

and Maxwell, have made many sacrifices during his 16-year-naval career. Serving on three submarines, he has spent a significant amount of time underway away from his family. We are all deeply in debt to the contributions of great Americans such as Commander Sullivan to ensure the freedom we all cherish.

As Commander Sullivan now prepares to return to sea yet again, this time as captain of his own submarine, I call upon my colleagues from both sides of the aisle to wish him every success as well as fair winds and following seas.

## BALANCED BUDGET DOWN PAYMENT ACT, II

SPEECH OF

HON. LUIS V. GUTIERREZ

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 7, 1996

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 3019) making appropriation for fiscal year 1996 to make a further downpayment toward a balanced budget, and for other purposes:

Mr. GUTIERREZ. Mr. Chairman, the Republicans believe they have a great plan to put a downpayment on a balanced budget.

They believe they have found a perfect method to cut what they consider to be excessive "social spending."

They have proposed legislation that slashes funding by \$900 million for veterans health care, veterans employment programs, and the construction of new veterans psychiatric care facilities. They have said "No" to needed VA hospitals and outpatient clinics which would have served up to 700,000 veterans. These cuts are for below President Clinton's budget request and are even below the House-passed level with regard to health care issues.

On top of all that, they have now given themselves a safety mechanism. They have invented a sure-fire way to guard their plan from criticism.

How?

By removing these indefensible provisions? By realizing the errors of their huge budget cuts?

No. Instead they choose to silence someone who has the courage and the expertise to point out the flaws in their budget plan, our Secretary of Veterans Affairs, Jesse Brown.

In the Republicans believe their plan is such a marvelous solution to our budget woes, why then are they trying to muzzle the Secretary of Veterans Affairs from during his job, advocating for adequate funding for VA programs? Why else would the Republicans aim their funding cuts at the Secretary of Veterans Affairs travel budget and staff support?

I think I know the answer.

Maybe the Republicans themselves don't believe their plan is so wise. Maybe they know their downpayment unfairly cuts funding for those men and women who served under our Nation's flag. Maybe they fear that veterans will be informed of these cuts and will vote their concerns at the ballot box next November. Maybe they are worried that the next time they drape themselves in the flag the American people won't buy it.

They know that Secretary Brown is speaking the truth. They know that he is a strong and knowledgeable advocate for veterans.

I can find no other explanation.

The Republicans must doubt their own commitment to veterans. They must fear that Jesse Brown will expose their budget for what they know it is. Why else would they prevent the Secretary of Veterans Affairs from speaking out on the issues that he knows best?

I urge my colleagues to oppose the rule for this continuing resolution. It prevents those who really care about our Nation's veterans from striking punitive language aimed at silencing the Secretary of Veterans Affairs.

It attacks the independence of a cabinet level agency and silences the best voice America's veterans have. It compromises Congress' commitment that the Secretary of Veterans Affairs would be an effective advocate for the millions of men and women who served in our military. This rule is bad for veterans and bad for the United States.

## AMBASSADOR FERRARO RECOGNIZES INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

HON. PATRICIA SCHROEDER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 12, 1996

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, on March 8, 1996, Ambassador Geraldine Ferraro, head of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, spoke eloquently about International Women's Day. Ambassador Ferraro recognized the many high-ranking women in our Government who perform outstanding service on behalf of human rights all over the world. She spoke at length about the many human rights violations that women still face, in spite of our best efforts. I would like to have her remarks included in the RECORD.

AMBASSADOR GERALDINE FERRARO, HEAD OF U.S. DELEGATION, UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, ON THE OCCASION OF INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY, MARCH 8, 1996

Thank you so much, Tim, for that kind introduction. It is a great honor for me to be here today on the occasion of International Women's Day with so many friends and former colleagues and to have the chance to speak with you about women and human rights and the essential role they both play in our efforts to fashion a new and better world for those who follow us.

Before I begin, however, I want you to know that you have chosen some of my favorite people to honor today, Mr. Secretary. I am pleased, but not surprised, because each of them has been at the forefront of the struggle to protect the rights of women, each of them fought for the rights of children, the poor, the disabled and the disenfranchised at home before coming to Washington. So moving into the arena of international human rights has been a natural progression for them.

These are women who are not afraid to stand up for the cases they believe in. Indeed, the desire to fight for such beliefs was why they ran for public office in the first place.

But many run and only a few win. What we see here are women who have helped make history, each in her own way, women who overcame the obstacles others so often put in their path. Together, they prove that it is not just possible for women of principle to lead, but that the public will support them when they do.

This, then, is change. And change is what this administration has achieved, both with regard to women and to human rights. You know and I know that this has not been easy. But change is taking place. There are more women at the highest levels of our Government now than ever before, demonstrating their competence, day in, day out, proving their value to the country and to the world—no nonsense women like Madeleine Albright. I don't know how many of you saw her on television the other day, when the Cubans were trying to explain how shooting down unarmed planes in international waters was somehow an act of courage. Madeleine let the world know exactly what she thought of their so-called machismo, and she called it, what it was in plain English, as well as in Spanish. Yes, Madeleine has been a most articulate spokesperson for this country no matter what the issue.

And, of course, there's Donna Shalala, Janet Reno and Hazel O'Leary, handling complex Cabinet portfolios with skill and determination. And here in the State Department: Robin Raphel is doing an excellent job with India and Pakistan; Tony Verstandig is making real contributions to the Middle East Peace Process; Melinda Kimble, proved herself a leader at the Beijing Women's Conference; and Nancy Ely-Raphel made a vital contribution to the success of the Vienna conference and more recently the Dayton accords. Both Lynn Davis and Joan Spero are among the Secretary's most trusted advisors, while Phyllis Oakley has been a pillar of strength on refugee issues. And Pru Bushnell has shown enormous leadership on African issues.

There are many more of you who also deserve to be recognized as well, women who stand in the trenches of government and do battle every day for the things we believe in. Because we don't have just a handful of exceptional women in Government any more; we've got thousands of them. In every office in every department and agency in this Government, there are women making believers of those who doubted them before. This is change.

It's a measure of your achievement that this change is, I believe, irreversible.

That doesn't mean that I think the battle to ensure women's rights is over in this country, that women have achieved equality in the workplace and in their paychecks. That doesn't mean that we have put an end to sexual harassment, that we are free to walk our streets at night, or that the fear of violence no longer haunts the daily lives of millions. Nor does it mean that those who would turn us against each other, pitting those who stay at home to raise their children against those who go to work, have suddenly seen the light. It doesn't mean that the glass ceiling is shattered or that every deadbeat dad is paying for his children now. It doesn't even mean that we, as a society, understand what it takes to be a woman today, what it means to walk a tightrope between family and the work place, at a time when so much is changing and yet so little.

No, but I'm optimistic because there is a course to history. How many women worked here in the State Department a generation ago—not just in secretarial positions—women have always filled those spots—but as analysts, office directors, desk officers? There was Eleanor Dulles, a specialist in German affairs—whose brother just happened to be Secretary of State—and who else? Not many. Look at your numbers now. Who among you thinks we're ever going back?

I'm optimistic about the future because I am convinced that the doors of opportunity which we have opened will never again be closed. The gains we have achieved will be

built on—not only in the State Department, but in Congress and in the State legislatures, on Wall Street and in Silicone Valley, in the boardrooms, the newsrooms and the classrooms of our great universities, in the science labs and in space and wherever the next chapters of our history are being written.

It will be tough. Every step of the way will be contested. Power is always contested.

But I'm optimistic for another reason. In 1984, when I was running for Vice President, the campaign had me shy away from emphasizing women's issues. I didn't have to prove to anyone where I stood on equity for women. I had to convince "the guys" that I had the courage and the intelligence to run the country. But it didn't make sense. How can a woman not address the needs of women? And so in late October, right before the election, I gave my one and only women's speech. It addressed every issue we care about and have fought for over the last dozen years. I was concerned that somehow the message would be lost if we didn't bring in the other half of the population, and so I said: "I am not only speaking to women here tonight. Every man is diminished when his daughter is denied a fair chance; every son is a victim when his mother is denied fair pay."

Those are the same points we make when we discuss women's rights as human rights as the First Lady did so eloquently in Beijing. Allowing women full participation in society benefits not just them, but society as a whole.

Many of you participated in one way or another to the effort which made the Beijing Women's Conference such a success. I was privileged to be part of the delegation. It was one of the most fascinating and exhilarating events I've ever attended. The platform for action we adopted commits the nations of the world to halting violence against women, protecting their rights to free speech, health and education, and establishing a higher standard of respect for women's rights than ever before in history.

This, in itself, is quite an achievement. But I don't think that we will have done our job until the standard we set is met—and not just in America, but everywhere. And that will take a lot of work on the part of all of us who care about women and human rights. For we all know how easy it is for some nations to agree to international standards one moment then forget them entirely the next. So will it be with the Beijing platform if you and I relax or focus too narrowly on ourselves.

It is the special fate of America to be the particular champion of human liberty. It is not always an easy burden to live with. Whether we like it or not, the hopes of millions and millions of people across the world rest on our shoulders. And we know why: When the rest of the world has proven itself incapable of unwilling to lead, the United States has accepted the challenge.

It took two generations of sacrifice to win the cold war and bring the blessings of liberty and freedom to a hundred million people. And now, in Bosnia, in Haiti and in the Middle East, the eyes of the victims are turned to Washington again. There are jobs which only we can do. Not that we can do them all, or that we can always do them by

ourselves. But the fact is, we are different; we are a catalyst. When we act, others follow.

So it is with human rights. The United States has been leading for over two hundred years. That's as it should be. Leadership in human rights is a burden we embrace in this building, in this administration, and in hundreds of private institutions and organizations throughout the country.

That's why I'm looking forward to heading back to Geneva next week for the meeting of the U.N. Human Rights Commission. There will be a lot on our plate there—China, Bosnia, Cuba and the Middle East. But despite all that, you can be sure that no delegation is going to be more active in the defense of women's rights than we will.

Human rights are universal, but they're also American through and through. They're as old as the Declaration of Independence, as new as this week's human rights reports. Despite our lapses, our institutions and policies are grounded in a genuine belief that the rights and freedoms we cherish belong to everyone. And that gives us a strength most other nations lack.

That is why I think that ultimately our views on human rights will prevail throughout the world. One day the standard we first set in our own institutions and then helped establish in the international arena will become the one by which all countries judge themselves.

Our job, then, is to take that voice and amplify it, to use the power of our institutions and the strength of our people, people like you to hold the nations of the world—our own included—accountable to the standards we have set for ourselves so many times—whether in the Bill of Rights, the U.N. Charter or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—or more recently in the Vienna declaration, the Beijing platform and our 1996 human rights reports.

Of course, some governments won't be disseminating our reports this week. They'll be doing their best to silence them. They may succeed in the short term. They may jam the Voice of America. They may censor their newspapers, lock their dissidents in distant jails. They may oppose us at the United Nations and at the Human Rights Commission. They may bluster and rage and obfuscate. But time is no longer on their side. Eventually, with modern telecommunications the truth will find its way to even the most remote outpost of injustice. They are going to find it impossible to kill ideas which just won't die, ideas like freedom, justice and equality.

We only have to look at Bosnia or Baghdad, to Cuba or Chechnya or the desperate refugee camps in Sudan, Tanzania and Zaire to see how far we have to go. For if women's rights are human rights and human rights are universal—and all the nations of the world have agreed they are—there must come a time when the respect for these rights becomes universal, too. There must come a time when words become deeds, not just in America, but in every hut and every home in every land.

Yes, I think that time will come. It may not be in my lifetime, but it will come. There will be a time when the women of the world won't need to petition the powerful for

protection, when "poor" and "defenseless" won't be names we give to half a billion women. There'll be a time when girls are not left to starve upon a hillside because they were not born boys; when their genitals are not mutilated to please some cruel, outdated custom; when they are not violated in the name of ethnic cleansing; when girls are not sold into prostitution out of financial desperation; when they are not burned because their dowries are too small or their husbands died before them.

There will be a time when women will not be either the victims or the cause of overpopulation; when they will not bear eight children in the hope that three may live; when they are not forced into early marriage; when they will not lack the education they need to become productive citizens.

There will be a time when refugee women will not sell themselves for food; when they will not be raped by marauding soldiers; when they will not be terrorized because they come from the wrong group or the wrong city or because they chose the wrong time to gather firewood to cook the family meal.

Yes, there will be a time for all of that. There'll be a time when the women of America can walk the streets of our cities and not know fear. There'll be a time when the life of a ghetto girl will mean as much as one in the wealthy suburbs; when comparable work will mean comparable pay; and when we can look out across any meeting room in any county of this country and see as many women there as men.

But that is some time off. Until then, violence against women will remain a thread that knits the world's rich and poor together. No nation is immune. This is not a problem of the developed or developing world. It is not African or Asian or American alone. It is universal. It is our problem; it is every nation's problem, and so it will remain until women take their rightful place alongside men, in all strata and at all levels of society. For violence is a reflection of second-class status.

And so as I look around me here and see so many examples of what this country can produce when it nurtures its girls as well as boys, I can't help but feel pride that we women have begun to force history to march forward. But time has caught us in mid-step. Our work, the work of everybody here today—men and women—is but half-done.

And yet I cannot think of a more exciting time to be alive. There is so much to do and so many talented people like you to do it. Women, not just here in America, but everywhere, are on the move, brushing aside the obstacles, defending our interests, our families and our values. Women's rights are human rights.

It's been a long time in coming, but I can feel the sweep of history now. It's in this room and in this country. And it won't stop here. One day the pulse of freedom and human dignity will beat in every woman's heart, not just in America, and not just on International Women's Day, but in every village and in every nation of the world every day of the year. It may not happen soon, but I know that with all of us working together, its time is sure to come.