

THE NATIONAL RIFLE  
ASSOCIATION

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, I rise today to speak briefly on a matter that has caused me great personal concern and that has rapidly been allowed to escalate into another tragic example of political class warfare in the United States.

I am speaking of the overzealous and counterproductive rhetoric of extremists and extremism. Most recently, the National Rifle Association has provided an example of the worst in political debate.

At this time, Mr. President, I include a letter I recently received from Mr. Jack Sands, of Waldorf, MD. Mr. Sands is typical of many former NRA members who have seen its leadership become more violent in its rhetoric over the years. Addressing his letter to Wayne R. LaPierre, he states:

I hereby resign as a life member of the NRA. Enclosed is my membership card dated 1973. Please remove my name from all mailing lists. I have chosen today to take this action, since this is Peace Officers Memorial Day when we pay tribute to the nearly 14,000 American law enforcement officers who died in the line of duty. As a retired Federal officer, I no longer wish to be affiliated with the NRA.

Sincerely,

*Jack M. Sands.*

I commend the national leadership for its courage in apologizing for its most recent example of political hatred. The comments circulated by the NRA were both offensive and irresponsible. I commend them for their apology, but I condemn them, Mr. President, for not having the good sense to exercise responsible restraint in the first place.

There is a popular ad campaign that says "I'm the NRA," and we are shown a normal, everyday, person. The message from that ad is that the NRA is just a rank-and-file, next-door-neighbor organization.

Well, Mr. President, there are two NRA's. There is the leadership of the NRA and there is the rank and file reflected in this memo sent to several Members. This is their way of lobbying Congress. It is a picture of a gun-toting person speaking about "jack-booted BATF thugs."

Mr. President, I was in the NRA but I quit a year ago. So did some of our friends and colleagues like Congressman BREWSTER who dropped off the board, and Congressmen JOHN DINGELL and Tom Foley. Just like former President George Bush.

It is time for the rank and file membership of the NRA to take back their association. Otherwise, Mr. President, they will be tarred with the same brush as those few, but vocal, zealots who have initiated this most destructive campaign of hatred, innuendo, fear, animosity, and intimidation which are the NRA leadership's favorite tools for lobbying elected officials.

Those who preach hatred and disrespect for the law bear some responsibility if their message of hatred con-

tributes to lawless acts of others. Likewise, those in the Government who act with arrogance or disrespect for the rights of our law abiding citizens—regardless of the political or social beliefs of the citizens—will bear some responsibility if their official behavior contributes to an atmosphere of distrust and animosity toward the Government.

There is no excuse to justify vigilante-ism or open lawlessness. It is absolutely inexcusable and irresponsible for a national organization—such as the NRA—which claims it speaks for a great number of our constituents—to openly promote lawlessness or disrespect for our law enforcement personnel.

That is precisely what our system of government was created to avoid. Political debate, discussion, recall, referendum, and involvement is how we keep our Government responsive to the needs of the people in the traditional and acceptable way.

I can tell you, Mr. President, that I also resigned my membership from the NRA. I did that over a year ago because some of its fanatical members actually made threats against me and my staff if I did not vote their way. I will not lend my name to an organization which appears to cater to that kind of violent behavior.

I can also tell you, Mr. President, that views of the beltway NRA is not reflective of the majority of its members' attitudes. Certainly not the Coloradans who have been such dedicated and generous members.

Those NRA members would, I am certain, join me in condemning the irresponsible behavior of earlier this month.

I am personally highly offended that there is now a trend to politicize the tragedy in Oklahoma City. That was a heinous, terrible, criminal act. These responsible deserve nothing more than due process of law and total, complete, scorn from society. That was contemptible and it was barbarism.

It is almost equally contemptible to use that tragedy to further a political agenda. It does not matter what the agenda is, whether additional forms of gun control or whether it is an agenda of anti-governmentalism. To use that tragedy for political or personal advantage cheapens the lives of the innocent victims and it cheapens the rights protected by our Constitution.

The NRA is not the only national organization to use lies, hate, fear, or intimidation to generate contributions and to influence public policy. This is a phenomenon that has become quite popular among many groups who wish to influence national policy despite representing small, minority, views on a given issue.

However, I can think of no other organization in our history which has advocated acts of outright violence against the Government or law enforcement. That was a new low and I am relieved—somewhat—that the NRA

has at least apologized. Let's have no more.

The NRA held its national convention this week. To the NRA membership in Colorado and the Nation, I say: Take back your association before it is destroyed—before it destroys itself—from within.

RICHARD P. BUCKLEY—OUTSTANDING EDUCATOR FROM BROCKTON, MA

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, it is a privilege to take this opportunity to pay tribute to Richard P. Buckley of Brockton, MA, for his 35 years of outstanding service to education in Massachusetts.

Richard Buckley is retiring this year as title I coordinator in the Brockton Public Schools, a position he has held with great distinction since 1969. The Federal title I program that he administers provides vital support for improving the reading and mathematics skills of Brockton's disadvantaged students. He has also taught at the elementary, junior high, and high school levels, and as served as an elementary school assistant principal.

In addition to his duties in Brockton, Richard Buckley is also a member of the Massachusetts Chapter 1 Director's Advisory Council and the Massachusetts Department of Education Committee of Practitioners. He is an executive board member and two-time past president of the Council of Administrators of Compensatory Education.

Richard Buckley also served in the U.S. Army for many years. A graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff School, he was Commander of the Boston Army Reserve Center and is now a retired colonel of the Army Reserve.

Throughout this extraordinary career, Richard Buckley has been a strong leader for high quality education for the students of Brockton. On the occasion of his retirement, I commend him for his remarkable service to his community and our country.

S. 768—ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT  
REFORM AMENDMENTS

Mr. CRAIG. Mr. President, today, I rise to support S. 768, the Endangered Species Act Reform Amendments of 1995.

I wish to compliment Senator GORTON and Senator JOHNSTON on the thought and effort which has obviously gone into the crafting of this legislation.

Reform of the Endangered Species Act is way overdue, and I am very pleased that the Congress is finally addressing this issue in a substantive way. Field hearings on ESA reform will be underway next week under the guidance of my colleague from Idaho, Senator DIRK KEMPTHORNE, who chairs the subcommittee of jurisdiction within the Environment and Public Works Committee. I will be joining DIRK in

Lewiston, ID, on June 3 for the ESA hearing there.

I want to be counted as one who recognizes the value of our fish and wildlife. I have repeatedly said that I cannot support outright repeal of the Endangered Species Act, as many have urged. But the act needs substantial revision if it is to be brought back in balance with the economic well-being of this country and with the needs of its citizens. Far beyond its original intent, the act has been made a bludgeon to suppression legitimate use of public lands and to threaten private landowners and communities.

Nowhere is that fact more obvious than in my State of Idaho. Earlier this year, an Endangered Species Act Lawsuit brought by two preservation groups resulted in a perverse opinion which threatened to shut down all economic activity on 14 million acres in Idaho.

Mr. President, that is an area the size of Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hampshire combined. If the courts can find reason under the existing law to render such a devastating opinion as was done in this case, then it is imperative that Congress correct the obvious flaws in the law.

As chair of the two subcommittees in the Senate with jurisdiction over forest policy, I have embarked on a series of hearings to understand and correct the myriad of conflicting laws and regulations which have strangled the practice of good forestry in this country. The practice of forestry is at a standstill on our western public lands, and the primary culprit is the Endangered Species Act. The forests are ruled by the Endangered Species Act, not the Forest Service or the Bureau of Land Management, and that is a reality which must be changed.

Senator GORTON's bill provides many of the needed changes. It includes language which Senator KEMPTHORNE and I introduced as S. 455 earlier this year to prevent a repeat of the court opinion I have already described. It would streamline the section 7 consultation process, which has proven to be unworkable in our experience with threatened and endangered salmon. It brings cost-consciousness, state rights and private landowners back into the equation for conservation of species.

I am pleased to be a cosponsor of S. 768. I have told Senator GORTON that I will assist him in any way possible to accomplish a balanced reform of the ESA. It must be done this year—we have waited too long already. I hope our colleagues will join us in this effort.

#### TRIBUTE TO KRESIMIR COSIC

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I stand today to honor the life of Kresimir Cosic, a Croatian patriot and an adopted son of Utah, who died yesterday morning after a long illness. On behalf of Utahns he inspired and charmed for

over a quarter-century, I wish to extend our deepest condolences to his wife and children.

When he died, Kresimir Cosic was the Republic of Croatia's Deputy Ambassador to the United States, a position in which he played an invaluable role. But sports fans in this country and around the world would know him more for his brilliant career in basketball—a career that spanned nearly two decades and brought him to the Olympics four times.

His close ties to our country began nearly 30 years ago, when the coaches at Brigham Young University, who had seen the young Croat from Zadar lead his team from the former Yugoslavia to claim the silver medal in the 1968 Olympics, invited him to play for the BYU team. Kresimir Cosic's decision to accept was, in one way, his first contribution in diplomacy: He would become the first foreign basketball player to win All-American honors, which he did in 1972 and 1973.

At BYU, he endeared himself to Utahns by his brilliant sportsmanship and his personal decency. As a great center he dazzled us all, dribbling behind his back, putting up an amazing defense, and breaking the record of all-time high scorer and rebounder. Off the court, he shared our faith and warmed our homes. In all the years I have known him, including the last year when he was personally suffering a great deal, I never saw him without a smile.

After his 4 years, he was drafted by the L.A. Lakers and the Carolina Panthers, but he chose to return home. Fans of world basketball saw him win most-valued-player honors in the former Yugoslavia, on All-European teams, and in the Olympics, where in Montreal in 1976 his team won the silver medal and in Moscow in 1980 his team beat the Soviets to win the gold.

Kresimir was a Croatian patriot, who dedicated the last part of his life to the rebirth of Croatia's independence, and to building strong relations between his country and ours. The most brilliant sports men and women combine extraordinary skill, a sophisticated sense of strategy, and spirit. I suggest that these are the attributes that also make good diplomats, for Kresimir was one of the best.

Since 1991, Kresimir was one of my wisest counsels on the crisis in the Balkans. Always with optimism, he would outline the regional complexities with a shrewd notion of strategy that effortlessly combined historical sense with the ability to see three moves down the court. In a world where so much foreign policy is merely reactive, Kresimir always counseled on how to anticipate.

While Croatia suffered attack, he did not despair. His love of country never wavered, and his dedication to a free and democratic Croatia was as strong as his character because it was his character. In Washington, he served his country with great distinction, as a

paragon of probity. And always he insisted that Croatia's greatest ally should be the United States. In my experience, no one could embody a greater warmth between two countries than Kresimir Cosic's friendship with Americans.

Kresimir Cosic lived an example of physical discipline, mental focus, and spiritual stamina. He was an inspiration to all who saw him on the court, to all who engaged him in the halls of diplomacy and, above all, to all who had the enriching experience of being his friend. Kresimir Cosic was one of the finest human beings I have ever known. I would like to offer here the deep gratitude of the citizens of Utah for the joy Kresimir gave us from the basketball court, for the faith he shared with us, for the friendship he continued to nurture with us throughout his life, and for the efforts he undertook to strengthen relations between the United States and the Republic of Croatia.

We will miss him.

#### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The following petitions and memorials were laid before the Senate and were referred or ordered to lie on the table as indicated:

POM-136. A resolution adopted by the Board of Commissioners of Ferry County, Washington; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

POM-137. A resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of Alaska; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

#### "LEGISLATIVE RESOLVE NO. 3

"Whereas the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States states: The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.; and

"Whereas the Tenth Amendment defines the total scope of federal power as being that specifically granted by the United States Constitution and no more; and

"Whereas the scope of power defined by the Tenth Amendment means that the federal government was created by the states specifically to be an agent of the states; and

"Whereas today, the states are demonstrably treated as agents of the federal government; and

"Whereas many federal mandates are directly in violation of the Tenth Amendment; and

"Whereas The United States Supreme Court has ruled in *New York v. United States*, 112 S.Ct. 2408 (1992), that the Congress may not simply commandeer the legislative processes of the states; and

"Whereas a number of proposals now pending before the Congress may further violate the Tenth Amendment of the United States Constitution; and

"Whereas numerous resolutions addressing various mandates imposed on the states by federal law have been sent to the federal government by the Alaska State Legislature without any response or result; and

"Whereas the United States Constitution envisions sovereign states and guarantees the states a republican form of government; and

"Whereas Alaska and its municipalities are losing their power to act on behalf of