, one of my constituents from Farmingdale, NY, and a proud veteran of our "Crusade in Europe." Serving with the U.S. Army's 3rd Infantry Division, Mr. Meleshka saw combat in France. His unit, the

3rd Battalion of the 15th Infantry Regiment, became involved in a particularly fierce battle in October 1944, while seizing a bridge over the Mortagne River.

In the fight to take the bridge before the enemy could demolish it, Mr. Meleshka distinguished himself under fire. The first man in his unit across the bridge, Mr. Meleshka was taken prisoner by the Germans and transported to Stalag 7.

At Stalag 7, Mr. Meleshka, who spoke Russian and several other languages, was moved by the plight of the camp's 150 or so Russian prisoners. Abandoned by their own nation's brutal Communist dictator and subject to inhumane treatment dictated by the racist policies of their Nazi captors, the Russian prisoners faced slow death.

Throughout his captivity, Mr. Meleshka regularly risked severe punishment and even death to assist the Russians. By smuggling small portions of food to our captive allies, Mr. Meleshka certainly saved lives. His behavior exemplified the American ideas of doing the right thing, standing up for the underdog, and coming to the aid of a friend in need. His actions demonstrated what the war was all about.

Some 50 years after the end of World War II, Mr. Meleshka was recognized for his bravery and humanity by Russian President Boris Yeltsin when he was awarded the Gold Commemorative Medal of the 50th Anniversary of Victory in the Great Patriotic War. Mr. Speaker, I believe that our Nation should also recognize Mr. Meleshka for his deeds. He is truly an American hero.

TRIBUTE TO LILLIAN MAE
BRECKEL

HON. RALPH M. HALL
OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. HALL of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a loyal Democrat and community volunteer, Lillian Mae Breckel of Tyler, TX, who died recently at the age of 92. She devoted a lifetime of service to the causes she embraced—particularly the Smith County Democratic Party and her church—and she leaves behind a legacy of accomplishment and a loving family.

Mrs. Breckel was an active member of the Smith County Democrats. She served on the party's membership committee, was an alternate delegate to State conventions, and was a member of the Women's Democratic Organization. She believed so completely in the democratic process that she was willing to place her name on the ballot, running for State representative from District IV and as a candidate for the Tyler City Council and mayor. It is testimony to her devotion that officers of the Smith County Democratic Party served as honorary pallbearers at her funeral.

She also was devoted to her church. She helped organize Trinity Baptist Church, York Baptist Church, and Dill City First Baptist Church. She was church pianist for each of these churches, taught Sunday School, and also served as chairman of the finance com-

mittee of the Smith County Baptist Association.

Her community involvement extended to other worthwhile causes. She served on the volunteer council for Denton State School and served as past-president of the American Businesswomen's Association, past oracle of Royal Neighbors of America, and past noble grand of Tyler Rebekah Lodge 142.

Wherever she volunteered her talents, Mrs. Breckel's presence was felt—and will be missed. Most of all, her pride and happiness came from her family—some of whom visited with me and Mary Ellen in our Rockwall home. She is survived by her son, Henry Austin Breckel of Dallas; daughter and son-in-law, Kathlea and Richard Florey of Tyler; three grandchildren and three great-grandchildren. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of her family and many friends who loved her, I ask my colleagues to join me today in paying our last respects to this outstanding citizen—Lillian Mae Breckel.

TRIBUTE TO A GREAT TEXAS
WOMAN

HON. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me today in a tribute to a woman who has made a career out of championing women's issues. At age 76, Ms. Louise Raggio, who still practices law full-time at her firm, Raggio & Raggio in Dallas, is known as the Lone Star State's First Lady of women's legal rights.

In the 1950s, attorney Raggio fought to allow women to serve on juries. In the 1960s she led a group of legal experts in crafting the Texas Marital Property Act of 1967 that gave married women equal rights to control property and conduct business. With the success of that law, Mrs. Raggio helped pave the way for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and other national women's rights legislation. A decade later, she helped write the Texas Family Code of 1979, the world's first fully codified set of family laws.

Mrs. Raggio has also achieved many firsts in her 40-year career, including being the first woman prosecutor for Dallas County, first women director of the State Bar of Texas, first woman trustee and chair of the Texas Bar Foundation and first recipient of the Dallas Bar Association's Outstanding Trial Lawyer Award. In 1995, she received the American Bar Association's Margaret Brent Women Lawyers of Achievement Award, placing her among other outstanding recipients Attorney General Janet Reno, Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsberg, and former U.S. Representative Barbara Jordan.

For all of these reasons and more, I submit this tribute here today, for a great Texas lady.

IN HONOR OF CYPRUS FREEDOM
FIGHTERS

HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to bring to the attention of my colleagues the historic achievements of brave Greek-Cypriot freedom fighters. They are being honored by Justice for Cyprus and the Cyprus Federation of America, two philanthropic organizations that trace their roots back to Cyprus.

On April 1st, we will celebrate the 41st anniversary of Ethniki Organosis Kypriou Agoniston [EOKA]. This organization is a group of dynamic Cypriot freedom fighters who struck the first blow for independence for Cyprus. More than four decades ago, their acts of courage led to a 4-year struggle against British colonization and occupation.

EOKA's struggle for independence is joined with the American colonists who struggled against the British colonization and occupation in America over 200 years ago. These Greek-Cypriot lovers of democracy and freedom not only fought for Cyprus' independence, but they also fought on the battlefield against tyranny during world War II.

Today we commemorate all the heroes of Cyprus including Gregorius Afxentiou, Kyriakos Matsis, Evaghoras Pallikarides, and Michael Karaolis, who gave their lives for freedom. By their sacrifice, they join America's Revolutionary War hero Patrick Henry, who freely gave of his life and summed up his commitment to freedom with the statement, "Give me liberty or give me death."

Cyprus became independent in 1960. Unfortunately, liberation was short lived; Turkey invaded Cyprus in 1974. Today, one third of Cyprus remains occupied by Turkey. Once again, these heroes have been called upon to fight for the liberty and independence of their country.

On this day, we celebrate freedom. When migrating to the United States, the Greek-Cypriots brought with them their love of Cyprus, culture and democracy. The Cyprus Federation of America, Justice for Cyprus, and EOKA serve as important links with Cyprus' past, but also act as a springboard for its future. These organizations remain committed to the campaign for freedom and human rights in Cyprus today. They also help young Greek-Cypriot Americans who will play an important role in the growth and success of the United States.

So Mr. Speaker, I ask that my colleagues join me in the commemoration of Cypriot freedom fighters and in wishing the people of Cyprus long-lasting peace and liberty.

TRIBUTE TO LOIS VELLIQUETTE
ON HER RETIREMENT

HON. PAUL E. GILLMOR

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. GILLMOR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to an outstanding public servant in

northwest Ohio. On March 31 of this year, Lois Velliquette, a Federal employee for over 36 years, will retire.

Lois can look back on her career with great pride. During the course of her service, she has held clerical, technical, and claims representative positions. Because of her extensive experience, she has become a recognized expert in many areas with the office and has received numerous performance awards for her work. Through her caring and dedicated efforts, she has literally improved the lives of a tremendous number of Sandusky residents.

Americans would not be able to enjoy the blessings of our country without the tireless dedication of those who have the talent and willingness to work for the community. It is for this reason we owe a special debt of gratitude to people like Lois, who have done an outstanding job first with the Department of the Army and for the last 31 years with the Social Security Administration.

Mr. Speaker, we have often heard that America works because of the unselfish contributions of her citizens. I know that Ohio is a much better place to live because of the dedication and countless hours of effort given by Lois Velliquette. While she may be leaving her official capacity, I know she will continue to be actively involved in those causes dear to her.

I ask my colleagues to join me in paying a special tribute to Lois, and wishing her all the best in the years ahead.

HONORING GREEK INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. DAVID E. BONIOR

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. BONIOR. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join the Greek community to celebrate the 175th anniversary of Greek independence.

On March 25, 1821, the Archbishop of Patras blessed the Greek flag at the Aghia Lavra Monastery near Kalavrita, marking the beginning of the Greek war of independence in which nearly 400 years of Ottoman rule were turned aside.

Ancient Greece was the birthplace of democratic values. It brought forth the notion that the ultimate power to govern belongs in the hands of the people. It inspired a system of checks and balances to ensure that one branch of government does not dominate any other branch.

These ideals inspired our Founding Fathers as they wrote the Constitution. In the words of Thomas Jefferson, "to the ancient Greeks . . . we are all indebted for the light which led ourselves out of Gothic darkness."

Together we face many challenges today, including the territorial integrity of Imia in the Aegean Sea and the demilitarization of Cyprus. If freedom and democracy, which were born in Greece, can tear down the Berlin Wall and break apart the Soviet Union, then I know that we can work together to bring those ideals once again to Cyprus.

Today, the United States is enriched not only by Greek principles but also by its sons

and daughters. Greek-Americans have made major contributions to American society, including our arts, sports, medicine, religion, and politics.

My home State of Michigan has been enhanced by the Greek community. In Macomb and St. Clair Counties, we are served by St. John's Greek Orthodox Church and Assumption Greek Orthodox Church. These institutions provide a multitude of community services and add to the rich diversity of the area.

Mr. Speaker, I join the people of Greece and those of Greek ancestry around the world in celebrating Greek Independence Day. I salute all of them for the tremendous contributions to freedom and human dignity which they have made.

HAZARDOUS MATERIALS TRANSPORTATION BILL

HON. TOM DeLAY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. DELAY. Mr. Speaker, I rise on behalf of small business owners who find themselves caught up in an expensive regulatory maze left by amendments to the Hazardous Materials Transportation Act passed in 1990. This act greatly broadened the Secretary of Transportation's authority to regulate the transportation of hazardous materials. Though it was intended for large carriers of toxic materials which can pose a risk to public health or safety, it has spilled over and poisoned the small business man instead.

One study, which focused on the pest control industry, found that compliance of these rules and regulations cost the industry \$135 million annually. These costs arise from truly burdensome Federal regulations which require pest control operators and employees to keep complex documents and markings for shipping and containers on a daily basis. And all of this is for small quantities of relatively benign materials, most of which are nearly identical to pest control products which we can all buy in home supply and garden stores—like Raid, for example.

The legislation I have developed will relieve these burdens while maintaining the same high standards for safety. My bill simply amends the Hazardous Materials Transportation Act by providing an exemption for small commercial vehicles which are transporting common "Raid" like materials which do not pose a risk to public health or safety.

Specifically, a vehicle with a gross weight of 10,000 pounds or less will be exempted unless it is transporting a material, such as a fumigant, which the Secretary of Transportation deems to require placarding.

Let us keep small business healthy. With this bill we can stop poisoning the small business man with unneeded regulations that hurt both him and us. I hope you will join myself and my colleagues who have cosponsored this important legislation.

IN HONOR OF J.C. COLLINS

HON. RICHARD J. DURBIN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. DURBIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise to congratulate Mr. J.C. Collins of Bethalto, IL. Mr. Collins has been chosen as the 1995 Inductee of the National Mens' Ministries Christian Hall of Excellence, by the national Assemblies of God denominational headquarters in Springfield, MO. This honor is equivalent to a national layman of the year award for the Assemblies of God.

Mr. Collins was chosen for this award from among the 50 State inductees of the State Assemblies of God. He had earlier been named the Illinois State Inductee by the State Assemblies of God denominational headquarters in Carlinville, IL.

He has faithfully served his church, the First Assembly of God in Cottage Hills, IL, as a deacon, assistant Sunday school superintendent, and youth leader. He has been a Sunday school teacher for 30 years. He has supervised almost all of the church's construction projects, including the church itself, the houses, and all the buildings that belong to the church.

He has been active for decades with Gideons International, spreading the Gospel and passing out Bibles in schools, hospitals, hotels, and colleges.

When Mr. Collins retired in 1988 from his work as a construction supervisor, after 41 years at Laclede Steel Co. in Alton, IL, he prayed for the opportunity to make 10 trips overseas to help build churches. Since then he has made 11 trips, including Belgium, the former Czechoslovakia, Lesotho, Mexico, Germany, and the former East Germany when the Berlin Wall was coming down. He is now planning trips to Belgium and El Salvador.

J.C. Collins was born in Marshall County, KY, on February 8, 1926. He entered the U.S. Armed Forces when he was 17 years old, and he was promoted to staff sergeant by the time he was 18. During his military service he worked on researching German V-2 rockets on the White Sands Proving Ground.

Mr. Collins married his lovely wife, Ruby Scott, on December 9, 1944, in Mineral Wells, TX. They are blessed with two daughters, Wanda Collins Burgund and Patricia Collins Moran, and four grandchildren, Brian Hendricks, Stephanie Burgund Krienitz, Rachel Moran, and Alicia Moran. Following their father's and grandfather's strong and positive spiritual influence, all of Mr. Collins' children and grandchildren are active in their local churches.

I congratulate Mr. J.C. Collins and wish him and his family the very best in the future.

HONORING JAMES R. NUNES

HON. BILL BAKER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. BAKER of California. Mr. Speaker, in an era when crime is all too frequently a part of

our daily lives, it is good to know there are brave, capable men and women who each day protect and serve the American people.

James R. Nunes is one of these persons. His 33 years of service as a law enforcement officer have been exemplary to his colleagues and rewarding to those he has served. For the past 26 years, he has been a member of the Pleasant Hill, CA police force; the past 17 of these years, he has been Chief of the Pleasant Hill force.

During his tenure, Chief Nunes has played an active role in putting police on the beat, developing effective youth, crime prevention and DARE programs, and other meaningful anti-crime and community-building efforts. His understanding of the needs of future law enforcement led to the construction of an outstanding new police facility. And his role in the California Peace Officers Association, his study at the FBI National Academy, and his ongoing commitment to professional development in a variety of positions and organizations have enabled him to stay on the cutting edge of leadership.

It is a pleasure for me to recognize Chief Nunes, and to wish him every success in all his future endeavors.

IN HONOR OF FOOD & FRIENDS

HON. JAMES P. MORAN

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to salute a group of people that have done so much for the people of the Washington Metropolitan area. Food & Friends, an organization dedicated to feeding nutritious meals to homebound people with AIDS, is preparing to celebrate Thanks A Million Day. One week from today, Food & Friends will deliver its one-month meal.

The number of HIV positive and AIDS cases in the Washington area has increased exponentially in just a few years, ranking Washington fifth for the highest number of AIDS cases in the Nation. Fortunately, also on the exponential rise is the determination and capability of the people at Food & Friends. When the group was founded in 1988 it served 30 clients per day. Today 450 area homebound people with AIDS receive 1,350 nutritious meals every day at no cost to Food & Friends clients.

Providing physical sustenance is vital to HIV positive people, and people with AIDS. Volunteer visits for their spiritual sustenance are equally important. Food & Friends works alongside other AIDS service programs, including those which offer support groups and legal advice. In addition they provide nutrition, education and counseling services to the HIV community by a trained and licensed dietician. Food & Friends provides companionship and life sustaining nutrition enhancing their clients quality of life.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to see my constituents, along with the constituents of my metropolitan area colleagues, working side by side to serve this group of people so in need. Whether by volunteering to deliver meals,

dedicating professional services, or contributing to the United Way Combined Federal Campaign, our friends have helped to make the lives of Food & Friends clients a little easier. I applaud their work to help the people in their own community, and as I join my metropolitan area colleagues at Thanks A Million Day, I urge you to join us in thanking this wonderful organization for the invaluable service it provides; in essence, food and friends.

SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF
DURHAM WOODS EXPLOSION

HON. BOB FRANKS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow is the second anniversary of the Durham Woods natural gas pipeline explosion.

On that fateful night, the residents of Edison, NJ were startled out of their sleep by the tremendous explosion that ripped through the Durham Woods apartment complex.

A 36-inch natural gas pipeline had ruptured, sending men, women, and children fleeing from their homes in a race for their lives against a roaring wall of fire.

Miraculously, only one person died. Twenty-nine others escaped with only minor injuries.

Although the physical rebuilding of Durham Woods is complete, this horrendous explosion has left lingering fears about the hidden dangers of natural gas pipelines.

Unfortunately, Congress has been slow to act to pass pipeline safety legislation. Although the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, of which I am a member, quickly passed a pipeline safety bill in the opening months of the 104th Congress, this bill still has not been voted on by the full House.

This delay is precluding some important new safety measures from becoming law that could help prevent another Durham Woods-type disaster.

For example, although it may never be precisely determined what caused the Durham Woods blast, authorities strongly suspect that a gouge, found in the pipeline after the explosion, had weakened the pipeline and precipitated the blast.

Nationally, the single largest cause of pipeline accidents is excavating crews or other workers accidentally damaging pipelines. But in far too many instances, the damage is never reported to the pipeline operator. After the incident, the weakened pipe begins to deteriorate and the risk of an explosion increases.

A proposal I drafted that was included in the House pipeline safety bill addressed this problem. My proposal would establish a tough new Federal crime that would punish anyone who damages a pipeline and does not promptly report the damage to the authorities. Violators would not only be hit with a hefty fine of \$25,000, but would face a jail term of 5 years.

Another provision in the pipeline safety bill of particular importance to any constituents concerns the one-call system. All States currently have some form of one-call system which requires construction crews to contact a

central office before beginning any excavation work near a pipeline. But the success of these programs is often hindered by a lack of knowledge about the program or how it works. An important feature of the pipeline safety bill encourages pipeline companies and the States to launch public education programs aimed at all businesses which conduct excavating activities. This education program would increase compliance with one-call systems, which play an essential role in keeping pipelines safe.

Mr. Speaker, while I am working to get Congress to pass a pipeline safety bill, I believe that improving pipeline safety is not solely the responsibility of the Government. The pipeline companies that own and operate natural gas pipelines should be improving their own safety programs. Improving the safety of their pipelines and increasing the public's confidence not only makes good business sense, it is the right thing to do.

Therefore, today I am calling on Texas Eastern, who owns the pipeline that immolated Durham Woods 2 years ago, to voluntarily make a commitment to upgrade their safety procedures. Specifically, I request that Texas Eastern take immediate steps to install a remote control valve system on its pipelines in New Jersey. A remote control valve system would allow the flow of natural gas to be shut off by a human operator in case of a leak or a fissure in the pipeline. If a remote control valve was in place near the rupture that caused the Durham Woods explosion, this disaster may have been avoided.

Mr. Speaker, Texas Eastern shouldn't wait for a law that would require it to make its pipelines safer. Moreover, this Congress shouldn't have to wait for the next pipeline disaster before it is prodded into passing a pipeline safety bill. My constituents have been waiting 2 years for a response from their Government, and for Texas Eastern to install remote control valves. They should be required to wait no longer.

THE ROLE OF EMPLOYERS

HON. ROBERT S. WALKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, we are engaged in a great economic debate in this country. As information technologies transform our economy, and economic competition becomes increasingly globalized, we must decide how to address the challenges before us.

Companies, along with their owners and managers, have been called insensitive to worker concerns and uninterested in anything but the bottom line. An eloquent defense of the role of employers in our culture has been made this past week. In a speech before the Economic Club of Detroit, the chairman and chief executive officer of the Chrysler Corp., Robert J. Eaton, makes clear why the economic survival and success of the Nation's employers is positive for their workers and for the communities where they are located.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to include in the RECORD at this point excerpts of the text of the Eaton speech.

EXCERPTS BY ROBERT J. EATON, CHAIRMAN
AND CEO, CHRYSLER CORPORATION

It's open season on big business and CEOs. Party, that's because it's an election year and beating up on Wall Street and Corporate America is a cheap way to get votes or sell papers. This is old-fashioned, empty-headed, tub-thumping populism.

The Democrats lost Congress because people got mad at Washington. Now the plan is to get the voters mad at somebody else. And on the right you have Pat Buchanan. He's mad at big government, big business, the United Nations, the Chinese, the Japanese and the Mexicans (Mexicans on both sides of the border, by the way). Pat's mad at just about everybody.

So all this current fear and loathing directed at American corporations should not be surprising. It's being orchestrated to move political and economic agendas.

But that's not to say that Americans today don't have some very legitimate fears. They do. And they are rational fears about holding onto a good job if they have one, and getting one if they don't.

A New York Times reporter went into a big department store in the Ginza recently and found 14 clerks in the jewelry department ready to wait on him. He then gushed about how enlightened Japan's full-employment policy is, and condemned the U.S. business community (and I'm quoting), "where executives get bonuses for massacring their employees."

We can copy the Japanese. We can have 14 clerks to sell you a watch. We only need to do three things:

We have to close our borders to foreign competition.

We have to convince American consumers to pay \$50 for a melon.

And we have to stop giving the owners of American companies a fair return on their investment.

That's all. That's how the Japanese have done it.

I don't think Americans are going to shut out foreign goods. I don't think Americans will pay \$50 for a melon. And I don't think the owners of America's companies are going to stop demanding a fair return.

In Japan, the owners of a company happen to be large banks and other members of that company's keiretsu. They're more like partners than owners. It's different here, and one of the key elements of the current national debate we're having is who owns our corporations, who runs them, and for whose benefit.

Well, there have been some changes over the years.

Large institutional investors like mutual funds and pension funds now own more than half the stock in American companies today—maybe as much as 60 percent. In 1980 it was 40 percent. In 1970 it was 19 percent. Go back much further than that and these institutions were inconsequential.

In 1980, they managed about \$1.9 trillion. In 1990, the figure was \$6.3 trillion. Last year they managed more than \$10 trillion.

They are big, and they have enormous clout, and in the past decade they have decided to use that clout.

Let me give you a list of companies that all of you will recognize: American Express, IBM, Westinghouse, Apple Computer, Eli Lilly, Eastman Kodak, Scott Paper, Borden. In just one year—1993—the CEOs of those eight companies were bounced, in no small measure due to pressure from institutional investors.

Most of the institutions don't follow the old Wall Street rule that says if you don't

like the company, sell the stock. Some are so big and own such large chunks of individual companies that selling the stock simply isn't practical. So today, if they don't like a company, they may try to change it.

They have a right to. They are the owners. Or at least they've been empowered to act for the real owners—their shareholders.

Now here's the rub.

These institutions have one central goal, and that's to get consistent, year-in and year-out returns from the companies in their portfolios. They need these returns because their individual shareholders do follow the old Wall Street rule—if they're not satisfied, they sell!

At the same time, people like me and others who run companies like to think of ourselves as builders. We think five and ten years ahead. We like to invest in the future. We also like to have a few shekels in the bank for hard times.

And in spite of what the public hears and reads, we do care about protecting jobs, and we are concerned about our communities, and we do understand our social obligations.

So there's some natural tension between the need to provide returns and the need to build the company.

Most of us in this room work for large corporations. We want those companies to be successful ten years from now as well as today, so we take a long view at work.

But most of us have also turned over a substantial part of our personal net worth to the managers of these funds. And what do we look at in evaluating their performance?

Returns!

So if we don't like the kind of pressure these funds put on our companies, we can't point fingers. "Them" is "us."

The power of these institutions is simply a reality that we have to deal with. And there is no doubt that they have changed the way companies are run today.

Professor John Pound of Harvard, in fact, says that big corporations are no longer "managed" they are "governed." The new owners of Corporate America are not content to hire a management team and then passively judge the results; they want a say in the plans and policies of the company as well.

Pound also believes—and I'm quoting now—that "politics will replace takeovers as the defining tool for corporate governance challenges, and the marketplace of ideas will replace the frenzied activity that dominated the financial marketplace in the 1980s."

I happen to agree with him. And frankly, I think that's healthy. Not comfortable necessarily, but probably healthy.

He's talking about "politics" with a small "P," of course. He's talking about open, public discourse on corporate issues that up to now have generally been settled in the board room. That's not a clean way to make decisions. Management would rather do it the old way. Public debate often lends itself to all the low-rent machinations of politics with the big "P"—from news media leaks, to hidden agendas, to the use of pressure groups.

So, it isn't comfortable, but I think it's a big step up from the back alley intrigues of the '80s when companies were bought or sold and broken up or consolidated without any debate at all.

Chrysler, as you all know, was caught up in a public debate like this for ten months. We came to a resolution in which everyone was a winner and nobody was a loser. And by everyone, I mean shareholder, employees, suppliers and everyone else with a stake in the company.

Communication was the key. Fortunately, we'd always maintained open communication with the institutional investors who own most of the company. We stepped it up. I personally visited a large number of them. So did other members of our management team. We did something quite unusual. We took outside board members with us. On a number of occasions, I would leave and let the board member and the fund manager talk one on one.

We had a simple story that combined solid performance over the past few years with a compelling strategy for the future.

None of our institutional owners asked us to change direction. Not one of them told us to compromise the future for the sake of today.

If there's a lesson for other companies, large and small, it's that maintaining open lines of communication with these institutional investors is no longer a courtesy, as it was a few years ago. It is now a critical part of a company's strategic planning.

Today, though, these new owners are under some scrutiny themselves. The concentration of economic power that they represent is new, and therefore it's a bit frightening. Their short-term focus is a concern. Their activism is a challenge for management.

And yet, I'm hard pressed to find many examples of these institutions acting irresponsibly toward successful, well managed companies. The list of corporations I read a few minutes ago was a list of companies that had problems. They were companies where changes needed to be made.

These large institutional investors must accept the responsibilities of ownership. I think, for the most part, they do. That includes stepping in when a company seems to have lost direction. But it also includes allowing a company to meet its responsibilities to other stakeholders besides the shareholders.

There's raging debate all over the world today about where a company's first allegiance should be, to the shareholders or the stakeholders. Is a company in business only to make money for its owners, or is it there to provide jobs? Is it right to focus on the bottom line, or are there social responsibilities that should come first? And what about the customers?

The Economist magazine last month did a long piece on this issue. They compared the recent performance of the traditional "stakeholder" economies of Japan and most of Western Europe with the "shareholder" economies of the United States and the United Kingdom.

They make a strong case that over the past 10 or 15 years the "shareholder" companies of the U.S. and U.K. have been doing a better job of taking care of "stakeholders" than the stakeholder companies of Japan and Germany have been doing.

Companies that focus on making money become more competitive, and that in turn means more economic growth, and more jobs, and all the other results that "stakeholders" care about.

In both Japan and Germany, the false promise of lifetime employment is ending. They should have known better. A boss who can guarantee a job for life is like a doctor who promises that you'll never get sick or a preacher who promises you a place in heaven. It's too good to be true, so it isn't.

We don't have the keiretsu like the Japanese that help insulate managers. We don't have a large bank ownership of major corporations like both Japan and Germany that helps guarantee "patient" capital. All that

would be illegal here. And we don't have co-determination and other social legislation like they do in Europe that sometimes gives employees as much say in major decisions as managers and owners.

Instead, we have owners who raise hell when they don't get the returns they expect. And companies have to listen. And companies change. And they provide those owners with their returns. And in the process, they usually get stronger.

Chrysler has added more than 15,000 hourly workers in the past five years. Those are not replacements, those are new jobs. We're in the process of building components in this country that we used to have to buy from Japan, because we've gotten more productive and it's cheaper to build here now.

Our goal was not to increase employment. Our goal was to get more competitive. New jobs and more security for the existing ones are simply results of being more competitive.

Chrysler is about to announce grants totaling \$5 million for the arts in Southeastern Michigan. But nowhere in our strategic planning did we say "take care of the arts." We're able to do it only because we focused on a different priority—financial success.

Chrysler, Ford and General Motors have been generous to this community for decades. We are major participants in the new Greater Downtown Partnership that is just being announced. But our real contribution has simply been staying in business. That's our role, and when we're successful, the whole community benefits.

Some people, like Senator Kennedy and Secretary Reich, wants to create the stakeholder economies of Germany and Japan here. They want to force companies to become a Big Brother. Washington has failed at it, so now let Corporate America do it. But they've discovered the allure of "stakeholder" politics at just the time it's losing its luster overseas.

The Japanese aren't building auto plants in Japan. They are closing them. They are building plants here, in America. So are the Germans—Mercedes in Alabama and BMW in South Carolina.

Has anybody else noticed that all the recent stories about ugly American corporations firing people left and right are butting up against other stories about the low unemployment rate in the country? Unemployment in Germany is almost 11 percent, and in this country it's 5.5 percent? I can pretty much guarantee you that saddling American companies with the same burdens that German companies have will get our unemployment numbers up too, if that's the idea.

America is the model for economic growth for most of the rest of the world. Some countries flirted with the Japanese model for a while, but now they've realized that it wasn't all it was cracked up to be.

Our securities markets are particularly important. There is nothing like them anywhere in the world. They are big. They are broad. They are unparalleled in their ability to raise capital.

But they are also messy. They punish inefficiency, sometime brutally. They can be capricious. They can be unfair. They can be perverse. It's almost expected these days that the markets rise on bad news and dive on good news. There is no human feeling to the markets, and sometimes no discernible evidence of human intelligence, either.

But they work. That's all they have going for them—over time, they work. And they work better than markets anywhere else.

The critics and the fear-mongers are missing an important point about those markets,

by the way: They've become egalitarian. Through 401(k)s, IRAs, pension funds, and easy-to-access mutual funds, more than a third of all adult Americans are in the market.

The market used to be just for plutocrats. Today the ownership of American business is spread throughout the population.

The "new ownership" of Corporate America is rapidly becoming most of America.

That's healthy. It also helps to burst the bluster of the redistribution of wealth crowd. At least it would if more people understood that fact.

Corporate America has always had a PR problem. We haven't found a way to dress up certain economic realities so we can take them out in public. Making money is still considered tacky in some circles. Creating wealth for society doesn't carry much cache. Focusing on the bottom line is simply greed.

We haven't made the case that our end goal is not "making money," it's perpetuating ourselves so we can serve all our constituencies.

We can't even seem to cut through all the propaganda about American workers going backward. Real per capita income has risen steadily. So has median family income. Secretary Reich never uses those figures. He uses other measures which are less relevant.

And he never mentions the obvious fact that people do move up from one economic quintile to another. They don't all just stay put. They work hard, get better jobs, and make more money. Low income people become middle class, and middle class people become well-off. That's the American way, and it still happens.

There's no question, however, that some new dynamics are at work. The concentration of power within the large institutional investors is one. It's not necessarily good, and it's not necessarily bad. It's not something to resolve; it's just something else to manage.

Downsizing and layoffs are part of the price of becoming more competitive. The price for not doing it, however, is much higher in both economic and human terms.

The good part about globalization is that it allows American workers to participate more fully in the world economy. The bad part about globalization is that it forces American workers to participate more fully in the world economy.

The torrent of gloom today is mindless, however. The economy is strong. It's growing at a sustainable rate. Inflation is low and stable. Employment numbers are excellent. It looks like Mr. Greenspan is pulling off his soft landing. The stock market is going bananas.

American companies are leaner and meaner than they've been in years. American productivity is once again the envy of the world.

And American executives are not the ogres portrayed by the press in recent weeks. Big business has become an election-year straw man for those who like to pit American against American by promoting the politics of fear and envy.

There are some real problems to solve. We need to keep the economy strong, to improve our schools, to cut the budget deficit, to pay for health care, to keep Social Security solvent, and that's just the top of the list.

We need to stand together to do these things.

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There are some real problems to solve. We need to keep the economy strong, to improve our schools, to cut the budget deficit, to pay for health care, to keep Social Security solvent, and that's just the top of the list.

We need to stand together to do these things. We need to have some confidence that we, as a nation, are all moving in the same direction.

But it's a sure thing that we'll never accomplish any of these if we let a bunch of demagogues herd us down the past to class warfare.

THE AMERICA WE SEEK

HON. HENRY J. HYDE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, there is no more troubling issue confronting Americans than that of abortion. The highly respected publication, *National Review*, March 25, 1996, has performed a signal service by publishing a very thoughtful article on this question signed by 45 of America's finest scholars, all of whom have thought long and hard about this volatile subject. I commend this article to my colleagues' careful attention.

THE AMERICA WE SEEK; A STATEMENT OF PRO-LIFE PRINCIPLE AND CONCERN

Americans are conducting the sixth presidential election campaign since the Supreme Court decreed a virtually unlimited "right" to abortion in *Roe v. Wade* and its companion case, *Doe v. Bolton*. Over the past 23 years, the abortion debate has been about abortion, of course; but it has also been a debate about the kind of society America is and seeks to be. Throughout our national history, few issues have so sharply focused

attention on the fundamental purposes of the American democratic experiment. For, in the abortion debate, we are required to confront an urgent moral issue: Who is to be included in the community of the commonly protected?

The following statement of principle, endorsed by a broad spectrum of pro-life organizational leaders and scholars, is the result of consultations held over the past several months at the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, D.C. The statement aims to clarify the principles on which the pro-life movement stands, to articulate a pro-life vision of the American future, and to suggest a set of political, legal, and cultural strategies that are capable of translating that vision into reality. The signatories, who join the statement as individuals, offer this statement to the public in the hope that it will raise the level of public discourse on this highly controversial issue, and thus strengthen American democracy. The signatories are deeply grateful to NATIONAL REVIEW for opening its pages to their ideas and concerns.

Twenty-three years after the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* and *Doe v. Bolton* decisions, the conscience of the American people remains deeply troubled by the practice of abortion on demand. Because of these two decisions, abortion is legal at any time in pregnancy, for virtually any reason, in every state. This constitutes an almost completely unrestricted private license to judge who will live and who will die.

That America has the most permissive abortion regime among the world's democracies is a betrayal of the American promise of justice for all. That is why a new sense of moral concern is stirring throughout our country in this election year. That is why millions of Americans have refused to accept the Court's 1992 admonition in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey* to stop debating the issue.

2. To those weary of this argument, it may seem that there is nothing more to be said on this matter of abortion. We disagree.

Survey research tells us that the American people do not want a legal regime of abortion on demand for any reason, at any time during a pregnancy. We believe we have an obligation to employ the arts of democratic persuasion to help reinstitute legal protection for all unborn children.

The extent of the abortion license and its reach into other areas of law and public policy is widely underestimated. We believe that, as citizens of the United States, we have the responsibility to discuss with our fellow citizens the facts of the abortion license and its impact on our common life.

Many women in crisis earnestly seek alternatives to abortion. We believe we ought to encourage those alternatives and help to provide them.

3. Pro-life service to women in crisis and pro-life advocacy on behalf of legal reform are expressions of our highest ideals as citizens of the United States. We affirm the nobility of the American democratic experiment in ordered liberty. We affirm the rule of law and the principle of equal protection under the law, even as we work to reform constitutional and statutory law so that the American legal system is, once again, congruent with the Founders' claim that the inalienable right to life is one of the great moral truths on which American democracy rests. We want an America that is open, hospitable, and caring—a community of civic friendship in which neighbors reach out to assist neighbors in distress.

4. The abortion license has helped to erode the moral foundations of the American civic

community. Right now we are not the country we ought to be. That distress is, to us, a sign of moral vitality. We speak now because we seek to defend the America we love. We speak to promote the cause of an America in which women and men, together, rebuilding the fabric of civil society by acknowledging our common responsibility to serve and protect the weakest and most vulnerable among us. We speak for a rebirth of freedom in these United States: a freedom that finds its fulfillment in goodness.

VICTIMS OF THE LICENSE

5. Americans of every race, economic condition, religion, and political persuasion share a common concern today for what some have called a national "virtue deficit." As a country, we have not paid sufficient attention to nurturing those habits of heart and mind that make democratic self-government possible and that undergird what the Framers of the Constitution called "civic virtue." We believe that the abortion license is a critical factor in America's virtue deficit.

6. Abortion kills 1.5 million innocent human beings in America every year. There is no longer any serious scientific dispute that the unborn child is a human creature who dies violently in the act of abortion. This brute fact is the root of our national distress over the abortion license. Abortion kills: few would now deny that. But in order to defend the private "right" to lethal violence that is the essence of abortion, proponents of the license frequently resort to euphemisms like "products of conception" and "the termination of pregnancy."

The public dialogue is not coarsened by depictions of the reality of abortion. But a coarsening of our common life has taken place; it is evident in the lack of moral revulsion that follows one newspaper's accurate description of an abortion procedure that "breaks . . . apart" the "fetus" before "it" is "suctioned out of the uterus" or "extracted."

7. The abortion license hurts women. Some (including the narrow Supreme Court majority in the 1992 *Casey* decision) contend that the license is necessary to ensure social and economic gains for women. It is ever more clear, though, that women pay a huge price for abortion. By providing an alleged technological "fix" for unintended pregnancy, the license has encouraged widespread male irresponsibility and predatory male sexual behavior. Abortion-on-demand has given an excuse to a man who shirks his responsibilities, claiming that the child he helped conceive ought to have been aborted, or that the woman who declined to abort may not impose on him any responsibility for her "lifestyle choice."

Fathers have also been harmed and dehumanized by the abortion license. Some watch their children killed against their will; others learn to their distress only much later that a child they would have raised is dead. Even when agreeing to support the abortion decision, fathers, like mothers, suppress their grief deny their protective instincts, and otherwise damage themselves when they allow the killing of their own children. Abortion contributes to the marginalization of fatherhood in America, which many agree is a primary cause of the alarming breakdown of American family life.

The license has thus poisoned relationships between women and men, even as it has done serious harm to the thousands of women who now suffer from the effects of post-abortion grief. The women of America do not need abortion to be full participants in our soci-

ety. To suggest otherwise is to demean women, to further distort relationships between women and men, and to aggravate the difficulties of re-creating in America a community of virtue and mutual responsibility.

THE PUBLIC DIMENSION

8. Abortion is not simply a matter of private "choice." Rather, the abortion license cuts to the heart of America's claim to being a law-governed democracy, in which equality before the law is a fundamental principle of justice. The abortion license also threatens the cultural foundations of our democratic political community. For if it becomes a settled matter in American law and in American public morality that there is, in fact, a private "right" to use lethal violence to "solve" personal, family, or social problems, then the claim of American democracy to be an expression of the people's commitment to "establish justice" will be undermined, just as it was when the law claimed the "right" to exclude certain Americans from its full protection on the basis of race. Thus the abortion issue is the crucial civil-rights issue of our time.

9. A sweeping abortion license was defined unilaterally by the Supreme Court without recourse to the normal procedures of democratic debate and legislation. This in itself wounded American democracy. And the Court's persistent refusal to permit the American people to debate the basic issue of an alleged "right to abortion" in their legislatures continues to damage our democracy by alienating tens of millions of Americans from their institutions of government.

10. The Court's definition of a "right to abortion"—first enunciated as a "privacy right," then as a "liberty right" under the Fourteenth Amendment—has had other damaging effects. The language of "rights" puts the dilemma of unwanted pregnancy into a legal-adversarial context, pitting mother against child, and even father against mother. But as the common experience of humanity—and, increasingly, the findings of science—demonstrates, what hurts one party in this most intimate of human relationships hurts both parties. The America we seek is an America in which both mother and child are the subjects of our concern and our community's protection. To abuse the language of "rights" in this matter further advances the demeaning practice of reducing all human relationships in America to matters of adversarial adjudication. This is a prescription for democratic decay. For democracy rests on the foundations of civil society, and in a truly civil society, relationships between people have a far richer moral texture than that suggested by adversarial procedure.

11. The Court's vain attempt to justify the abortion license in terms of an all-encompassing right of personal autonomy has begun to infect other areas of the law. Thus the "autonomy" logic of the Court's 1992 *Casey* decision is now invoked as a warrant for a constitutional "right" to euthanasia. And if it were followed to its conclusion, this logic would require us to consider such profound human relationships as the bond between husband and wife, or the bond between parents and children, to be nothing more than matters of contract, with the claims of the autonomous individual trumping all other claims. Enshrined by the Court to legalize abortion on demand, this autonomy logic threatens to give us an America in which the only actors of consequence are the individual and the state; no other community, including the community of husband and wife, or the community of parents and

children, will have effective constitutional standing.

12. The Supreme Court's insistence on a "right" to abortion has had other disturbing effects on our public life. This "right" has been used to justify the abridgment of First Amendment freespoken rights, as when sidewalk counselors are threatened with legal penalties for proposing protection and care to women in crisis at the crucial moment of decision outside an abortion clinic. This "right" has been used by the Federal Government to coerce state governments into providing abortions, even when state legislatures or popular referenda have clearly registered the people's unwillingness to use public funds for elective abortions. The abortion "right" has distorted our national health-care debate, as well as the debate over welfare reform. It has even had an impact on U.S. foreign policy. American attempts to impose the "right" on the rest of the world at the 1994 Cairo world conference on population and the 1995 Beijing world conference on women have been deeply resented by other countries, as have U.S. attempts to promote abortion overseas through foreign aid.

13. The Court's attempt to define a "right" to abortion has polarized institutions and professions that were once among the bulwarks of American civil society. Professional associations of lawyers, academics, teachers, and civil servants have been divided by attempts to enlist their resources and prestige in support of abortion on demand, and in opposition to any effort to regulate abortion even in ways held constitutional by the Supreme Court. The medical profession has been deeply divided over its relationship to the abortion license. That the practice of abortion on demand is now widely recognized within the medical community as contradictory to the most deeply held values of the profession of healing is, we believe, a sign of hope. Yet some medical groups now threaten to reverse this trend by coercion—for example, by requiring medical residency programs to teach and perform abortion techniques. There are also disturbing signs of the corrupting influence of the abortion license in other professions. History has been rewritten to provide specious justification for *Roe v. Wade*. The teaching of law has been similarly distorted, as have political theory and political science. Such extremism underlines the unavoidable public character of the abortion license. The abortion license has a perverse Midas quality—it corrupts whatever it touches.

THE WAY AHEAD

14. Our goal is simply stated: we seek an America in which every unborn child is protected in law and welcomed in life. Legal reform and cultural renewal must both take place if America is to experience a new birth of the freedom that is ordered to goodness. We have just described, in this statement, the nature, sources, and dimension of our concern. Now, as pro-life leaders and scholars, we want to propose a program of action which we believe will appeal to Americans with open minds and hearts on this issue.

15. Means are always available to enable women to overcome the burdens that can accompany pregnancy and child-rearing. There are always alternatives to abortion. To legacy of *Roe v. Wade* involves a massive denial of this truth and deformation of social attitudes and practices so pervasive that women are actually encouraged to have abortions as the "easier" road to the goals that an unexpected pregnancy appears to threaten. As individuals and as a society, we bear a common

responsibility to make sure that all women know that their own physical and spiritual resources, joined to those of a society that truly affirms and welcomes life, are sufficient to overcome whatever obstacles pregnancy and child-rearing may appear to present. Women instinctively know, and we should never deny, that this path will involve sacrifice. But this sacrifice must no longer remain a one-way street. In particular men must also assume their proper share of the responsibilities that family life—indeed, civilization itself—requires.

16. The pro-life movement must redouble its efforts to provide alternatives to abortion for women in crisis. There are now over 3,000 pregnancy-care centers in the United States, providing medical, educational, financial, and spiritual assistance to women who, facing the dilemma of a crisis pregnancy, bravely choose to carry their unborn children to term. We support an expansion of this service to our neighbors, so that by the turn of the century what we believe to be true today has become unmistakably clear to every American woman: No one in the United States has to have an abortion.

17. The overwhelming majority of Americans believe that adoption is preferable to abortion. We must streamline and simplify the legal procedures involved in adoption, while providing effective support to those married couples who choose to adopt.

18. The abortion license is inextricably bound up with the mores of the sexual revolution. Promotion of the pro-life cause also requires us to support and work with those who are seeking to re-establish the moral linkage between sexual expression and marriage, and between marriage and procreation. We believe that a renewal of American democracy as a virtuous society requires us to honor and promote an ethic of self-command and mutual responsibility, and to resist the siren song of the false ethic of unbridled self-expression.

19. Service to women in crisis, the promotion of adoption, and the restoration of sound sexual morality are essential if we are to experience a national cultural renewal that will help to sustain legal reform of the abortion license. The way in which we pursue the latter is also crucial, both to cultural renewal and legal reform.

We pledge ourselves to exercise the arts of democratic persuasion in advancing our legal agenda. We urge Congress and the courts to reconsider their ill-advised restriction on the rights of pro-life activists.

We unequivocally reject the use of violence in the pro-life cause as contrary to the central moral principles of our movement. For more than 23 years, we have worked within the democratic process to advance the protection of all innocent human life, and we will continue to do so.

20. The unborn child in America today enjoys less legal protection than an endangered species of bird in a national forest. In this situation, we believe a broad-based legal and political strategy is essential. There are many steps to be taken on the road to an America in which every unborn child is protected in law and welcomed in life. Thus we find no contradiction between a rigorous adherence to our ultimate goal and the pursuit of reforms that advance us toward that goal. Legal reforms that fall short of our goal, but that help move us toward it, save lives and aid in the process of moral and cultural renewal.

21. In its 1992 *Casey* decision, the Supreme Court agreed that the State of Pennsylvania could regulate the abortion industry in a

number of ways. These regulations do not afford any direct legal protection to the unborn child. Yet experience has shown that such regulations—genuine informed consent, waiting periods, parental notification—reduce abortions in a locality, especially when coupled with positive efforts to promote alternatives to abortion and service to women in crisis. A national effort to enact Pennsylvania-type regulations in all fifty states would be a modest but important step toward the America we seek.

22. Congress also has the opportunity to contribute to legal reform of the abortion license. A number of proposals are now being debated in the Congress, including bans on certain methods of abortion and restrictions on federal funding of abortions. We believe that Congress should adopt these measures and that the President should sign them into law. Any criminal sanctions considered in such legislation should fall upon abortionists, not upon women in crisis. We further urge the discussion of means by which Congress could recognize the unborn child as a human person entitled to the protection of the Constitution.

23. The right to life of the unborn will not be secured until it is secure under the Constitution of the United States. As it did in *Brown v. Board of Education* (when it rejected the *Plessy v. Ferguson* doctrine of "separate but equal" as an adequate expression of rights secured under the Fourteenth Amendment), the Supreme Court could reject the "central finding" of *Roe v. Wade*, that abortion on demand is required by an unenumerated "right to privacy" protected in part by the Fourteenth Amendment. The claim that such a correction of error would damage the Court's authority is belied by the experience of *Brown v. Board of Education*, and by the fact that the Court has corrected its own erroneous interpretations of the Constitution on scores of other occasions.

A more enduring means of constitutional reform is a constitutional amendment both reversing the doctrines of *Roe v. Wade* and *Casey*, and establishing that the right to life protected by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments extends to the unborn child. Such an amendment would have to be ratified by three-fourths of the states: a requirement that underlines the importance of establishing a track record of progressive legal change on behalf of the unborn child at the state and local levels.

Even with a constitutional amendment, every path to the protection and welcome we seek for unborn children requires the re-empowerment of the people of the United States and their elected representatives to debate and resolve the specific statutory enactments that will govern the question of abortion. A constitutional amendment, in other words, is not a self-executing instrument that will end the debate on abortion. It will, rather, correct a gross misinterpretation of the Constitution (as was required to reverse the grievous errors of the *Dred Scott* decision) and require states to debate and adopt policies that do not violate the unborn child's right to life.

Such a process does not, we emphasize, amount to the determination of moral truth by majority rule. Rather, it requires conforming fundamental constitutional principle to a fundamental moral truth—that abortion is the unwarranted taking of an innocent human life. Such a process also respects the role of representative government in fashioning policies that will ultimately secure that principle in practice. The project

of constitutional reform on this issue, as on the precedent issues of slavery and segregation, is to bring our legal system into congruence with basic moral truths about the human person.

AN APPEAL TO OUR NEIGHBORS

24. We believe the pro-life cause is an expression of the premise and promise of American democracy. The premise is that we are all created equal; the promise is that there is justice for all. For all the reasons cited above, the abortion license has done grave damage to America: it has killed tens of millions of unborn children, caused untold anguish to their mothers, and marginalized fathers in our society. The renewal of American democracy according to the highest ideals of the Founders requires us to stand for the inalienable right to life of the unborn, to stand with women in crisis, and to stand against the abortion license.

25. Few Americans celebrate the abortion license today. For many who are troubled by the license and its impact on our society, to be "reluctantly pro-choice" is now thought to be the responsible position. We respectfully urge those of our neighbors who hold that position to reconsider. We ask them to ponder the relationship between the abortion license and the crisis of family life in America. We ask them to reconsider whether radical autonomy is a sufficient understanding of freedom. We ask them to reflect, again, on the morality of abortion itself. We ask them to think about the social impact of a legally defined private "right" to lethal violence.

We ask them to ask themselves: "Is American society, today, more hospitable, caring, and responsible than it was before *Roe v. Wade*?" We believe the answer is "No." Problems that the proponents of abortion claimed the license would help alleviate—such as childhood poverty, illegitimacy, and child abuse—have in fact gotten worse, throughout every level of our society, since *Roe v. Wade*. Thus we respectfully ask our neighbors to consider the possibility of a connection—cultural as well as legal—between the virtue deficit in contemporary American life and the abortion license.

26. The pro-life movement is about affirmation. Thus we ask our neighbors, of whatever political persuasion or current conviction on the matter of abortion, to engage in a great national debate about the America we seek, and the relationship of the abortion license to that future. We ask all Americans to join with us in providing effective, compassionate service to women in crisis. Work on alternatives to abortion and on the reform of adoption laws and procedures can create the conditions for a new dialogue on the future of abortion law and practice in America. We are ready for that new conversation. We invite all our neighbors to join us.

Mary Cunningham Agee, The Nurturing Network; Don Argue, National Association of Evangelicals; Hadley Arkes, Amherst College; Gary Bauer, Family Research Council; Robert P. Casey, Fund for the American Family, Campaign for the American Family; Samuel B. Casey, The Center for Law and Religious Freedom, Christian Legal Society; Charles W. Colson, Prison Fellowship; Guy M. Condon, Care Net; Marjorie Dannenfelser, Susan B. Anthony List; Midge Decter, Author; John J. DiIulio, Jr., Princeton University; Bernard Dobranski, The Catholic University of America, School of Law; James C. Dobson, Focus on the Family; Jean Bethke Elstain, University of Chicago;

Clarke D. Forsythe, Americans United for Life; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Emory University; Wanda Franz, National Right to Life Committee; Edward McGlynn Gaffney, Valparaiso University, School of Law; Robert P. George, Princeton University; Mary Ann Glendon, Harvard University; David P. Gushee, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; Russell Hittinger, Catholic University of America; Kay C. James, Robertson School of Government, Regent University; Phillip E. Johnson, University of California at Berkeley, School of Law; William Kristol, Project for the Republic Future; Beverly LaHaye, Concerned Women for America; Richard Land, Christian Life Commission; Southern Baptist Convention; Glenn C. Loury, Boston University; Frederica Mathewes-Green, National Women's Coalition for Life; Michael W. McConnell, University of Chicago, School of Law; Gilbert Meilaender, Oberlin College; Bernard N. Nathanson, MD, Center of Clinical and Research Ethics, Vanderbilt University; Richard John Neuhaus, Institute on Religion and Public Life; David Novak, University of Virginia; Michael Novak, American Enterprise Institute; Marvin Olasky, University of Texas at Austin; Frank A. Pavone, Priests for Life; Ralph Reed, Christian Coalition; Victor G. Rosenblum, Northwestern University; Ronald J. Sider, Evangelicals for Social Action; David M. Smolin, Cumberland Law School, Samford University; David Stevens, MD, Christian Medical and Dental Society; Jim Wallis, Sojourners; George Weigel, Ethics and Public Policy Center; and Jack C. Willke, MD, Life Issues Institute.

BLANCA SANDOVAL, A DEVOTED MOTHER AND EXEMPLARY INDIVIDUAL

HON. ROBERT MENENDEZ

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mr. MENENDEZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a very distinguished and outstanding individual from my district. Blanca Sandoval has been a devoted mother and someone who has inspired many of her fellow community members. In recognition of her gracious work and outstanding accomplishments, Mrs. Sandoval will have her 90th birthday celebration at Las Palmas Restaurant in west New York.

Mrs. Sandoval was born on March 20, 1906, in Trinidad, Cuba. She grew up in the province of Las Villas and was living in Havana before arriving in this country. She married a decorated naval lieutenant, Laudelino Gronnig, and had three children. Asnaldo, Miriana, and

Blancy were raised during a difficult period in Cuban history. The family constantly dealt with the harassment and intimidation of a brutal dictatorship.

In search of liberty and freedom, Mrs. Sandoval and her husband sought to emigrate from the island of Cuba so they could be reunited with their children. Unfortunately, Mr. Gronnig never got to see his children in the United States because he was repeatedly denied departure. He died in Cuba before he could be reunited.

Miriana and Blancy arrived in the United States in 1971, and their brother subsequently joined them. It was 11 years later that Mrs. Sandoval was reunited with her family. She quickly learned to love her adopted homeland and is now looking forward to becoming a citizen. She is well respected by her friends and neighbors and is known to them as Mima.

Blanca Sandoval is adored by her children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. I am proud to have such a loving and caring individual residing in my district.

CHRISTINE McMULLAN, PULASKI ASSOCIATION'S WOMAN OF THE YEAR

HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, March 22, 1996

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to Christine McMullan, honored by the Pulaski Association as Woman of the Year. I ask my colleagues to join me and the Pulaski Association in recognizing Mrs. McMullan's contributions to community and civic groups in the 14th Congressional District of New York.

Christine McMullan is to be commended for years of dedicated involvement in her community through several fraternal organizations. She currently serves as the president and chief executive officer of the Polish National Alliance, a fraternal insurance company. In the past, Mrs. McMullan has served as president of the New York, New Jersey & New England Fraternal Congresses and president of the State section of the National Fraternal Congress of America, which serves 10 million members. Her many years of dedicated participation in these organizations, all of which require community involvement for membership, show her to be a committed servant in the public interest.

As a leader in several fraternal organizations, Mrs. McMullan must be recognized for the individual groups she is involved with. Currently, Mrs. McMullan serves on the boards of the Greenpoint Y.M.C.A., the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, the Kosciuszko Foundation, and the Polish American Organizations and Endeavors. In the past, she has served on the parish council and other committees of St. Stanislaus Kostka Church, and as president of the Krakowianki & Gorale Children's Polish Folk Dance & Song Ensemble. She has been involved with the Greenpoint Civic Council and the Polish Slavic Center.

Christine McMullan is a native of the Greenpoint section of Brooklyn, NY. She grad-

uated with honors from St. Stanislaus Kostka School in 1956. She was equally as successful at All Saints High School where she was on the dean's honor list each year. She later attended the Drake Institute School of Busi-

ness Administration, and took courses in insurance at New York University and Purdue University.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to pay tribute

today, with the Pulaski Association and my colleagues in this body, to Mrs. Christine McMullan for her continuing contributions to the Polish community and to civic groups in the 14th Congressional District of New York.