

teen pregnancy. He has delivered approximately 10,000 babies. He is a respected doctor for over 30 years, a medical professor and former dean of a medical school. He is a community leader in Nashville—a member of the board of the March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation and the force behind a teen pregnancy prevention program, "I Have a Future." "I Have a Future" was recognized by the Points of Light Foundation and former President Bush for its efforts in fighting teen pregnancy and fighting drugs.

I am very concerned about the toxic atmosphere which has accompanied recent nominations of distinguished professionals to high office in our Government. I am disturbed at the thought that Americans of great accomplishment will decline to serve, reluctant to undergo the invasive and debilitating nomination process.

Dr. Foster is the kind of distinguished public servant our Government needs. I am pleased that he is telling his own story, through this column and through the recent speech he delivered at George Washington University. I believe he must have the opportunity to tell his story in confirmation hearings. I am asking all of my colleagues to reserve judgment on Dr. Foster until he has the chance to tell his own story through the normal committee process.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Foster's column appear in the RECORD at the conclusion of these remarks, and I yield the floor.

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

WHY I WANT TO BE SURGEON GENERAL
(By Henry Foster)

Just a little over a week ago, few people outside Nashville knew anything about me. But after President Clinton announced his intention to nominate Dr. Henry Foster for surgeon general on Feb. 2, it seems like everybody thinks they know everything about me.

Two weeks ago, no one, not even my wife, St. Clair, my daughter, Myrna, and my son, Wendell—as devoted as they are—followed my every move and every word with rapt attention. Now, when I wake up in the morning and look out my window, the press is out there waiting and watching. When I go to my office, they follow me into the elevator. And walking down the street, I have been punched in the face, inadvertently, I think, with one of those huge microphones you see on TV. I have never seen anything like it.

I have even picked up a new lexicon. Words that matter in Washington are not in dictionaries in the rest of America. They certainly never taught me these words in medical school or the delivery room: Sound bites. Boom mikes. Stakeouts. Live shots. Talking heads. On-air analysis. All dissecting me over and over again. And all before I've uttered one word at my confirmation hearings before the Senate.

People who have never met me analyze my character and my life's work. They attack me personally before they ever give me a chance to introduce myself or tell my story. But those attacks do not define me. I know who I am and what I stand for. I also know that I am a symbol in a larger debate that has polarized this country for many years. But the attacks do hurt.

I cannot say that my work as a doctor entirely prepared me for these two turbulent weeks. But I have learned a few things during my 38 years as a doctor, a teacher and a crusader against teen pregnancy that have prepared me to be a good surgeon general.

I have been face to face with real life-and-death challenges. When you see low birth-weight babies born to mothers not yet old enough to drive a car, you have an appreciation of what trauma really means. When you visit the homes of families living in grinding poverty and feel the palpable sense of hopelessness in their lives, you begin to understand what it is to be up against the odds. Compared to that, shouted questions and overheated rhetoric may be uncivil, but I can handle them. When people ask me why I want to be surgeon general, I know the answer.

When you've had the good fortune to participate in the miracle of birth as many times as I have, it is difficult to stand on the sidelines and watch so many people wasting the precious gift of life.

It is difficult to look around America today and see so much needless suffering. Too many children suffer, because their parents have not been taught the value of prevention. Too many people don't have access to quality health care. And too many of us have turned away from those basic American values that can prevent violence or abuse of any kind from taking root.

But all is not lost. America is moving forward to confront both our health care crisis and the crisis of values that has led to far too much irresponsible behavior. As your surgeon general, I believe I can turn the small ripples of success that we have produced into great waves of progress. I believe that I can draw attention and help develop lasting solutions to the tragic public health problems confronting us—from the epidemic of violence to the spread of AIDS to the terrible problem of substance abuse. But I will be giving my greatest attention to what the president has called "our most serious social problem," the epidemic of teen pregnancy in this country.

It's ironic that my work fighting teen pregnancy has been overshadowed by my opponents' talk about abortion. I do believe in the right of a woman to choose. And I also support the president's belief that abortions should be safe, legal and rare. But my life's work has been dedicated to making sure that young people don't have to face the choice of having abortions.

I have some ideas about how young people can avoid that difficult choice. We are reducing teen pregnancy in the Nashville housing projects through "I Have a Future"—a program we started at Meharry Medical College back in 1987. Our approach is to expand adolescent health care programs beyond the schools and bring them to the Community, where they can become a part of the fabric of everyday life. Encouraging abstinence and involving the entire community, we have begun to replace a culture of hopelessness with one that gives young people clear pathways to healthy futures.

In my work with young people in Nashville, there is one lesson I stress above all others. To break the cycle of despair, you must learn that there is a reward for sacrifice. And earning that reward has a fringe benefit. It allows you to give something back. That is a hard lesson to learn, but it is one that has kept me going through these difficult weeks. Having President Clinton place his faith in me is something I could never have imagined as a young boy growing up in the segregated South. Now, I want to give something back to a country that has rewarded my work and sacrifice, and God willing, I'll have that opportunity.

RIGHT TO LIFE OF MICHIGAN

Mr. ABRAHAM. I would like to commend the marchers who came to Washington from all over the country to join in the March for Life here on January 23, 1995, the anniversary of Roe versus Wade.

At the time of the march I was pleased to have the opportunity to meet with the pro-life delegation from my home State of Michigan. In my State, the right-to-life organization has long pursued legal channels in attempting to restore the civil rights of the unborn and in helping women with problem pregnancies.

Unfortunately, the peaceful and legal efforts of organizations such as Right to Life of Michigan have been obscured by the actions of those who have resorted to violence as a means of expressing their opposition to abortion. In response to these senseless acts of violence, the Michigan right to life organization has launched a series of television commercials calling for an end of all violence at abortion clinics. I rise today to commend Right to Life of Michigan for their leadership on an important issue of the day. I also applaud them for their constructive project as they pursue our common goal of advancing the cause of the pro-life movement, and I further join them in condemning those who would resort to any form of such violence in an attempt to advance their objectives.

REMARKS OF WILLIAM S. COHEN, WEHRKUNDE CONFERENCE, MUNICH, GERMANY

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, on the weekend of February 4, the annual Wehrkunde Conference was held in Munich, Germany. This conference is a gathering of government representatives from NATO countries and leading experts on alliance security. Not surprisingly, one of the main topics of discussion was the situation in Bosnia and NATO's role in that conflict.

This year, the Senate delegation to the Wehrkunde Conference was led by the distinguished Senator from Maine, BILL COHEN. In his remarks to the Wehrkunde delegates, Senator COHEN underscored the serious weaknesses of the U.N. protection forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as the erosion of NATO's military credibility as a result of the dual-key arrangement between the United Nations and NATO. His bottom line is that if we are unable to provide the U.N. forces with the necessary authority and firepower, these forces should be withdrawn.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senator COHEN's insightful remarks to the conference be included in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the remarks were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY SENATOR WILLIAM S. COHEN, WEHRKUNDE CONFERENCE, MUNICH, GERMANY, FEBRUARY 4, 1995

We have entered a new world of disorder and our inability to formulate coherent policies and strategies to deal with ethnic conflicts and the expansion of NATO membership has led to cross-Atlantic fear, confusion, incoherence, and recrimination—a state of affairs not unprecedented for the NATO alliance.

I would like for the moment to offer a few observations on Bosnia to see whether the present is prologue:

1. NATO cannot act unless America leads.
2. America will not lead unless it can persuade the American people that it is imperative for us to do so.

3. The conflict in Bosnia is not perceived to involve American interests that are vital. Rather, it is a quagmire where its inhabitants would rather dig fresh graves than bury old hatreds.

4. The European members of NATO were not willing to wade into the quick sand of ancient rivalries and engage in peacemaking operations so the responsibility was passed to the U.N., which has fewer divisions than the Pope and none of his moral authority.

As a result, we are all bearing witness to the decimation of a nation that was guaranteed protection under the U.N. Charter while the best we can offer is to seek to minimize the bloodshed by denying arms to the victims of aggression.

Our collective acquiescence to aggression may be the lesser of two evils—but it is nonetheless the participation in the evil of ethnic cleansing that we hoped might never again touch the European continent.

We are hesitant to take more aggressive action because the consequences of our action cannot be predicted. The absence of predictability prevents the development of consensus:

Should we do nothing militarily to stop Serbian aggression?

Lift the arms embargo unilaterally if necessary and strike?

Lift and get out of the way—if that is possible?

Time is running out on our Hamlet-like irresoluteness. Before the decision is made to lift the arms embargo, with all of its attendant uncertainties—including the fear of Americanizing the war on the part of some and the hope of doing so on the part of others—we should make an effort to establish the credibility of UNPROFOR's mission and might:

New leadership is required. General Rose has departed. General Smith has taken his place. Mr. Akashi should be asked to resign immediately.

When a no-fly zone or weapons exclusion zone has been declared, it should be enforced, not allowed to be violated with impunity.

No tribute or tolls should be paid by UNPROFOR forces to gain passage to help the victims of war.

No tolerance should be granted for taking hostages or using them as human shields.

If any harm should come to UNPROFOR forces, we should take out every major target that allows the Serbs to continue to wage war. That power should be disproportionate to the transgression and no area in Serbia ruled out of our bomb sites.

UNPROFOR should be given the heavy armor necessary to protect its forces and achieve its humanitarian mission.

If we are unable to give UNPROFOR—whose troops are trapped in the layers of a disastrous dual command structure—the authority and firepower to achieve these ends, then we should remove the forces before the U.N.'s political impotence is allowed to cor-

rode NATO's military integrity and credibility any further than it has already done so.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

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

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

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

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

MIDDLE-CLASS BILL OF RIGHTS TAX RELIEF ACT OF 1995—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 17

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, transmitting, a draft of proposed legislation to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide tax relief for the middle-class, together with accompanying papers; which was referred to the Committee on Finance:

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to transmit today for your immediate consideration and enactment the "Middle-Class Bill of Rights Tax Relief Act of 1995." I am also sending you an explanation of the revenue proposals of this legislation.

This bill is the next step in my Administration's continuing effort to raise living standards for working families and help restore the American Dream for all our people.

For 2 years, we have worked hard to strengthen our economy. We worked with the last Congress to enact legislation that will reduce the annual deficits of 1994-98 by more than \$600 billion; we created nearly 6 million new jobs; we cut taxes for 15 million low-income families and gave tax relief to small businesses; we opened export markets through global and regional trade agreements; we invested in human and physical capital to increase productivity; and we reduced the Federal Government by more than 100,000 positions.

With that strong foundation in place, I am now proposing a Middle Class Bill of Rights. Despite our progress, too many Americans are still working harder for less. The Middle Class Bill of Rights will enable working Americans to raise their families and get the education and training they need to meet the demands of a new global economy. It will let middle-income families share in our economic prosperity today and help them build our economic prosperity tomorrow.

The "Middle-Class Bill of Rights Tax Relief Act of 1995" includes three of the four elements of my Middle Class Bill of Rights. First, it offers middle-income families a \$500 tax credit for each child under 13. Second, it includes a tax deduction of up to \$10,000 a year to help middle-income Americans pay for post-secondary education expenses and training expenses. Third, it lets more middle-income Americans make tax-deductible contributions to Individual Retirement Accounts and withdraw from them, penalty-free, for the costs of education and training, health care, first-time home-buying, long periods of unemployment, or the care of an ill parent.

The fourth element of my Middle Class Bill of Rights—not included in this legislation—is the GI Bill for America's Workers, which consolidates 70 Federal training programs and creates a more effective system for learning new skills and finding better jobs for adults and youth. Legislation for this proposal is being developed in cooperation with the Congress.

If enacted, the Middle Class Bill of Rights will help keep the American Dream alive for everyone willing to take responsibility for themselves, their families, and their futures. And it will not burden our children with more debt. In my fiscal 1996 budget, we have found enough savings not only to pay for this tax bill, but also to provide another \$81 billion in deficit reduction between 1996 and 2000.

This legislation will restore fairness to our tax system, let middle-income families share in our economic prosperity, encourage Americans to prepare for the future, and help ensure that the United States moves into the 21st Century still the strongest nation in the world. I urge the Congress to take prompt and favorable action on this legislation.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.
THE WHITE HOUSE, February 13, 1995.

ECONOMIC REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 18

The PRESIDING OFFICER laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Joint Economic Committee:

To the Congress of the United States:

Two years ago I took office determined to improve the lives of average American families. I proposed, and the Congress enacted, a new economic strategy to restore the American dream. Two years later, that strategy has begun to pay off.

Together we have created an environment in which America's private sector has been able to produce more than 5 million new jobs. Manufacturing employment grew during each month of 1994—the first time that has happened since 1978. We have cut the deficit in