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## House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Tuesday, February 27, 1996, at 12:30 p.m.

## Senate

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1996

(Legislative day of Friday, February 23, 1996)

The Senate met at 3 p.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

### PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Our prayer today is George Washington's "Prayer for the United States of America," exactly as it is preserved in the chapel at Valley Forge.

"Almighty God: We make our earnest prayer that Thou wilt keep the United States in Thy holy protection; that Thou wilt incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to the government, and entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another and for their fellow citizens of the United States at large. And finally that Thou wilt most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion, and without a humble imitation of whose example in these things, we can never hope to be a happy Nation. Grant our supplication, we beseech Thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

### READING OF WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. FRIST). Under the order previously entered, the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. AKAKA] is recognized to read George Washington's farewell address.

Mr. AKAKA, at the rostrum, read the Farewell Address, as follows:

*To the people of the United States.*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to

that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



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me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism,—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no

recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquillity at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But, as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *south*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the sea-

men of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in a like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength; or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalry alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter.—Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our

country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its hands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations,—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourself too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former, for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its meas-

ures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power, and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.—They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reigns of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system; and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions:—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country:—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion: and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the

perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it in the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; forments occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of

the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern: some of them in our country and under our own eyes.—To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for through this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil, any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation *desert* the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? and let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties), ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time debate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it; can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachment for others, should be ex-

cluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity, or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation's subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, or privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!—Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens,) the jealousy of a free

people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith:—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a re-

spectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that is must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could ob-

tain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound, in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength, and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES,

17th September, 1796.

#### MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Thomas, one of his secretaries.

## EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

REPORT CONCERNING THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING RECESS—PM 123

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 4, 1995, the Secretary of the Senate, on February 14, 1996, during the recess of the Senate, received the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Joint Economic Committee.

*To the Congress of the United States:*

Fifty years ago, the Congress passed and President Truman signed the Employment Act of 1946, which committed the U.S. Government to promote policies designed to create employment opportunities for all Americans. I am proud that my Administration has made President Truman's commitment a reality. Over the past 3 years, we have created a sound economic foundation to face the challenges of the 21st century.

## STRONG ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

Overall, the American economy is healthy and strong. In the first 3 years of this Administration nearly 8 million jobs were created; 93 percent of them in the private sector. The so-called "misery index"—the sum of the inflation and unemployment rates—fell last year to its lowest level since 1968. Investment has soared, laying the basis for future higher economic growth. New business incorporations have set a record and exports of American-made goods have grown rapidly. Our is the strongest and most competitive economy in the world—and its fundamentals are as sound as they have been in three decades.

This turnaround occurred because of the hard work and ingenuity of the American people. Many of the new jobs are high-wage service sector jobs—reflecting the changing structure of the economy. The telecommunications, biotechnology, and software industries have led the high-tech revolution world-wide. Traditional industries, such as manufacturing and construction, have restructured and now use technology and workplace innovation to thrive and once again create jobs. For example, in 1994 and 1995, America was once again the world's largest automobile maker.

Our 1993 economic plan set the stage for this economic expansion and resurgence, by enacting historic deficit reduction while continuing to invest in

technology and education. For over a decade, growing Federal budget deficits kept interest rates high and dampened reinvestment and productivity growth. Now, our deficit is proportionately the lowest of any major economy.

Today, our challenge is to ensure that all Americans can become winners in economic change—that our people have the skills and the security to make the most of their own lives. The very explosion of technology and trade that creates such extraordinary opportunity also places new pressures on working people. Over the past two decades, middle-class earnings have stagnated, and our poorest families saw their incomes fall. These are long-run trends, and 3 years of sound economic policies cannot correct for a decade of neglect. Even so, we are beginning to make some progress: real median family income increased by 2.3 percent in 1994, and the poverty rate fell in 1994 for the first time in 5 years.

## ADDRESSING OUR ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

I am firmly committed to addressing our economic challenges and enhancing economic security for all Americans. People who work hard need to know that they can and will have a chance to win in our new and changing economy. Our economic agenda seeks both to promote growth and to bring the fruits of that growth within reach of all Americans. Our overall strategy is straightforward:

—*Balancing the budget.* In the 12 years before I took office, the budget deficit skyrocketed and the national debt quadrupled. My Administration has already cut the budget deficit nearly in half. I am determined to finish the job of putting our fiscal house in order. I have proposed a plan that balances the budget in 7 years, without violating our fundamental values—without undercutting Medicare, Medicaid, education, or the environment and without raising taxes on working families. The plans put forth by my Administration and by the Republicans in the Congress contain enough spending cuts in common to balance the budget and still provide a modest tax cut. I am committed to giving the American people a balanced budget.

—*Preparing workers through education and training.* In the new economy, education is the key to opportunity—and the education obtained as a child in school will no longer last a lifetime. My Administration has put in place the elements of a lifetime-learning system to enable Americans to attend schools with high standards; get help going to college, or from school into the workplace; and receive training and education throughout their careers. We expanded Head Start for preschoolers; enacted Goals 2000, establishing high standards for schools; created a new direct student loan program that makes it easier for young people to borrow

and repay college loans; gave 50,000 young people the opportunity to earn college tuition through community service; and enacted the School-to-Work Opportunities Act. Now we must continue to give our people the skills they need, by enacting my proposals to make the first \$10,000 of college tuition tax deductible; to give the top 5 percent of students in each high school a \$1,000 merit scholarship; and to enact the GI Bill for Workers, which would replace the existing worker training system with a flexible voucher that workers could use at community colleges or other training facilities.

—*Increasing economic security.* We must give Americans the security then need to thrive in the new economy. We can do this through health insurance reforms that will give Americans a chance to buy insurance when they change jobs or when someone in their family is sick. We can do this by encouraging firms to provide more extensive pension coverage, as I have done through my proposals for pension simplification. In addition, we should make work pay by increasing the minimum wage and preserving the full Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), which cuts taxes for hard-pressed working families to make sure that no parents who work full-time have to raise their children in poverty.

—*Creating high-wage jobs through technology and exports.* We must continue to encourage the growth of high-wage industries, which will create the high-wage jobs of the future. We have reformed the decades-old telecommunications laws, to help spur the digital revolution that will continue to transform the way we live. We must continue to encourage exports, since jobs supported by goods exports pay on average 13 percent more than other jobs. My Administration has concluded over 200 trade agreements, including the North American Free Trade Agreement and the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, seeking an open world marketplace and fair rules for exporters of American goods and services. As a result, merchandise exports have increased by 31 percent.

—*A government that is smaller, works better, and costs less.* A new economy demands a new kind of government. The era of big, centralized, one-size-fits-all government is over. But the answer is not the wholesale dismantling of government. Rather, we must strive to meet our problems using flexible, non-bureaucratic means—and working with businesses, religious groups, civic organizations, schools, and State and local governments. My Administration has reduced the size of government: as

a percentage of civilian nonfarm employment, the Federal workforce is the smallest it has been since 1933, before the New Deal. We have conducted a top-to-bottom overhaul of Federal regulations, and are eliminating 16,000 pages of outdated or burdensome rules altogether. We have reformed environmental, workplace safety, and pharmaceutical regulations to cut red tape without hurting public protection. And we will continue to find new, market-based ways to protect the public.

#### THE NEED TO CONTINUE WITH WHAT WORKS

As *The Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers* makes clear, this is a moment of great possibility for our country. Ours is the healthiest of any major economy. No nation on earth is better positioned to reap the rewards of the new era. Our strategy of deficit reduction and investment in our people has begun to work. It would be a grave error to turn back.

Our Nation must reject the temptation to shrink from its responsibilities or to turn to narrow, shortsighted solutions for long-term problems. If we continue to invest for the long term, we will pass on to the next generation a Nation in which opportunity is even more plentiful than it is today.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 14, 1996

#### REPORT CONCERNING REVISION OF CERTAIN BUDGET DEFERRALS—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING RECESS—PM 124

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 4, 1995, the Secretary of the Senate, on February 23, 1996, during the recess of the Senate, received the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which, pursuant to the order of January 30, 1975, as modified by the order of April 11, 1986, was referred jointly to the Committee on Appropriations, the Committee on the Budget, the Committee on Foreign Relations, and the Committee on Armed Services.

#### To The Congress of the United States:

In accordance with the Congressional Budget and Impoundment Control Act of 1974, I herewith report three new deferrals and one revised deferral, totaling \$3.6 billion, and four rescission proposals of budgetary resources, totaling \$140 million.

These deferrals affect the International Security Assistance programs as well as programs of the Agency for International Development. The rescission proposals affect the Department of Defense.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 23, 1996.

#### NOTICE OF HEARING

SUBCOMMITTEE ON PARKS, HISTORIC PRESERVATION, AND RECREATION

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. President, I would like to announce for the public that a hearing has been scheduled before the Subcommittee on Parks, Historic Preservation, and Recreation of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

The hearing will take place on Thursday, March 7, 1996, at 9:30 a.m. in room SD-366 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building in Washington, DC.

The purpose of this hearing is to review S. 745, a bill to require the National Park Service to eradicate brucellosis afflicting the bison in Yellowstone National Park; S. 796, a bill to provide for the protection of wild horses within the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Missouri, and prohibit the removal of such horses; H.R. 238, a bill to provide for the protection of wild horses within the Ozark National Scenic Riverways, Missouri, and prohibit the removal of such horses; and S. 1451, a bill to authorize an agreement between the Secretary of the Interior and a State providing for the continued operation by State employees of national parks in the State during any period in which the National Park Service is unable to maintain the normal level of park operations.

Because of the limited time available for the hearing, witnesses may testify by invitation only. However, those wishing to submit written testimony for the hearing record should send two copies of their testimony to the Subcommittee on Parks, Historic Preservation, and Recreation, Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, U.S. Senate, 364 Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington, DC 20510-6150.

For further information, please contact Jim O'Toole of the subcommittee staff at (202) 224-5161.

#### ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

##### THE TELECOMMUNICATIONS ACT

• Mr. BREAUX. Mr. President, this telecommunications legislation is a deregulatory bill, and I am particularly pleased in this regard with the provisions covering commercial mobile services that lift the restrictions now disadvantaging the BOC affiliated CMRS carriers.

As soon as this bill is signed into law, the BOC affiliated commercial mobile service carriers can begin to offer the full range of end-to-end interLATA services to their mobile customers just as their competitors are able to do now. They need no Government action or approval.

I am pleased to have had the chairman confirm that my understanding is correct. Upon enactment, the MFJ interLATA restriction on commercial mobile service affiliates of the Bell operating companies is eliminated. •

#### COMMEMORATING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY

• Mr. WYDEN. Mr. President, this year marks the 50th anniversary of Portland State University [PSU], Oregon's urban university. In its short life, the university has evolved into a national model for how higher education can be integrated into urban communities through service learning directed at taking on thorny urban problems. What this means is that instead of just focusing on ethereal academic concepts, PSU staff and students roll up their sleeves and connect concepts with community, and knowledge of an academic subject with real world applications.

In 1946, Portland State University began as an extension school to serve returning World War II veterans. Today, the university serves more than 37,000 individuals every year, offering a wide range of undergraduate and graduate degree programs. What's more, since its extension school days, PSU's mission has shifted to showing how town and gown can work together to build the communities of the future.

When innovative community programs in the Portland metropolitan area are brought to my attention, often I find that PSU is in the thick of things. One program that I am involved with is PSU's partnership with the Police Activities League [PAL] in sponsoring the National Youth Sports Program on campus every year. The program provides at-risk youngsters with a structured summer program which emphasizes sports, positive decision-making skills, and education. PSU does more than just provide the facilities—in keeping with its mission, university faculty consult with PAL in developing curriculum for the program and students are active participants in running the program. The collaboration doesn't just stop at the end of the summer. Throughout the year, PSU and PAL work together to involve these youngsters in positive programs and encourage them to work toward a college degree.

PSU has also tapped into emerging technologies to both strengthen the university and the community. One of the most innovative uses of technology is its PORTALS program, or the Portland Area Library System. PORTALS is a cooperative endeavor linking public and private institutions throughout the Portland area to an electronically accessible research library, with PSU as its hub. The States of Oregon and Washington both stand to benefit from the new resources available through this innovative project.

These programs are just the tip of the iceberg of the university's involvement. PSU runs teacher academies to help local teachers get in-service education. PSU students, who are all required to be involved in community projects, work at local community-based organizations such as community health centers, schools, and after-school programs.



It is thus no surprise that PSU has received a number of national awards for its innovative curriculum and for its work serving the metropolitan community and the State. Last year, the school received over \$3 million from foundations and Federal agencies to support its cutting-edge undergraduate curriculum. For the same reason it is also has been recognized by the American Association of Higher Education, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, and the Interstate Commission on Higher Education as a national model for innovative undergraduate education.

The 50th anniversary is a time to celebrate the achievements of the past and look forward to the innovations and adventures of the future. The faculty, staff, and students at Portland State University, past and present, deserve our congratulations on a remarkable history and our best wishes for future success. ●

## RECESS UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there is no objection, the Senate will now stand in recess until 10 a.m. Tuesday, February 27, 1996.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 3:55 p.m., recessed until Tuesday, February 27, 1996, at 10 a.m.

## NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate February 26, 1996:

### U.S. ENRICHMENT CORPORATION

CHRISTOPHER M. COBURN, OF OHIO, TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE UNITED STATES ENRICHMENT CORPORATION FOR A TERM EXPIRING FEBRUARY 24, 2000, VICE GRETA JOY DICUS.

### IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF LIEUTENANT GENERAL WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601:

#### To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. RICHARD C. BETHUREM, 000-00-0000, U.S. AIR FORCE.

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601:

#### To be general

L.T. GEN. MICHAEL E. RYAN, 000-00-0000, U.S. AIR FORCE.

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR REAPPOINTMENT TO THE GRADE OF GENERAL WHILE ASSIGNED TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601:

#### To be general

GEN. RICHARD E. HAWLEY, 000-00-0000, U.S. AIR FORCE.

THE FOLLOWING AIR NATIONAL GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES OFFICERS FOR PROMOTION IN THE RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTIONS 12203 AND 8379, TITLE 10 OF THE UNITED STATES CODE, PROMOTIONS MADE UNDER SECTION 8379 AND CONFIRMED BY THE SENATE UNDER SECTION 12203 SHALL BEAR AN EFFECTIVE DATE ESTABLISHED IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTION 8374, TITLE 10 OF THE UNITED STATES CODE.

### LINE

#### To be lieutenant colonel

HAROLD E. BURCHAM, 000-00-0000  
STANLEY E. CLARKE III, 000-00-0000  
PAUL R. CREDIT, 000-00-0000  
MARK S. HARBOUR, 000-00-0000  
DAVID C. HARMON, 000-00-0000  
EMIL LASSEN III, 000-00-0000  
JACK C. MCCARTHY, JR., 000-00-0000  
WENDEL J. MASALL, JR., 000-00-0000

CHESTER C. SCHIRMER, 000-00-0000  
JOSEPH R. TOLISANO, 000-00-0000  
NILDA E. URRUTIA-ESTRANY, 000-00-0000  
TONY L. WEST, 000-00-0000

### BIO-MEDICAL SCIENCE CORPS

#### To be lieutenant colonel

DALE F. FATH, 000-00-0000  
KENNETH S. KATTA, 000-00-0000

### MEDICAL CORPS

#### To be lieutenant colonel

JO L. HARBOUR, 000-00-0000

### DENTAL CORPS

#### To be lieutenant colonel

KEVIN W. MORRILL, 000-00-0000

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICERS FOR PROMOTION IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTIONS 12203(A) AND 3366:

### ARMY PROMOTION LIST

#### To be lieutenant colonel

PATRICK V. ADAMCICK, 000-00-0000  
BENJAMIN F. ADAMS, 000-00-0000  
JEANNE C. ADAMS, 000-00-0000  
JOHN D. ADAMS, 000-00-0000  
MARK R. ADAMS, 000-00-0000  
ROY S. ADAMS, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT D. ADAMSON, 000-00-0000  
FREDERICK AIKENS, 000-00-0000  
GREGORY ALEXANDER, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT L. ALEXANDER, 000-00-0000  
ANTHONY ALFORD, 000-00-0000  
BRUCE E. ALLEN, 000-00-0000  
CHARLES M. ALLEN, 000-00-0000  
DANIEL L. ALLEN, 000-00-0000  
JAMES M. ALLEN, 000-00-0000  
LARRY J. ALLEN, 000-00-0000  
PATRICK D. ALLEN, 000-00-0000  
GEORGE S. ALLISON, 000-00-0000  
LAWRENCE ALTEPETER, 000-00-0000  
KEVIN E. ALTHAUS, 000-00-0000  
GARY L. AMBAUGH, 000-00-0000  
NICHOLAS C. AMODEO, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM F. ANDERS, 000-00-0000  
DAVID ANDERSON III, 000-00-0000  
PAUL W. ANDERSON, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT J. ANDERSON, 000-00-0000  
MARCIA L. ANDREWS, 000-00-0000  
DEBORAH ANDWOOD, 000-00-0000  
DAVID E. ANSELM, 000-00-0000  
EDDY L. ANTHONY, 000-00-0000  
SANDI R. APUNA, 000-00-0000  
KARL A. ARCHULETA, 000-00-0000  
JAMES F. ARGABRIGHT, 000-00-0000  
BOBBY C. ARMSTRONG, 000-00-0000  
BRYAN G. ARNOLD, 000-00-0000  
DENNIS P. ARNOLD, 000-00-0000  
DANIEL T. ARROYO, 000-00-0000  
ALLEN A. ARVIG, 000-00-0000  
LARRY M. ASHBAUGH, 000-00-0000  
JAMES W. ATCHISON, 000-00-0000  
KENNETH E. AULT, 000-00-0000  
MICHAEL E. AVAKIAN, 000-00-0000  
SERGIO AYALALAMBOY, 000-00-0000  
EDWIN R. BABBITT, 000-00-0000  
ELISABETH BACHMEIER, 000-00-0000  
ROGERS J. BAILEY, 000-00-0000  
THOMAS B. BAILEY, 000-00-0000  
JOHN T. BAKER, 000-00-0000  
SAMUEL T. BAKER, 000-00-0000  
TERRY L. BAKER, 000-00-0000  
STEVEN M. BALMER, 000-00-0000  
JOHN D. BANGS, 000-00-0000  
JOHN A. BANKA, 000-00-0000  
JAMES R. BANKSTON, 000-00-0000  
CHARLES R. BARBER, 000-00-0000  
CHRISTOPHER BARBOUR, 000-00-0000  
HUGH G. BARCLAY, 000-00-0000  
LARRY D. BARKER, 000-00-0000  
CHARLES R. BARNES, 000-00-0000  
JOANNE BARNETT, 000-00-0000  
STANLEY E. BARNETT, 000-00-0000  
MICHAEL H. BARR, 000-00-0000  
PATRICIA L. BARROWS, 000-00-0000  
JOHN K. BARRY, 000-00-0000  
DAVID J. BASILE, 000-00-0000  
GARY C. BASS, 000-00-0000  
CHRISTOPHER BATES, 000-00-0000  
JOHN G. BAYLESS, 000-00-0000  
RICHARD BAYSINGER, 000-00-0000  
MARION J. BEAM, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM G. BEARD, 000-00-0000  
LESLIE L. BECKSTROM, 000-00-0000  
BRUCE M. BEEBE, 000-00-0000  
STEPHEN S. BEITLER, 000-00-0000  
SHERMAN C. BEKKUM, 000-00-0000  
FLOYD E. BELL, 000-00-0000  
THOMAS A. BELLOTTE, 000-00-0000  
DAVID W. BENSON, 000-00-0000  
JEROME L. BENSON, 000-00-0000  
RICHARD BERESFORD, 000-00-0000  
LUTHER J. BERG, 000-00-0000  
STANLEY C. BERGAN, 000-00-0000  
LAWRENCE C. BERGESON, 000-00-0000  
MARCELO BERGGUIST, 000-00-0000  
DENNIS W. BERGSTROM, 000-00-0000  
THOMAS M. BERNSTEIN, 000-00-0000  
ALAN R. BERTELSTAD, 000-00-0000  
LARRY W. BETZ, 000-00-0000  
VICTOR A. BETZOLD, 000-00-0000  
JERRY B. BIBLE, 000-00-0000  
RHETT S. BILEK, 000-00-0000  
COURTLAND C. BIVINS, 000-00-0000  
THOMAS S. BLACK, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT BLAGOJEVICH, 000-00-0000  
NAYDEAN F. BLAIR, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM D. BLAIR, 000-00-0000  
JAMES W. BLAKE, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT R. BLAKE, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM M. BLAKE, 000-00-0000  
CHARLES D. BLAKENY, 000-00-0000  
GRAINGER W. BLANTON, 000-00-0000  
PAMELA A. BLANTON, 000-00-0000  
PAUL N. BLEY, 000-00-0000  
MARY N. BLISS, 000-00-0000  
DENNIS C. BLOCK, 000-00-0000  
EDWARD M. BLOOM, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM A. BLOUNT, 000-00-0000  
RICHARD M. BLUM, 000-00-0000  
ROY C. BLUMENSHINE, 000-00-0000  
JOE P. BOAZ, 000-00-0000  
RAYMOND G. BOGDAN, 000-00-0000  
RICHARD A. BOGGS, JR., 000-00-0000  
MICHAEL S. BOHAN, 000-00-0000  
JAMES K. BOND, 000-00-0000  
PHILLIP BOOKERT, 000-00-0000  
JOHN T. BOOTH, 000-00-0000  
JEFFREY H. BOTHEN, 000-00-0000  
RONALD G. BOULDIN, 000-00-0000  
RICHARD D. BOWERMAN, 000-00-0000  
ARTHUR S. BOWERS, 000-00-0000  
STEVEN L. BOYER, 000-00-0000  
THOMAS P. BOYLE, 000-00-0000  
JAMES F. BOYNTON, 000-00-0000  
RICHARD G. BRADLEY, 000-00-0000  
EARL J. BRAKE, 000-00-0000  
CHARLES A. BRANNON, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT L. BRAY, 000-00-0000  
THOMAS C. BRENNAN, 000-00-0000  
OLLIE BREWER, 000-00-0000  
PHILIP S. BREWSTER, 000-00-0000  
NORRIS BRICKHOUSE, 000-00-0000  
GERALD F. BRICKWOOD, 000-00-0000  
CHARLES E. BRIERE, 000-00-0000  
DARRELL L. BRIGHT, 000-00-0000  
JOHN H. BRITT, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT R. BROADHEAD, 000-00-0000  
DEBRA A. BROADWATER, 000-00-0000  
CURTIS R. BROOKS, 000-00-0000  
LEWIS A. BROOKS, 000-00-0000  
JIMMY J. BROUSSARD, 000-00-0000  
ANDREW T. BROWN, 000-00-0000  
JAMES T. BROWN, 000-00-0000  
MICHAEL P. BROWN, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT W. BROWN, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM H. BROWN, 000-00-0000  
CALVIN J. BRUMBAUGH, 000-00-0000  
LOUIS J. BRUNE, 000-00-0000  
RALPH T. BRUNSON, 000-00-0000  
STEPHEN G. BRYAN, 000-00-0000  
JAMES H. BRYANT, 000-00-0000  
DANIEL F. BUECHLER, 000-00-0000  
STEPHEN J. BUGAJ, 000-00-0000  
JOHN R. BUNGARDEN, 000-00-0000  
JAMES M. BURCHFIELD, 000-00-0000  
LINDA F. BURDETTE, 000-00-0000  
RAM BURGOSFIGUEROA, 000-00-0000  
MICHAEL J. BURLAGE, 000-00-0000  
FRANK BURNS, 000-00-0000  
GERARD M. BURNS, 000-00-0000  
RICHARD H. BURNS, 000-00-0000  
ANDREW C. BURTON, 000-00-0000  
NORA M. BURTON, 000-00-0000  
TERRY L. BUSBY, 000-00-0000  
TERRY L. BUSENBARK, 000-00-0000  
CHARLES N. BUSICK, 000-00-0000  
HOWARD E. CABINESS, 000-00-0000  
RICHARD W. CACINI, 000-00-0000  
KIM A. CAIRY, 000-00-0000  
MARK M. CALAMBRO, 000-00-0000  
LARRY W. CALLAHAN, 000-00-0000  
DONALD J. CAMPBELL, 000-00-0000  
MICHAEL D. CAMPBELL, 000-00-0000  
MICHAEL N. CAMPBELL, 000-00-0000  
SAMUEL E. CANIPE, 000-00-0000  
JAMES L. CANNON, 000-00-0000  
LAWRENCE A. CANNON, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT M. CANNON, 000-00-0000  
MELVIN R. CAPE, 000-00-0000  
THOMAS W. CAPLES, 000-00-0000  
DAVID F. CAPPS, 000-00-0000  
MICHAEL J. CARBERRY, 000-00-0000  
PHILIP R. CARLIN, 000-00-0000  
BRUCE W. CARLSON, 000-00-0000  
MICHAEL P. CARLSON, 000-00-0000  
MICHAEL L. CARMIN, 000-00-0000  
MARTIN D. CARPENTER, 000-00-0000  
PAUL S. CARPENTER, 000-00-0000  
DAVID CARRIONBARALT, 000-00-0000  
VICTOR J. CARRALL, 000-00-0000  
CAROLYN A. CARROLL, 000-00-0000  
ROOSEVELT J. CARTER, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM CAVANAUGH, 000-00-0000  
MARK A. CENTRA, 000-00-0000  
WALTER CHAHANOVICH, 000-00-0000  
GARY E. CHALMERS, 000-00-0000  
DONALD J. CHAMBERS, 000-00-0000  
DONALD R. CHAMBERS, 000-00-0000  
ALAN S. CHARTERS, 000-00-0000  
NICHOLAS CHEESMAN, 000-00-0000  
TIMOTHY A. CHENAULT, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM CHILDRESS, 000-00-0000  
GARY R. CHILDS, 000-00-0000  
WESTLEY K. CHIN, 000-00-0000  
PAUL C. CHISHOLM, 000-00-0000



RODERICK CHISHOLM, 000-00-0000  
 BILLY M. CHISUM, 000-00-0000  
 CHRIS S. CHOPPER, 000-00-0000  
 JERRY CHRISTENSEN, 000-00-0000  
 RAY L. CHRISTENSEN, 000-00-0000  
 MARK J. CHRISTIAN, 000-00-0000  
 EDWIN R. CHRISTIE, 000-00-0000  
 DAWN R. CHRISWISSER, 000-00-0000  
 MICHAEL L. CHURCH, 000-00-0000  
 ALAN D. CHUTE, 000-00-0000  
 PAUL C. CIOLEK, 000-00-0000  
 BENJAMIN L. CLARK, 000-00-0000  
 DAVID L. CLARK, 000-00-0000  
 RICHARD L. CLARK, 000-00-0000  
 ROBERT G. CLARK, 000-00-0000  
 VIRGEL L. CLARK, 000-00-0000  
 MICHAEL T. CLARKE, 000-00-0000  
 JOHN D. CLECKLER, 000-00-0000  
 WILLIAM J. CLEGG, 000-00-0000  
 CHARLES M. CLINE, 000-00-0000  
 STEPHEN M. CLOWSER, 000-00-0000  
 WILSON C. COATS, 000-00-0000  
 FRANK C. COBB, 000-00-0000  
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 GEORGE M. STRIPPLING, 000-00-0000  
 JAMES M. STRYKER, 000-00-0000  
 GRANT E. STRZELCZYK, 000-00-0000  
 HARRY D. STUDEBAKER, 000-00-0000  
 WAYNE R. STURDIVANT, 000-00-0000  
 CORNELIUS SULLIVAN, 000-00-0000  
 DENNIS F. SULLIVAN, 000-00-0000  
 JIMMIE D. SULLIVAN, 000-00-0000  
 HARRY G. SUMMERS, 000-00-0000  
 ROBERT M. SUNDBERG, 000-00-0000  
 ARNOLD H. SURFAS, 000-00-0000  
 THOMAS R. SUTTER, 000-00-0000  
 JOHN C. SWARTS, 000-00-0000  
 LARRY J. SWARTZ, 000-00-0000  
 MICHAEL K. SWEENEY, 000-00-0000  
 VERNON W. SYLVESTER, 000-00-0000  
 JAMES M. TALBOT, 000-00-0000  
 ALAN B. TANCRETI, 000-00-0000  
 GEORGE TANKERSLEY, 000-00-0000  
 JERRY TANNER, 000-00-0000  
 EDWARD F. TARANTINO, 000-00-0000  
 CHARLES D. TAYLOR, 000-00-0000  
 JOHN L. TAYLOR, 000-00-0000  
 RONALD K. TAYLOR, 000-00-0000  
 RUSSELL R. TAYLOR, 000-00-0000  
 WILLIAM R. TAYLOR, 000-00-0000  
 DOUGLAS B. TESDAHL, 000-00-0000  
 RICHARD M. THEVEL, 000-00-0000  
 BRIAN E. THIEM, 000-00-0000  
 CLARENCE E. THOMAS, 000-00-0000  
 LYNN E. THOMAS, 000-00-0000  
 RANDAL E. THOMAS, 000-00-0000  
 RANDOLPH J. THOMAS, 000-00-0000  
 STEPHEN C. THOMAS, 000-00-0000  
 BEVERLY P. THOMPSON, 000-00-0000  
 EDWARD D. THOMPSON, 000-00-0000  
 DOUGLAS R. THOMPSON, 000-00-0000  
 LINDA L. THORNTON, 000-00-0000  
 PHILIP L. THORPE, 000-00-0000  
 TERRY E. THRALL, 000-00-0000  
 STANLEY TIEFENBRUN, 000-00-0000  
 JOHN R. TIFFANY, 000-00-0000  
 JAMES R. TILLEY, 000-00-0000  
 JOHN C. TOBIN, 000-00-0000  
 FRANK J. TODERICO, 000-00-0000  
 RONALD E. TOOMBS, 000-00-0000  
 JON A. TORZEWSKI, 000-00-0000  
 ROBERT H. TOWER, 000-00-0000  
 DANIEL J. TRAVERS, 000-00-0000  
 CARLOS A. TREJO, 000-00-0000

ROBERTO TROCHE 000-00-0000  
RICHARD B. TROPEA 000-00-0000  
ROBERT W. TROWER 000-00-0000  
PATRICK A. TROY 000-00-0000  
HERBERT H. TUCK 000-00-0000  
HOUSTON A. TUCKER 000-00-0000  
CARL E. TURNER 000-00-0000  
CHARLES R. TURNER 000-00-0000  
ROBERT G. TURNMEYER 000-00-0000  
RONALD J. TYE 000-00-0000  
TERRY W. TYREE 000-00-0000  
THOMAS J. UMBERG 000-00-0000  
ANTHONY UNDERWOOD 000-00-0000  
ROBERT L. VALENCIA 000-00-0000  
STEVEN VALENTE 000-00-0000  
MARION C. VALENTINO 000-00-0000  
VICTOR W. VALLO 000-00-0000  
DENNIS E. VANBEEST 000-00-0000  
MAUREEN P. VANEK 000-00-0000  
CLAUDE VANN III 000-00-0000  
HOMER S. VANTURE 000-00-0000  
NANCY J. VERDE 000-00-0000  
HAROLD, L. VICK JR., 000-00-0000  
ARTHUR O. VICTOR, 000-00-0000  
GEORGE T. VILLARI, 000-00-0000  
EDWARD C. VOIGT, 000-00-0000  
KEVIN D. VOIGTS, 000-00-0000  
HARDEN D. VOLLMER, 000-00-0000  
GAIL W. VONDERHEID, 000-00-0000  
KURT C. VONTAGEN, 000-00-0000  
GARY R. WAGERS, 000-00-0000  
FREDDIE R. WAGGONER, 000-00-0000  
STEVEN A. WAGNER, 000-00-0000  
STEVEN D. WAGNER, 000-00-0000  
JAMES E. WALDREP, 000-00-0000  
CLAUDE R. WALKER, 000-00-0000  
DAVID L. WALKER, 000-00-0000

DELBERT D. WALKER, 000-00-0000  
FREDERICK O. WALKER, 000-00-0000  
JOHN F. WALLACE, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM J. WALLS, 000-00-0000  
STEVEN S. WALSKY, 000-00-0000  
LEE S. WAPLES, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT F. WARD, 000-00-0000  
CURTIS K. WARREN, 000-00-0000  
TIMOTHY J. WARRICK, 000-00-0000  
MARVIN R. WARZECHA, 000-00-0000  
FRED L. WATERMAN, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT E. WATSON, 000-00-0000  
EDWARD S. WEAVER, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM D. WEBB, 000-00-0000  
JOHN F. WECK, 000-00-0000  
ARTHUR WEINBLUM, 000-00-0000  
JERROLD WEISSINGER, 000-00-0000  
BILLY H. WELCH, 000-00-0000  
BRUCE F. WELCH, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT W. WELCH, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM C. WELLEVER, 000-00-0000  
DENNIS F. WELLS, 000-00-0000  
MICHAEL E. WELLS, 000-00-0000  
DAVID B. WENDLAND, 000-00-0000  
CHESTER J. WERNICKI, 000-00-0000  
DON A. WERTH, 000-00-0000  
LAWRENCE A. WEST, 000-00-0000  
DENNIS C. WESTOVER, 000-00-0000  
CURTIS C. WHITE, 000-00-0000  
ANTHONY WHITEHURST, 000-00-0000  
THOMAS M. WHITESIDE, 000-00-0000  
JON B. WHITTFORD, 000-00-0000  
DONALD WHITTEMORE, 000-00-0000  
CHARLES H. WIBBEN, 000-00-0000  
THOMAS E. WICKER, 000-00-0000  
RICHARD A. WIGGINS, 000-00-0000  
LYLE A. WILKES, 000-00-0000

JOHN W. WILKINS, 000-00-0000  
JOHN L. WILLIAMS, 000-00-0000  
JOSEPH M. WILLIAMS, 000-00-0000  
PEYTON R. WILLIAMS, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT WILLIAMS, 000-00-0000  
DOUGLAS C. WILSON, 000-00-0000  
JAMES W. WILSON, 000-00-0000  
RAYMOND WILSON, 000-00-0000  
RAYMOND A. WILSON, 000-00-0000  
KEVIN E. WINN, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM F. WISKE, 000-00-0000  
RAYMOND D. WIXOM, 000-00-0000  
TERRENCE E. WOLFE, 000-00-0000  
EDWARD J. WOLFF, 000-00-0000  
ARNOLD D. WONG, 000-00-0000  
RONALD F. WOODHAM, 000-00-0000  
JOHN T. WOODS, 000-00-0000  
RAY C. WOOLERY, 000-00-0000  
HARLEY K. WOOSTER, 000-00-0000  
GLENN WORTHINGTON, 000-00-0000  
EDWARD D. WOYCIK, 000-00-0000  
ECLEMUS WRIGHT, JR., 000-00-0000  
STEVEN M. WRIGHT, 000-00-0000  
JOHN M. WUTHENOW, 000-00-0000  
BLAINE M. WYCKOFF, 000-00-0000  
MICHAEL J. YANOSIK, 000-00-0000  
KATHRYN A. YOEST, 000-00-0000  
JAMES W. YOKER, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM C. YOUMANS, 000-00-0000  
JUDITH G. YOUNG, 000-00-0000  
WILLIAM H. YOUNG, 000-00-0000  
ROBERT I. ZABIELSKI, 000-00-0000  
DENIS ZAMBETTI, 000-00-0000  
ARTHUR C. ZEIDMAN, 000-00-0000  
ELIOUS E. ZENON, 000-00-0000  
JOSEPH M. ZIMA, 000-00-0000