

She remembered the great times when we would all go down to my grandfather's shore. We played scrabble and canasta. My mother loved the lottery. You have to know that over the last days, my mother had five of us buying her little lotto tickets. Why? Not because she liked to gamble. She liked the action. She loved being involved.

When our grocery store closed in the 1970's, mother volunteered in my office. That's where she got the great name—Miss Chris, The First Lady of Highlandtown.

She helped run my neighborhood office. She worked with me in the City Hall when I served on the City Council. Then she worked in my Congressional office on Eastern Avenue and then my Senate office on Highland Avenue.

She ran my neighborhood office. Whenever people would call she would say, "Hi. I'm Barb's mother. What can I do to help you?"

If anyone asked where I was, my mother would say, "Don't worry about. I'll take care of it. I'll tell her tonight, because I talk to her everyday." And she did.

When I looked at the flowers at the funeral home, I noticed that many of the flowers were from workers. They were from the workers at General Motors. They came from the workers at the Coast Guard Yard. They came from the workers at Goddard. Why? Not because of me, but because many of them knew her. They often spoke to her on the phone.

When Congress threatened to close Goddard, the workers called my mother looking for me. They came last night to the funeral home. They brought a poem. They told me they had a great time talking to my mother. She told them I loved the space program. My mother didn't know I ever loved the space program, but she made them feel special, feel valued and reassured like she did for so many.

Well for all of us, my sister, her grandchildren, she always loved us. She would leave us little messages on the answering machine. She would leave us little notes. She would send us notes in the mail that said, "Be aware." And then she would ask about them.

My mother would also send us prayers. Because she believed that for every problem, there wasn't always a solution, but for every problem, there was always a prayer that helped us get to the solution. She was devoutly religious. It was her faith and her prayers that sustained her.

Mother had a very keen mind, incredible attention to detail, and was a superb organizer. She had an enormously strong presence.

Now, as we come close to the end, and we can all think back to the wonderful days and years we had together. She was a wonderful neighbor. She was always taking care of someone. She was always taking care of her family. She was always taking care of people in need.

But I want you also to know that our mother was a lot of fun. She had a great sense of humor. She loved getting out with her friends. She loved family outings and social occasions. She loved going to political events.

My mother loved hearing about the new restaurants with names like "Wild Mushroom." And she loved the old favorites that she and my father went to like Haussner's. She loved going to Eastern House with her friend Ethel.

Mother was so outgoing. She was so strong. She had incredible presence. And because of this presence and because of her outgoingness, we all wondered with some apprehension how she would cope with being a shut in.

Two years after my father's death, she was so ill, she could no longer go out. Diabetes

had given her diabetic neuropathy. Illness had taken its toll. She was to stay at home—most often in a wheelchair.

Once more, our mother surprised us. She amazed us. And she inspired us. Though she had to give up going out or going to the office, she just didn't give up. Her presence was strong to the end.

In her wheel chair, or welcoming visitors or being on the phone, she was full of great cheer. She called me to tell us what was happening and always wanted us to do the same.

My mother was intellectually inquisitive until the last days, reading The Paper. She wanted a subscription to People magazine so she could be "up on it" and be able to talk to her grandsons and granddaughters. Even when her eyes were going, she would read with a magnifying glass with a light so that she could be involved.

My mother faced her illness the way she faced life itself—with great dignity and with great courage. My mother was incredible. She had great spirit, great stamina and great spunk.

She insisted on being self-sufficient. Whenever we wanted to help, she would say, "let me do it myself, that's how I keep going." And she did, right up to the end.

Mother's faith inspired us all. She adopted a prayer ministry when she was at home with her illness, praying for the sick, for a special intention someone had requested, for her family, friends and her country.

She took it very seriously. Like everything else, she believed in doing her duty. She did it with a combination of great determination, great devotion and great love.

My mother had a good life. She celebrated her 50th wedding anniversary with my father, who was still well enough to participate. She saw my two sisters, Chris and Fran, marry two wonderful men, both named Ed. She had five fantastic grandchildren. One is a Captain in the United States military. She has a granddaughter who is a nurse at Johns Hopkins. Another soon will be a nurse. A grandson planning on medical school. And another grandson contemplating about what he can do to bring about social change.

She saw me elected to the United States Senate. She was very proud that I was the first woman of Polish heritage ever elected to Congress and the first Democratic woman elected to the Senate in her own right. So she saw many good things. She loved life.

So in closing, we ask you to remember our mother. We ask you to remember the good times. To her friends of many years, remember her young and dancing. To those who were her neighbors and her constituents, remember her at the store and at the office, helping out with a helping hand.

We, her family, will remember her playing with us, playing with her grandchildren. We'll remember her playing cards and just having a good time. We'll remember her being there for us in so many ways.

We ask that you remember her during the holidays and the Holy days. She and my father would have been getting ready now for Easter. Now she is with her own mother, and with our dear father. I know she will remember us in paradise.

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I want to, in the most heartfelt way, thank Senator SARBANES for the very kind words he said about my mother and for his gracious generosity in putting that statement in the RECORD. My mother thought the world of Senator SARBANES, but she also thought the world of the U.S. Senate and was very honored that I was in it. I thank the Senate for its courtesy at this moment.

I yield the floor.

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT TO LIMIT CONGRESSIONAL TERMS

The Senate continued with the consideration of the joint resolution.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, we have just had a very historic vote. I commend my colleagues on both sides for this bipartisan vote. I think it was 58 to 42. But it is an indication that term limits will not go away. I want to commend my colleagues, as I have done before, particularly the freshmen on this side, many of whom have pledged to serve only two terms. They have made their point. They have made it in a very objective way and a nonpartisan way. They have listened to the American people.

I congratulate Senator THOMPSON, Senator ASHCROFT, Senator THOMAS, and others who worked so hard, and also Senator BROWN, who has been pursuing this matter for some time, and thank all of my colleagues who voted, in effect, with us on cloture.

That would not have determined whether or not we would have term limits, but we could have gone on to the debate on term limits.

Perhaps there will be another day. There will be another day, not "perhaps." There will be another day. I believe the American people can now sift through the records and make a determination on who was for and who was against even debating or going to term limits.

I think that is very significant. I think the vote just held in the U.S. Senate is a most significant vote, and it will have a far-reaching impact.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent for permission to proceed as if in morning business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GRAHAM. Thank you, Mr. President.

HAITI

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, a week ago today the last of the United States troops who had been sent to Haiti came

home. These brave soldiers, as well as others from countries around the world, helped bring enormous changes to that troubled nation, that troubled neighbor of the United States. Last Tuesday's withdrawal provides us an opportunity to reflect upon what has been accomplished, what is left to be done, and what special role the United States—and particularly those of us who have a responsibility in the National Government of the United States—will play in this next series of chapters of the nation of Haiti.

There has been considerable attention focused on the problems that remain in Haiti, and any observer would admit that there are very substantial challenges yet to be overcome in that nation. But I believe that an analysis would also require some comparison of what is the circumstance in Haiti today, in April of 1996, as compared to the recent past.

Let us take the period of 1993. Haiti in 1993 was a scene of anarchy and lawlessness. Haiti's military dictatorship ruled by machete. There had been an estimated 3,000 political killings per year during the reign of terror of the military dictatorship.

I remember, Mr. President, visiting a Catholic church in downtown Port-au-Prince where a Government official had been removed from a mass in front of his terrorized family and friends, taken into the street, and summarily executed.

A few weeks later, with a delegation from the United States, I had the honor of placing a wreath at the point at which that brave citizen of Haiti gave his life. For that action and others, I was declared *persona non grata* and was not allowed to reenter Haiti as long as the military dictatorship was in control.

Haiti continues as a violent society. It has been a violent society since the establishment of the republic, the second republic—second only to the United States of America—in the Western Hemisphere.

But since the arrival of United States troops and other international military and civilian participants in an effort to restore democracy to Haiti, 30,000 weapons have been removed from the streets. Today there is the fledgling beginnings of civilian law enforcement and a judicial system.

In 1993, there was no independent law enforcement capability in Haiti. Law enforcement was an adjunct of a corrupt military. There was no semblance of an independent judiciary. The judiciary was subservient to the autocratic military dictatorship. While there is a long road to travel to bring Haiti to a mature justice system, the first steps have been taken.

In 1993 and again in 1994, thousands of refugees left Haiti headed for the United States in man-made rafts. Mr. President, 25,600 persons were rescued at sea during the first half of 1994 alone—25,600 persons rescued at sea during a 6-month period. Countless others were

less fortunate. They died of dehydration or were eaten by sharks.

After the United States-led operation, the flow of refugees from Haiti has plummeted. In 1995, the Coast Guard intercepted only 5 percent of the number that had been intercepted in 1994, the first 9 months of 1994 having been under the rule of the military regime. The total numbers intercepted in 1995 were 1,204 individuals.

On democracy, Haiti has been an independent Republic with the pretense of democracy for 192 years. But during the first 191 of those 192 years, there has never been in the history of the country a transition of power peacefully from one democratically elected President to a successor democratically elected President—191 years in which the democratically elected President was either toppled by a military regime, beheaded, forced into exile, or in some other manner involuntarily relinquished political responsibility and another, often nondemocratically elected, successor took his place.

In February of this year, for the first time, that historic event occurred. President Aristide voluntarily, peacefully, pursuant to the Haitian Constitution, transferred the power to the new President. The United States, during an equivalent period of time of our history as a Republic, had 40 peaceful democratic changes of administration. This was the first time that had occurred in the history of Haiti.

So, Mr. President, as we talk about the things yet to be done, I think we as a democratic nation, we as a nation which has had a long and intimate history with Haiti, we as a nation which decided that it was intolerable to have old-style military autocratic regimes using their power of the machete, power of the sword, and power of the gun in order to displace a democratically elected government, we who are willing to organize the international community in an effective effort to restore democracy to Haiti, I think should take some pride in the changes that have occurred and the steps, beginning though they may be, toward respect for human rights and democracy in Haiti.

But much remains to be done. Since Operation Restore Hope, the United States troops and their civilian counterparts have given the people in Haiti the chance to rebuild their country. Some of the things that remain to be done include poverty and unemployment, which continue to plague the Haitian people. The estimates are that unemployment now is in the range of 80 percent plus. With an uncertain future, the Haitian people lack a sense of optimism for what the future holds for themselves and their children. International investors have been wary about returning to Haiti and continuing the rebuilding of the economy.

I applaud those of my colleagues who are dissatisfied with actions that have occurred in Haiti such as the limited

investigation of some of the political killings. We must insist upon continued progress in this area. This Congress and this Federal Government have special responsibilities to help the Haitian people maintain their momentum toward democracy and respect for human rights and an improved economic future.

Some of the things that are particular responsibilities of this Congress include a role to play in training the new Haitian Parliament, the first Parliament that truly justifies the characterization of being an independent legislative branch in the history of the Republic of Haiti.

The Haitian police force needs continued guidance. We have assisted in selecting and training some 5,000 Haitian police officers who will be the beginnings of an independent police presence in that nation. It is like having a police force made up of 5,000 rookie police, each with approximately 4 months of training before being placed on the streets. We now have a role to play in the maturing of that police force, the development of a leadership cadre, the development of a culture of how a police force maintains itself in that democratic society.

Probably the most difficult task that we face is in assisting the Haitian people in the revitalization of their economy. We must work with President Preval, and we must assure that there is a movement toward a marketplace, privatized economy in Haiti. For too long the Haitian people have suffered under an economy which has been highly centralized, highly socialized, and enormously corrupt and inefficient. The Haitian Government must also work with international financial institutions to create a climate that will make it again receptive for foreign investment.

President Aristide established the goal of Haitian economic progress which was to move from misery to poverty with dignity. The Haitian people should have a friend and partner in the United States in that road that they have yet to walk.

Mr. President, a concern that I have at this juncture is the ability of the United States to build on the progress that has been made and to assist the Haitian people in overcoming the challenges that still remain. It has become bogged down in domestic partisan politics, and we have been less constructive than we need to be in assisting our neighbors in Haiti. We have wasted valuable energy and time trying to either establish the grandeur of the gains that we have made or to point out each shortcoming. As difficult as those shortcomings may be, they have been given a proportion which is out of relationship to the totality of the circumstances in Haiti.

Both the Congress and the administration, both Republicans and Democrats, have some legitimate opportunity to share in the successes that have been achieved in Haiti and to accept the responsibilities for the future.

We will do a disservice to the United States ability to influence the progress and future of a country which is important enough to us that we have just invested almost \$2 billion and the lives of thousands of U.S. uniformed and civilian personnel, and we will have lost the opportunity to demonstrate our serious commitment to assisting a country which is trying to go through some of the most difficult transitions—from tyranny to democracy, from anarchy to a civilized society, from misery to poverty with dignity.

Those are our challenges. Those challenges are only going to be met if we do it on a bipartisan basis. This Senate met that challenge in times past. In 1948, when many felt it would be impossible for a divided Government—with a Republican-controlled Congress and a Democrat in the White House, a Democrat who appeared to be vulnerable and therefore should be exploited by emphasizing differences—men of the stature of Senator Arthur Vandenberg recognized that the American national interest was in unifying behind policies that would serve our Nation's need to constrain the expansion of communism. We followed the enlightened leadership of Senator Vandenberg, and now, 50 years later, we see the fruits of that policy by the collapse of the Soviet Union and our ability, through almost a half a century of bipartisan commitment to that policy, to have avoided the need to use nuclear power and an excessive amount of United States military force in order to achieve that objective of the collapse of the Soviet Union and communism. We need to use that example as our standard as we set our policy for Haiti.

Mr. President, there are very real consequences if we continue a policy of treating Haiti as a partisan domestic political issue rather than an American foreign policy opportunity. We do not need to ask ourselves what will happen if we allow the progress that has occurred in Haiti to wither. We have already seen what will happen. We will see it again on our beaches with the dead bodies of Haitians who tried but failed to make it to our shores. We will see it at the tarmac of Guantanamo with hundreds of tents of refugees who have been able to survive and are awaiting their fate in limbo as they were just 3 years ago. We are not playing our role today in termination of a constructive American policy toward Haiti.

I am concerned that within the Senate we see a blocking of humanitarian assistance which will be critical to this next stage of Haiti's development. Assistance in the form of health care, funding that will be needed to procure essential medical supplies, vaccines, and for the operation of health clinics throughout Haiti is being held up by this Congress. The shutting down of humanitarian programs will exacerbate adverse conditions in Haiti and could contribute to further economic and political instability.

Equally disturbing, it has become fashionable to denounce Haiti's efforts to make a transition to democracy. If the question is, were the elections that were held in 1995 a standard of perfection by a mature democracy, the answer is clearly no. If the question is, were they the fairest, most accurate reflections of the opinion of the Haitian people in the 192-year history of that country, the answer is, with as much energy and confidence, yes.

We need to build on these successes, and we must do so in a bipartisan manner. I support the efforts of Congress to assist and demand that there be performance, performance in areas such as investigation of political murders. But I also ask us to recognize the reality of the situation. We are asking a government, whose President told us in person-to-person communication in this very Capitol just a few days ago, that his government had reached the point of financial stringency, that it could not pick up the garbage. To now expect that this government is going to have American or Western European standards of sophistication in forensic investigation is to ask what is not going to exist.

We must work with the people of Haiti and with their government. If we fail to do so, we will, again, see the kind of pictures that we saw in the very recent past of U.S. Coast Guard ships picking up overladen small wooden boats with refugees reaching out for salvation. We will see, again, the pictures of the butchered citizens of Haiti, like the man dragged from the Catholic church during mass.

At that point, we will ask ourselves not whether we scored appropriate political points, but whether we serve the national interest.

It is ironic that at the very time Congress is about to turn again to the question of illegal immigration and how to frustrate its imposition on the United States, that we are close to bringing about a crisis on an island which has been the source of so much of that illegal immigration. Clearly, one of the most fundamental things that the United States can do to reduce the amount of illegal immigration is to turn serious attention to assist in the social and economic development of those countries which are the most likely sources of illegal immigration.

We have made progress on that front as it relates to Haiti. Illegal immigration is down by over 20 times in the last 3 years. The question is, are we going to lose this momentum or are we going to build on the progress that we have made?

During the period of military rule in Haiti, as has been the case for decades previously, Haitians, in a time of desperation, stripped the country's hilly terrain of trees in order to make charcoal for heat and for cooking.

Today, actions by the Federal Government and the White House and the Congress threaten to cause a mud slide that will bury the progress that Haiti

has made with our cooperation and assistance over the past 2 years. It is our challenge to see that we can plant trees and stabilize the soil of Haiti so that, together, the people of Haiti, the people of the Western Hemisphere, and particularly the people of the nation which has been their longest and truest friend, the United States of America, can look forward to a new century of prosperity, a new century in which at least the people of Haiti have realized the goal of moving from misery to poverty with dignity.

Thank you, Mr. President. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, are we in morning business?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. We are considering Senate Joint Resolution 21.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to speak as in morning business for 15 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S PERFORMANCE

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, since March 19, I have been delivering a series of statements on the Senate floor. The common thread of my statements is my observation of the President's performance in office. I have concluded that he is not setting a good example for the people whom he serves. Basically, I mean that he does not perform in office commensurate with the rhetoric.

This also soon becomes an issue of the failure to show moral leadership, which basically means that you do what you say you are going to do. It is the single most important attribute of any President. I have quoted Franklin Delano Roosevelt on the floor of this Senate on this issue many, many times. One of his President leadership flaws is the fact that he says one thing and yet does another.

Last night, I had an opportunity to talk about a clue that I discovered as to why the President of the United States might say one thing and do another. I quoted from last week's *Time* magazine article, which quoted the President's senior adviser, George Stephanopoulos. His quote was just three words: "Words are actions." So if the President says something, that means that is what people know he is going to do. In other words, you say something, the President either thinks it is happening or he wants us to think it is happening. I have not quite discovered which one it is, Mr. President.

Yesterday provided a further case in point to illustrate what I am saying.