

HIGH EXPECTATIONS

The study, commissioned by the Center on Organization and Restructuring of Schools at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, also found that the gap between the poor and those who were not poor shrank in the more nurturing schools. "When high expectations for student learning are embodied in the formal structure of the school, very positive effects can occur for at-risk youth," says Anthony Bryk, director of the University of Chicago's Center for School Improvement, one of the report's analysts.

Yet in "The Bell Curve" scenario, most Hostos students would give up their goals and find a valued place in society" back in the South Bronx. "The idea that people with the most capacity to be educated should become the most educated sounds dangerously elitist," they write. In fact, at 149th and the Grand Concourse, it sounds more like "Beowulf." "Fate is more strong, God more mighty than any man's thought," writes the anonymous Anglo-Saxon seafarer. And students like Mustafa know they can help themselves.●

DWAYNE O. ANDREAS

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I picked up the fall 1994 issue of the publication, *Constitution* put out twice a year by the Foundation for the U.S. Constitution in New York City.

The chairman of the foundation is Dwayne O. Andreas, the chief executive officer of Archer Daniels Midland [ADM] and a public-spirited citizen who has been willing to come to the fore on many key national concerns.

I opened the magazine to read a preamble by Dwayne Andreas, and it is so loaded with common sense that I ask that it be inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the end of my remarks.

Democracy can prevail only if citizens exercise self-restraint. We cannot see how close to the edge of the cliff we can come in exercising our freedoms.

What Dwayne Andreas calls civic responsibility is the obligation of those of us in public office and of all American citizens.

An item he refers to later in the publication is good but is, frankly, not as pointed as the Dwayne Andreas comment.

I urge my colleagues and their staffs to read Dwayne Andreas's comments, which follows. At this point, I ask that Mr. Andreas's statement be printed in the RECORD.

The statement follows:

The rights we enjoy as American citizens have been a central focus of Constitution since we began publishing the magazine in 1988. In this issue we present a Special Report in which we consider the other side of the contract: the obligations of citizens to their society.

These days, I sometimes wonder whether there is a contract—whether we Americans recognize any limits on our freedom to do as we please. We seem to have forgotten that the Constitution guarantees our rights within society. Increasingly, individuals and groups manifest a kind of "in your face" contempt for the rights of their fellow citizens; social obligations take a back seat to personal fulfillment and economic gain.

Nowhere is this lack of civility more evident than in the area of social expression

protected by the First Amendment to the Constitution. Brutality, obscenity and raw sex have become the common coin of television, film and popular music; all who question the fitness of these materials for a generally youthful audience are derided as prudes or thought controllers. And the purveyors of this destructive effluvia assert their right to sell it; few dare to speak of society's right to resist the tide.

But society does have that right, and I fear that those who abuse the First Amendment in this way may be endangering the splendid guarantee that has protected them for so long. Even sober commentators like Irving Kristol worry about whether the First Amendment can survive. Writing for the *Wall Street Journal* not long ago, Kristol labeled television violence a form of child abuse and suggested that "modest limits on adult liberties ought to be perfectly acceptable if they prevent tens of thousands of children from growing up into criminal adults."

Are such legislated limits truly necessary? I don't think so. Rather what's required is recalling that there is such a thing as civic responsibility—that with the rights of citizenship go some obligations. To remind readers of these obligations, we have prepared the Special Report that begins on page 50. These pages carry a timely reminder. Ignoring it could menace the guarantees about which this magazine has written so much since it was founded six years ago.●

SENATORS DOLE AND DASCHLE

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, as we all know, the 104th Congress convened Wednesday and before we become too immersed in the legislative process, I want to take a moment to recognize the two leaders who will guide us through the next 2 years.

It has been my experience that some of the key qualities of a good leader are decisiveness, ability, commitment, integrity, and moral and physical courage. The new majority leader, Senator ROBERT DOLE, possesses those attributes and many more, and I am proud to call him my friend.

BOB's commitment to public service began in 1943 when he raised his right hand and enlisted in the U.S. Army as World War II raged at its height. A natural leader, young G.I. DOLE soon earned a commission and found himself commanding a platoon in the famed 10th Mountain Division, which remains one of the Army's premiere combat units. During bloody and vicious fighting against the Germans in the rugged terrain of Italy, BOB was severely wounded twice and very nearly lost his life. Though decorated for his valorous acts in battle, Senator DOLE carries with him to this day a very noticeable reminder of the cost of liberty and of warfare. I am sure that each of us recognizes the disability that BOB has overcome as a reminder that war, or the employment of military force, is not a matter to be considered lightly, and that whenever young Americans are placed in harm's way, they run the risk of being killed, wounded, or maimed.

In 1951 BOB was elected to the Kansas State legislature, beginning a career that ultimately brought him to this Chamber. His time in the statehouse

was quickly followed by a term as county attorney and then four terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. In 1968, BOB came to the U.S. Senate and it was immediately apparent to me that he was a man destined to go places. In the ensuing 27 years, I have been pleased and proud to watch BOB's career progress, as he served as the chairman of the Republican National Committee; as he was overwhelmingly reelected to the Senate four times; to watch him climb the Senate leadership ladder to the position he now holds; and, to see him nominated for the Vice Presidency of the United States in 1976. I have no doubt that the unbeatable combination of Senator DOLE's drive and experience, along with what just might be a strong streak of destiny, may lead him to the White House before his career in public service comes to an end.

Senator DOLE has been leader of the Senate Republicans when we have been both the majority and minority party in this body and he has distinguished himself well in both roles. While not everyone may agree with Senator DOLE's politics, they do respect the manner in which he conducts himself and the business of the Senate. Now that our party has once again regained control of this body, I know that Senator DOLE will work closely with Members on the other side of the aisle to ensure that they are treated fairly, and that the 104th Congress will be marked as a period of progress, accomplishment, and bipartisanship. BOB DOLE is a man I hold in high esteem and whose friendship I value greatly.

As anyone of us who stood on this side of the aisle for the last 8 years can tell you, being in the minority can be a frustrating experience. With an effective leader, though, the minority party can play an important role in the legislative process, not only contributing to the debate, but strengthening bills passed by Congress. The man whom the Democrats have elected as their leader, Senator TOM DASCHLE of South Dakota, is a person who I believe will be an effective voice for Senate Democrats. TOM is no stranger to public service, as he spent time as an intelligence officer in the U.S. Air Force, as a valued aide to a South Dakota State senator, and four terms in the U.S. House of Representatives, where he held several leadership positions. Although TOM was just recently elected to the position of Democratic leader, he has been a distinguished member of this body for the past 9 years. During his tenure, Senator DASCHLE has demonstrated himself to be an able and effective legislator, working hard for his constituency in South Dakota. I have had the pleasure of serving with TOM on the Veterans' Affairs Committee and have found him to be a serious minded man and one of purpose. It was of little surprise to me that TOM rose to the important post he now holds. I have every confidence that he will be an effective leader for our Democratic

colleagues and I am equally confident that he will work well with the Republican majority.

While many may believe that politics in the United States is based on an adversarial relationship between parties, each of us knows that it is a system which encourages and fosters compromise—that to actually legislate, we must seek common ground. Senators DOLE and DASCHLE are two men who are committed to ensuring that this body functions efficiently and effectively by seeking that point where Members can vote to pass a bill. I congratulate BOB and TOM on winning their leadership elections, and I look forward to working with both of them throughout the duration of the 104th Congress.

WAS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? THE VOTERS SAID YES

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, anyone even remotely familiar with the U.S. Constitution knows that no President can spend a dime of Federal tax money that has not first been authorized and appropriated by Congress—both the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate.

So when you hear a politician or an editor or a commentator declare that "Reagan ran up the Federal debt" or that "Bush ran it up," bear in mind that it was, and is, the constitutional duty and responsibility of Congress to control Federal spending. Congress has failed miserably in that task for about 50 years.

The fiscal irresponsibility of Congress has created a Federal debt which stood at \$4,805,835,231,225.14 as of the close of business Thursday, January 5. Averaged out, every man, woman, and child in America owes a share of this massive debt, and that per capita share is \$18,243.03.

IN MEMORY OF SHERRY STETSON MANNIX

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, on Tuesday of this week, Sherry Stetson Mannix died after a long and valiant battle with cancer. Mrs. Mannix's title was Foreign Affairs Specialist in the Bureau of Multilateral Affairs of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. But that does not begin to describe her fine work or her life-long dedication to her country.

Mrs. Mannix served for 11 years as an officer in the U.S. Air Force and then for another 9 years in the Air Force Reserve, achieving the rank of lieutenant colonel. She joined the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1984 and became the Agency's premier expert on the Chemical Weapons Convention, which she helped to negotiate. Both before and after the CWC was negotiated, Mrs. Mannix was the principal persons to whom we and others turned when questions arose on how that very complicated convention would work.

During its consideration of the CWC last year, the Select Committee on In-

telligence, of which I was then vice chairman, submitted to the executive branch over 130 questions for the record regarding the Chemical Weapons Convention. It was Sherry Mannix who answered many of those questions and edited the others, even though she was already in tremendous physical pain due to the illness that she knew would soon take her life. Those answers were so well-written and informative that we actually published 64 of them, as an appendix to our committee's public report, "U.S. Capability to Monitor Compliance With the Chemical Weapons Convention." Only rarely do we find such executive branch answers so worthy of publishing, and only very rarely does any human being demonstrate the devotion to duty and country that Mrs. Mannix did throughout the last year.

Sherry Mannix was only 44 when she died. If life were fair, we would have enjoyed her company and her service for many more years. Instead, we today offer our deep condolence to her husband, retired Air Force Lt. Col. Charles R. Mannix, and to her mother, Albertie Stetson, both of whom reside in my State, as well as to her grandmother, Bernal B. Allen. And in remembering Sherry Mannix we say, Thank you for a job well done and a life well lived, right to the very end.

COMMENDING CHIEF ROBERT STEWART

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, South Carolina is probably the most idyllic place anyone might consider living. The pace of life there is relaxed, the people are friendly, and the weather is temperate. Unfortunately, even a State as peaceful as mine is not free from the evils and dangers of crime.

Leading the fight against illegal activity in the Palmetto State is an organization created by me when I served as Governor of South Carolina, the State Law Enforcement Division, commonly referred to as "SLED." At the helm of SLED is a man whom I have had the pleasure of knowing for many years, Chief Robert M. Stewart, and whom I am pleased to call a friend. The chief has literally dedicated his life to police work and has gained national recognition as an aggressive officer and a true professional.

Chief Stewart, a native of Cheraw, began his career as a teenager when he signed on as a cadet with his hometown police department and worked his way up the leadership ladder, earning the position of director of public safety before he had even turned 30. In 1975, he stepped down as director and joined SLED as a special agent. In the following 20 years, his career advanced rapidly while he worked on cases ranging from those that were routine and mundane to ones that were international in scope. A veteran of the SWAT team, Robert specialized in white collar and public corruption cases, and worked closely with Federal

agencies investigating such crimes in South Carolina. In 1988, Gov. Carroll Campbell appointed Robert as the chief of SLED, where he has done an unparalleled job of administering the agency.

When he took over SLED, Chief Stewart's goal was to make it an organization that was recognized as being one of the most professional, progressive, and modern law enforcement agencies in the United States. Over the past 7 years he has done just that. By regionalizing the agency, and streamlining its rank structure, Chief Stewart has ensured that his agents are better able to monitor and address crime trends throughout the State. Additionally, Chief Stewart secured a brand-new lab, that is not only used by SLED, but is available to any other police department in the State of South Carolina. Thanks to the chief's commitment and vision, last year SLED became only the second State investigative agency in the Nation to receive professional accreditation by the Committee on Accreditation of Law Enforcement Agencies.

Mr. President, Chief Stewart celebrates his 50th birthday today, and I want to take this opportunity to recognize and commend him for dedicating more than half his life to protecting the people and property of South Carolina. Chief Stewart is a man of great ability, integrity, and courage, and I am proud of his many accomplishments. I wish him good health and happiness in the years ahead, and look forward to continuing to hear great things about him.

UNITED STATES ARMS EMBARGO ON BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, 2 days ago I introduced legislation together with the distinguished Senator from Connecticut, Senator LIEBERMAN, to terminate the United States arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina as of May 1, 1995.

As I mentioned in my remarks at the that time, I believed that this legislation was not only consistent with international law in upholding Bosnia's inherent right to self-defense, but that it would also serve to provide some badly needed leverage for the Bosnians on the diplomatic side.

I understand that today, Adm. Leighton Smith, commander of NATO Forces in Southern Europe told reporters that he opposed this legislation. I am not surprised that a four-star admiral would not oppose his Commander in Chief, nor that a NATO commander would not choose to contradict the NATO-Secretary General.

I would note, however, that in addition to candidate Bill Clinton, the following former high-level Government officials, including Cabinet members, have publicly supported lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia: Zbigniew Brzezinski; Frank Carlucci; George