

Kennedy signed that bill, his last public bill signing ceremony. He gave me the pen. I have had it framed and keep it on my wall. *Primum non nocere.*

DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN,
U.S. Senator,
Washington.●

(At the request of Mr. DOLE, the following statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD).

THE BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

● Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, as of the close of the last recorded business day, Friday, September 1, the Federal debt stood at \$4,968,255,379,449.49. On a per capita basis, every man, woman, and child in America owes \$18,859.58 as his or her share of that debt.●

ON FAMILIES AND VALUES

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, one of the economic leaders in this Nation, with whom I sometimes agree and sometimes disagree, but for whom I have always had great respect is Herbert Stein.

Herb Stein is now a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, and recently had an article in the Brookings Institution publication titled, "On Families and Values."

His comments puncture some of our balloons and bring us back to reality in a very practical, wholesome way.

I ask that his comments be printed in the RECORD.

The material follows:

ON FAMILIES AND VALUES

(By Herbert Stein)

O, Family Values, what wonders are performed in your name! In your name some political leaders propose to give a tax credit of \$500 per child to every income-tax-paying unit except the very richest. I use the expression "income-tax-paying unit" because no particular family relationship is required. There may be a couple, married or unmarried, or there may be a single tax-payer, male or female, and the children may have a biological relationship to both adults, to one, or to neither. At the same time, also in the name of family values, it is proposed to reduce federal benefits to mother-children units if the mother is young and poor.

We do not have a family problem in America, or, at least, that is not one of our major problems. We have a children problem. Too many of our children are growing up uncivilized. The family deserves attention today mainly because it is the best institution for civilizing children. We shouldn't get too sentimental about that, however. Through most of history the family that reared children was not our idealized Poppy-Mommy-Kiddies group but a much more inclusive relationship. The first family was the scene of a fratricide. The most famous families in literature, the Montagues and Capulets, were obsessed with fighting each other, with fatal consequences for their children. Long before Freud we knew that the family could be a nest of vipers.

Despite its blemishes, perhaps exaggerated in literature because they are exceptional, the family is the best institution we know for rearing children. It is the best because it is most likely to be governed by certain values—love, responsibility, voluntary commitment to the welfare of others, including

those least able to fend for themselves, who are, of course, the children. That is what family values are.

In the rearing of children there is no satisfactory substitute for the well-functioning family. We should try to strengthen such families by private example, public policy, and in any other way we can. But even families that function well need supplementation by other institutions. Some families do not function well, for economic or psychological reasons, and they need even more assistance. In modern societies it is recognized that other institutions have a responsibility and capacity to contribute to the raising of children. These institutions include government, whose wide-ranging functions, from education to preventing child abuse, are generally accepted.

Moreover, there are really no such things as "family values." What we call family values are simply human values that also exist and are desired in relationships outside the family although they are probably less dominant there.

Our need now is to bring what institutions, resources, and values we can to bear on the problem of our children. From that standpoint the current trend of policy seems perverse. The "child credit" has little to do with the welfare of children. Very few of the children in the tax-paying-units that would receive the credit are part of the children problem in America, or if they are it is not because the after-tax incomes in the units are too small. Little of the income that would be provided would go to the benefit of children. Presumably the additional income would be used for purposes that the taxpayer had previously thought were of lowest priority. Any need of a child that a taxpayer with an income of, say, \$60,000 would meet only upon receipt of a tax credit of \$500 could not be a very important need.

Neither is it reasonable to think that reducing government cash and food benefits to poor children who are themselves the children of poor child-mothers will help to civilize our children, although it may reduce somewhat the number of them born in the future. More care, nurturing, counseling, and education will be needed, in the home, in a foster-home, in a school, perhaps even in an orphanage. The drive to cut costs in the name of family values provides none of that.

When I say that "our" children need to be civilized, I do not refer to my biological children and grandchildren, or yours either, dear reader. I refer to America's children. When the bomb exploded in Oklahoma City we all went and prayed for the children. We did not say that they were only their parents' children or Oklahoma's children. They were America's children.

The children growing up in wretched families, in unsafe schools, and in vicious streets are also "our" children. A decent respect for family values calls for more concern with them and more commitment to them than is shown by most of those who now wave the flag of family values.

LARRY DeNARDIS

● Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, I rise today to honor Larry DeNardis who on September 22, 1995, will be the recipient of the Distinguished Service Award of the Italian-American Society of Greater New Haven, Inc. The Italian-American Society was founded to celebrate and perpetuate the concept of the Italian heritage in America, and the society strives to acknowledge and commemorate the many contributions made by Italian-Americans.

Lawrence J. DeNardis was born and raised in New Haven, where he currently serves as the president of the University of New Haven [UNH]. Larry is well known in both the academic and public service arenas. His academic experience includes 16 years as associate professor and chairman of political science at Albertus Magnus College and 11 years as an adjunct professor at UNH. He has also been a visiting professor of government at Connecticut College, a guest scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars of the Smithsonian Institution, and a seminar instructor at Yale University.

In the field of government, Larry DeNardis has had the rare and notable distinction of serving as both a Federal and State legislator. After serving five terms in the State Senate from 1971–79, where I was proud to serve with him, Larry was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives from Connecticut's Third District in 1980. I should note here that Larry's elevation to Federal office came at my expense—I was on the losing end of that Congressional campaign. But in retrospect, I am grateful for his victory, since it opened the door for me to serve as Connecticut attorney general and in this Chamber. Larry served ably and honorably in Congress and then went on to serve as Assistant Secretary for Legislation at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services during 1985–86.

Larry continues to reside in the New Haven area, where he is currently an active member of many organizations including the Greater New Haven Chamber of Commerce, Shubert Performing Arts Center, Mayor's Task Force on Transportation, Yale Medical School Library, St. Regis Health Center, and the Knights of Malta. He and his high school sweetheart, Mary Lou, have been married for 34 years and have four children: Larry Jr., Mark, Lesley, and Gregory and reside in Hamden, CT. Larry's work and commitment has been an inspiration to those who know him. I am proud to count him as a friend. I salute the Honorable Lawrence J. DeNardis as he accepts the Distinguished Service Award of the Italian-American Society for his decency, intelligence, and steadfast devotion to the community.●

TRANSRACIAL ADOPTIONS IN THE CHILDREN'S BEST INTERESTS

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, some weeks ago, the magazine Black Issues in Higher Education, which I read regularly for its scholarly and sensitive insights into higher education, had an article on transracial adoptions written by Dr. Rita J. Simon—no relative, a professor of law at the American University.

I have a special interest in this field because of some family involvement in the area, but what she writes makes so much sense that I thought this area in which there is sometimes more heat

than light, needs to see this issue more widely understood.

I ask that the article be printed in the RECORD, and I urge my colleagues to read it.

The article follows:

[From Black Issues in Higher Education, May 4, 1995]

TRANSRACIAL ADOPTIONS—IN THE CHILDREN'S BEST INTERESTS

(By Dr. Rita J. Simon)

The case for transracial adoption rests primarily on the results of empirical research. The data show that transracial adoptions clearly satisfy the "best interest of the child" standard. They show that transracial adoptees grow up emotionally and socially adjusted, aware of and comfortable with their racial identity. They perceive themselves as integral parts of their adopted families, and they expect to retain strong ties to their parents and siblings in the future.

The findings in our study are neither unique or unusual. All of the studies—even those carried out by researchers who were initially skeptical—arrived at the same general conclusions.

Indeed, when given the opportunity to express their views on transracial adoption, most people—Black and white—support it. For example, in January 1991, "CBS This Morning" reported the results of a poll it conducted that asked 975 adults, "Should race be a factor in adoption?" Seventy percent of white Americans said no, and 71 percent of African Americans said no. These percentages are the same as those reported by Gallup in 1971 when it asked a national sample the same question.

THE SIMON-ALTSTEIN STUDY

In 1971-72, Simon contacted 206 families living in five cities in the Midwest who were members of the Open Door Society and the Council on Adoptable Children (COAC) and asked whether she could interview them about their decision to adopt nonwhite children. All of the families but two (which declined for reasons unrelated to adoption) agreed to participate in the study. The parents allowed a two-person team composed of one male and one female graduate student to interview them in their homes for 60 to 90 minutes at the same time that each of their children, who were between four and eight years old, was being interviewed for about 30 minutes. In total, 204 parents and 366 children were interviewed.

The number of children per family in our surveys ranged from one to seven; this included birth as well as adopted children. Nineteen percent of the parents did not have any birth children. All of those families reported that they were unable to bear children.

The most important finding that emerged from our first encounter with the families in 1971-72 was the absence of a white racial preference or bias on the part of the white birth children and the nonwhite adopted children. All of the children (adopted and birth) had been given a series of projective tests including the Kenneth Clark doll tests, puzzles, pictures etc., that sought to assess racial awareness, attitudes and identity.

Unlike all other previous doll studies, our respondents did not favor the white doll. It was not considered smarter, prettier, nicer, etc., than the Black doll either by white or Black children. Neither did the other tests conducted during the same time period reveal preferences for white or negative reactions to Black. Yet the Black and white children in our study accurately identified themselves as white or Black on those same tests.

Thus, contrary to other findings reported up to that time, the children reared in these

homes appeared indifferent to the advantages of being white, but aware of and comfortable with the racial identity imposed by their outward appearance. By and large, the parents of these children were confident that the atmosphere, the relationships, the values and the lifestyle to which the children were being exposed would enable successful personal adjustments as adults.

Over the years, we continued to ask about and measure racial attitudes, racial awareness and racial identity among the adopted and birth children. We also questioned the parents during the first three phases of the study about the activities, if any, in which they as a family, engaged to enhance their transracial adoptee's racial awareness and racial identity. We heard about dinner-time conversations involving racial issues, watching the TV series "Roots," joining Black churches, seeking Black godparents, preparing Korean food, traveling to Native American festivals and related initiatives. As the years progressed, it was the children, rather than the parents, who were more likely to want to call a halt to these types of activities.

"Not every dinner conversation has to be a lesson in Black history," or "we are more interested in basketball and football than ceremonial dances" were comments we heard frequently from transracial adoptees as they were growing up.

In the 1991 phase of the study, transracial adoptees were asked how they felt about the practice of placing nonwhite—especially Black—children in white homes, what recommendations they might have about adoption practices and what advice they might have for white parents who are considering transracial adoption. We also asked the respondents to evaluate their own experience with transracial adoption.

We opened the topic by stating, "You have probably heard of the position taken by the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW) and several councils of Native Americans strongly opposing transracial adoption. Do you agree or disagree with their position?" All of the respondents were aware of NABSW's position. Eighty percent of the adoptees and 70 percent of the birth children disagreed with the NABSW position. Among the latter, 17 percent agreed and 13 percent were not sure. Only 5 percent of the transracial adoptees agreed with NABSW's position; the others were not sure how they felt about the issue. The reasons most often given for why they disagreed were that "racial differences are not crucial," "TRA is the best practical alternative," and "having a loving, secure relationship in a family setting is all-important."

One Black male adoptee said, "My parents have never been racist. They took shit for adopting two Black kids. I'm proud of them for it. The Black Social Workers' Association promotes a separatist ideology."

Another Black female commented, "It's a crock—it's just ridiculous. They [the NABSW] should be happy to get families for these children—period. My parents made sure we grew up in a racially diverse neighborhood. Now I am fully comfortable with who I am."

Another commented, "I feel lucky to have been adopted when I was very young [24 days]. I was brought up to be selfconfident—to be the best I can. I was raised in an honest environment."

We then shifted to a more personal note: "How do you think being Black (or, where appropriate, Korean or Native American) and raised by white parents has affected how you perceive yourself today?" One-third of the transracial adoptees thought the adoption had a positive effect on their self-image. One-third thought it had no effect, and one-

third did not know what effect the adoption had on their self-image.

One male adoptee said, "Multicultural attitudes develop better children. I was brought up without prejudice. The experience is fulfilling and enriching for parents and children."

The results of 20 years of study show that transracial adoptions serve the children's best interests. None of the families aborted any of their adoptions. As they moved from childhood to adolescence to adulthood, the transracial adoptees were clearly aware of and comfortable with their racial identity. Today, those who are Black laugh at being labeled "oreos," Black on the outside, white on the inside, by some members of the National Association of Black Social Workers. The Black adoptees stress their comfort with their identity and their awareness that although they may speak, dress, and have different tastes in music than some other Blacks, the African American is wonderfully diverse.●

MRS. CLINTON'S SPEECH TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

● Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, earlier today, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton spoke at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. I urge my colleagues to read this important and thoughtful speech.

The First Lady spoke eloquently about the main themes of the Conference—women's education, health care, economic empowerment and human rights. These are issues that matter to every family in America and around the world. If we don't address these issues, all our talk about family values is meaningless.

In addition, Mrs. Clinton did not shy away from addressing China's serious human rights violations—or their meddling in the content and management of the Conference.

I commend the First Lady for participating in this important Conference and ask that her speech be printed in the RECORD.

The speech follows:

FIRST LADY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON'S REMARKS FOR THE UNITED NATIONS FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN

BEIJING, CHINA, SEPTEMBER 5, 1995

Mrs. Mongella, distinguished delegates and guests:

I would like to thank the Secretary General of the United Nations for inviting me to be part of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. This is truly a celebration—a celebration of the contributions women make in every aspect of life: in the home, on the job, in their communities, as mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, learners, workers, citizens and leaders.

It is also a coming together, much the way women come together every day in every country.

We come together in fields and in factories. In village markets and supermarkets. In living rooms and board rooms.

Whether it is while playing with our children in the park, or washing clothes in a river, or taking a break at the office water cooler, we come together and talk about our aspirations and concerns. And time and again, our talk turns to our children and our families.

However different we may be, there is far more that unites us than divides us. We