

tiers: the politician at one end, the voter at the other, and the party in between. The party's function was to negotiate between the politician and the voter, interpreting each to the other and providing the links that held the political process together.

The electronic revolution has substantially abolished this mediating role. Television presents politicians directly to the voters, who judge candidates far more on what the box shows them than on what the party organization tells them. Computerized polls present voters directly to the politicians, who judge the electorate far more on what the polls show them than on what the party organization tells them. The political party is left to wither on the vine.

The last half-century has been notable for the decrease in party identification, for the increase in independent voting, and for the number of independent presidential candidacies by fugitives from the major parties: Henry Wallace and Strom Thurmond in 1948, George Wallace in 1968, Eugene McCarthy in 1976, John Anderson in 1980, Ross Perot in 1992 and 1996, and Ralph Nader and Pat Buchanan in 2000.

The two-party system has been a source of stability; FDR called it "one of the greatest methods of unification and of teaching people to think in common terms." The alternative is a slow, agonized descent into an era of what Walter Dean Burnham has termed "politics without parties." Political adventurers might roam the countryside like Chinese warlords, building personal armies equipped with electronic technologies, conducting hostilities against various rival warlords, forming alliances with others, and, if they win elections, striving to govern through ad hoc coalitions. Accountability would fade away. Without the stabilizing influences of parties, American politics would grow angrier, wilder, and more irresponsible.

There are compelling reasons to believe that the abolition of state-by-state, winner-take-all electoral votes would hasten the disintegration of the party system. Minor parties have a dim future in the electoral college. Unless third parties have a solid regional base, like the Populists of 1892 or the Dixiecrats of 1948, they cannot hope to win electoral votes. Millard Fillmore, the Know-Nothing candidate in 1856, won 21.6 percent of the popular vote and only 2 percent of the electoral vote. In 1912, when Theodore Roosevelt's candidacy turned the Republicans into a third party, William Howard Taft carried 23 percent of the popular vote and only 1.5 percent of the electoral votes.

But direct elections, by enabling minor parties to accumulate votes from state to state—impossible in the electoral-college system—would give them a new role and a new influence. Direct-election advocates recognize that the proliferation of minor candidates and parties would drain votes away from the major parties. Most direct-election amendments therefore provide that if no candidate receives 40 percent of the vote the two top candidates would fight it out in a runoff election.

This procedure would offer potent incentives for radical zealots (Ralph Nader, for example), freelance media adventures (Pat Buchanan), eccentric billionaires (Ross Perot), and flamboyant characters (Jesse Ventura) to jump into presidential contests; incentives, too, to "green" parties, senior-citizen parties, nativist parties, right-to-life parties, pro-choice parties, anti-gun-control parties, homosexual parties, prohibition parties, and so on down the single-issue line.

Splinter parties would multiply not because they expected to win elections but because their accumulated vote would increase their bargaining power in the runoff. Their multiplication might well make runoffs the

rule rather than the exception. And think of the finagling that would take place between the first and second rounds of a presidential election! Like J.Q. Adams in 1824, the victors would very likely find that they are a new target for "corrupt bargains."

Direct election would very likely bring to the White House candidates who do not get anywhere near a majority of the popular votes. The prospect would be a succession of 41 percent presidents or else a succession of double national elections. Moreover, the winner in the first round might often be beaten in the second round, depending on the deals the runoff candidates made with the splinter parties. This result would hardly strengthen the sense of legitimacy that the presidential election is supposed to provide. And I have yet to mention the problem, in close elections, of organizing a nationwide recount.

In short, direct elections promise a murky political future. They would further weaken the party system and further destabilize American politics. They would cure the intolerable predicament—but the cure might be worse than the disease.

Are we therefore stuck with the great anomaly of the Constitution? Is no remedy possible?

There is a simple and effective way to avoid the troubles promised by the direct-election plan and at the same time to prevent the popular-vote loser from being the electoral-vote winner: Keep the electoral college but award the popular vote winner a bonus of electoral votes. This is the "national bonus" plan proposed in 1978 by the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Reform of the Presidential Election Process. The task force included, among others, Richard Rovere and Jeanne Kirkpatrick. (And I must declare an interest: I was a member, too, and first proposed the bonus plan in *The Wall Street Journal* in 1977.)

Under the bonus plan, a national pool of 102 new electoral votes—two for each state and the District of Columbia—would be awarded to the winner of the popular vote. This national bonus would balance the existing state bonus—the two electoral votes already conferred by the Constitution on each state regardless of population. This reform would virtually guarantee that the popular-vote winner would also be the electoral-vote winner.

At the same time, by retaining state electoral votes and the unit rule, the plan would preserve both the constitutional and the practical role of the states in presidential elections. By insulating recounts, it would simplify the consequences of close elections. By discouraging multiplication of parties and candidates, the plan would protect the two-party system. By encouraging parties to maximize their vote in states that they have no chance of winning, it would reinvigorate state parties, stimulate turnout, and enhance voter equality. The national-bonus plan combines the advantages in the historic system with the assurance that the winner of the popular vote will win the election, and it would thus contribute to the vitality of federalism.

The national-bonus plan is a basic but contained reform. It would fit comfortably into the historic structure. It would vindicate "the fundamental maxim of republican government . . . that the sense of the majority should prevail." It would make the American democracy live up to its democratic pretensions.

How many popular vote losers will we have to send to the White House before we finally democratize American democracy?

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

LOCAL LAW ENFORCEMENT ACT OF 2001

• Mr. SMITH of Oregon. Mr. President, I speak about hate crimes legislation I introduced with Senator KENNEDY in March of last year. The Local Law Enforcement Act of 2001 would add new categories to current hate crimes legislation sending a signal that violence of any kind is unacceptable in our society.

A terrible crime occurred September 14, 1998 in Hayward, CA. A woman in a gay and lesbian bar was verbally assaulted and threatened by two men. Donald R. Santos, 40, and Lance E. Alves, 45, were charged with making terrorist threats and interference of civil rights because of sexual orientation, in connection with the incident.

I believe that government's first duty is to defend its citizens, to defend them against the harms that come out of hate. The Local Law Enforcement Enhancement Act of 2001 is now a symbol that can become substance. By passing this legislation and changing current law, we can change hearts and minds as well.●

TAKE OUR DAUGHTERS TO WORK DAY

• Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, as you walk the halls of the Senate today, you might have noticed many young and bright faces. Today we are celebrating the 10th anniversary of "Take Our Daughters to Work Day." Senate HUTCHINSON and I have been pleased to oversee today's activities with our colleagues.

Over 11-million girls ages 9-15 are spending today with their parents, relatives, friends, neighbors and other mentors experiencing the wide range of careers the world has to offer.

Since 1993, 71-million young women—and yes, some young men, too—have participated in this outstanding program. According to a recent poll commissioned by the Ms. Foundation for Women, girls believe the program increased their interest in education, broadened their thinking about the future, and strengthened their relationship with their parents and other caring adults.

This morning's Senate activities began with a breakfast and a tour of the Senate floor for approximately 200 girls and their sponsors, many of them Senate staff members and assistants who wanted to share with their girls the excitement and challenges of working in our Nation's Capitol, and in particular, here in the Senate.

This year I am happy to host ten young ladies, all with very promising futures, most from my home State of Louisiana. Please welcome: Miss Lily Cowles of Shreveport, LA; Miss Caroline Pullen and Miss Claire Pullen of Houston, TX; Miss Keely Childress of Monroe, LA; Miss Elisabeth Whitehead

of Baton Rouge, LA; Miss Megan Haverstock and Miss Lauren Haverstock; Miss Kathleen Warner of Lynn Haven, FL; Miss Ashley Bageant of Spotsylvania, VA; Miss Annie Ballard of Baton Rouge, LA; Miss Erin Douget of Opelousas, LA.

In closing, I would like to thank the Ms. Foundation—the founder and organizer of this outstanding program that has impacted in a very positive way the lives of millions of girls and has become a tradition for thousands of workplaces across the country.●

IN RECOGNITION OF 1976 BROWN UNIVERSITY IVY LEAGUE CHAMPIONSHIP FOOTBALL TEAM

● Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize Brown University's 1976 Ivy League Championship Football Team, which recently was inducted into the Brown University Athletic Hall of Fame. In particular, I want to salute Joe Wirth, an assistant coach of that team, who was inducted into the Brown Hall of Fame in his own right in 1995, and who was an important influence on my own collegiate athletic career.

Joe coached at Brown from 1973 to 1979, and during his tenure, the Brown University Bears compiled an impressive 42–18–1 record. Joe Wirth was a defensive genius, and it certainly showed out on the field—the Brown defense was nationally ranked in five of those seven seasons. In the 1976 championship year, when the Bears led the way with an 8–1 record, they allowed the second-fewest points in the Ivy League. And that stingy defense translated into victories over the traditional league powers: Princeton, Harvard, and Yale. It was the first time in the school's history that they beat all three in the same season.

As if his responsibilities to the football team were not enough, Joe also was the coach of the wrestling team during that time and he helped keep the program alive. He produced a New England Champion in 1976. As one of Joe's co-captains on the 1975–76 wrestling team, I can attest that he had the respect and admiration of all of his wrestlers. We were all so grateful for his leadership and for his encouragement.

Despite the time commitments associated with his football and wrestling teams, Joe remained a family man. With his wife, Carol, he raised a wonderful family of six children.

To this day, Joe Wirth is a popular figure in Brown athletic circles. His players still recall his admonition to never give up “until the last white line is crossed.” In honor of his accomplishments as a Brown coach, I will conclude with a toast first offered to the 1976 Ivy League Champions by my classics professor, John Rowe Workman:

To your continued good health
To your continued prosperity
And to the maintenance of the great tradition●

NATIONAL PECAN MONTH

● Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize National Pecan Month. Each April the nation celebrates the pecan. Used in recipes ranging from pies and candy to soups and salads, the pecan is an important part of New Mexico's diet and economy.

New Mexico is the third largest pecan producing State following Georgia and Texas. The Pecan tree is uniquely native to North America. Pecans were first introduced to New Mexico in the early 1900's at the New Mexico State University and then in the Mesilla Valley. In 1932, the late Dean Stahmann Sr. planted the first commercial Pecan orchard, and pecans quickly became an important product of our State. In 2001, the State of New Mexico produced over 50 million pounds of pecans and had approximately 30,000 acres of pecan trees.

I am proud of the 15 New Mexico counties which produce pecans. Seven of the leading counties in pecan production include Chavez, Dona Ana, Eddy, Lea, Luna, Otero, and Sierra. Dona Ana county has more than 20,000 acres of pecan trees. Eight others including Bernalillo, Curry, De Baca, Grant, Hidalgo, Lincoln, Quay, and Roosevelt are all growing as valuable pecan producing counties.

Pecans not only taste great, but also may provide a way to help American's live healthier lives. A recently released study printed in the Journal of Nutrition reported regular consumption of pecans lowers cholesterol in conjunction with a step I diet of the American Heart Association. I encourage all American's to celebrate National Pecan Month with the people of New Mexico.●

TRIBUTE TO 2002 TEACHER OF THE YEAR: CALIFORNIAN CHAUNCEY VEATCH

● Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a great Californian, Chauncey Veatch, whom I am very proud to know. Chauncey Veatch has been bestowed the highest honor available to teachers; he has been named the 2002 “Teacher of the Year.”

I have had the honor of meeting Chauncey Veatch on two occasions. First when he became California's Teacher of the Year, and then again today. I could tell from my first meeting with Mr. Veatch that California was lucky to have a teacher like him in the State. His love for teaching and genuine concern for his students was apparent from the way he spoke about his classroom, students, and community.

Mr. Veatch did not always know he wanted to be a teacher. He came to teaching later in his career. He first spent 22 years in the Army infantry and medical services corps, working as a medical administrator.

After retiring in 1995, Mr. Veatch decided to follow in his siblings footsteps

and become a teacher. He currently teaches social studies at Coachella Valley High in Thermal, California. The overwhelming number of his students come from migrant families, and nearly all of his students are Spanish-speaking. Mr. Veatch speaks Spanish to communicate with many of his students and to show respect for their culture.

His students and colleagues know Mr. Veatch as a courteous, tireless worker. He goes the extra mile for his students and his community. It is not uncommon for Mr. Veatch to spend hours after school helping students get caught up on their course work or to get ahead. One of his migrant students had to work with his family until November. A place was saved for him in the classroom, and Mr. Veatch worked with him everyday after school to make sure he caught up with the rest of the class. This is just one example of the many students he has helped.

Mr. Veatch's former principal, Rick Alvarez, said of his colleague: “Believing our students can succeed is not a desire or a facade, but is actually something Chauncey lives. This caring can be seen in his eyes and heard in his voice and felt in his presence, and mostly seen in his actions.”

Chauncey Veatch said in the Rose Garden yesterday as President Bush presented him with his award, “If you'd like to be a part of America's tomorrows become a teacher today.” Mr. Veatch is a living example of the difference each person can make in the life of a child. Along side him at the ceremony were two of his students whose lives he has touched and undoubtedly changed. His students are his legacy, as he commonly refers to them as his “kids.” Through his actions, it is apparent to me that the terms “kids” is not only used a word to describe his classroom, but really how he thinks of his students. They are like family.

From Army Colonel to “Teacher of the Year,” I am proud to know you Chauncey Veatch and to call you a Californian. In Mr. Veatch's words, “There is nothing more rewarding, nothing more patriotic than teaching. It is truly a joy and honor to be a teacher. This award belongs to my students.”●

● Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I rise today to bring to the Senate's attention an exceptional person—Chauncey Veatch, a teacher from Coachella Valley High School in Thermal, California.

He teaches world history, government and ninth-grade career preparation at Coachella Valley High School. He also does much more. He has taught English as a Second Language and citizenship classes in evening adult school. He revived the high school's cadet program, which has grown to 170 students. And he is often found with his students and their families outside of school in the community. Although he has only been teaching since 1995, after 22 years of service in the U.S. Army, Mr. Veatch