

unreconstructed liberal notion of endless racial reparations and race-based preferences is doubly guilty: wrong in principle and ruinous in practice. President Clinton's much-vaunted affirmative action review produced more of a bumper sticker than a policy; Clinton's focus-group-fashioned "mend it, not end it" slogan makes a far better rhyme than reason.

The same, however, is true of the new affirmative action "abolitionist" position, which heralds equality but seldom addresses the way to truly give all people an equal footing. Critics are right in asserting that "affirmative action" quotas have contributed to the poisoning of race relations in this country. But critics must offer much more than just opposition and reproach. We know what they are against, but what are they for?

"A colorblind society," comes their response. Of course, the goal of equal opportunity is paramount and a worthy destiny to seek. But to say that we have arrived at that goal is simply not true. My friends on the right call for a colorblind society and then quote Martin Luther King's inspirational "I have a dream" speech, in which he imagined a nation in which every American would be judged not on the color of his or her skin but on the "content of his character." All too often, though, they neglect to quote the end of his speech, where he describes the painful plight of minority America: "The Negro," King said, "lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity."

Much has changed in the 30 years since King stood on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. Minority enterprises have begun to gain a foothold, although there are far too few of them. But can anyone venture to the crumbling brick and mortar of Cabrini Green Public Housing, or the fear-ridden projects of Bed-Stuy or the streets lined with the unemployed in South Central LA or East St. Louis and believe that what he sees there today would pass as progress since Dr. King's day?

This is not to negate the gains made by so many in the black and minority communities. But for large numbers the situation has not only not improved in 30 years, it has grown dramatically worse—with a welfare system that entraps rather than empowers, punishes work and marriage and prevents access to capital, credit and property.

Reality requires that we admit two things—difficult admissions for both liberals and conservatives. First, that a race-conscious policy of quotas and rigid preferences has helped make matters worse. Second, and more important, the Good Shepherd reminds all of us that our work is not done, and as we think about moving into the 21st century, we must not leave anyone behind.

Sound policy begins with strong principles. Affirmative action based on quotas is wrong—wrong because it is antithetical to the genius of the American idea: individual liberty. Counting by race in order to remedy past wrongs or rewarding special groups by taking from others perpetuates and even deepens the divisions between us. But race-based politics is even more wrong and must be repudiated by men and women of civility and compassion.

Instead, like the "radical Republicans" of Lincoln's day, who overrode President Johnson's veto on the Freedman's Bureau, we would honor the past by creating a future more in keeping with our revolutionary founding ideals of equality. In this way, the eventual ending of affirmative action is only a beginning—the political predicate of a new promise of outreach in the name of greater opportunity for access to capital, credit, prosperity, jobs and educational choice for all.

The time has definitely come for a new approach an "affirmative action" based not just on gender or race or ethnicity but ultimately based on need. "Affirmative" because government authority must be employed to remove the obstacles to upward mobility and human advancement. "Action" because democratic societies must act positively and create real equality of opportunity—without promising equality of reward.

Affirmative opportunity in America begins with education, America's schools, particularly our urban public schools, are depriving minority and low-income children of the education that may be their passport out of poverty. Even the poorest parent must have the option more affluent families enjoy; the right to send their children to the school of their choice. Affirmative effort means ending the educational monopoly that makes poor public school students into pawns of the educational bureaucracy. And we should be paving the way to a voucher and magnet school system of public and private school choice.

Opportunity means an entryway into the job market. That mean removing barriers for job creation and entrepreneurship and expanding access to capital and credit. According to the Wall Street Journal, from 1982 to 1987, the number of black-owned firms increased by nearly 38 percent, about triple the overall business growth rate during that period. Hispanic-owned businesses soared by 57 percent, and their sales nearly tripled.

Even so, of the 14 million small businesses in existence across the United States today, fewer than 2 percent are black-owned. And of \$27 to \$28 trillion of capital in this country, less than one percent is in black ownership. Affirmative effort would take aim at expanding capital and credit as the lifeblood of business formation and job creation—including an aggressive effort to end the red-lining of our inner cities and a radical redesign of our tax code to remove barriers to broader ownership of capital, savings and credit.

Opportunity means the ability to accumulate property. Affirmative effort would mean an end to every federal program that penalizes the poor for managing to save and accumulate their own assets. An AFDC mother's thrift and foresight in putting money away for a child's future should not be penalized by the government welfare system as fraud as is currently the case.

Finally, real opportunity for racial and ethnic reconciliation requires an expanding economy—one that invites the effort and enterprise of all Americans, including minorities and women. A real pro-growth policy must include policies ranging from enterprise zones in our cities to a commitment to lowering barriers to global trade. It should also offer relief from red tape and regulation and freedom from punitive tax policies. Each is part of an affirmative action that can "move America forward without leaving anyone behind."

Now that we have opened a somewhat hysterical dialogue on affirmative action, we can never go back—only forward. Our challenge is to put aside the past—abandon the endless round of recrimination and a politics that feeds on division, exclusion, anger and envy. We must reaffirm, as Lincoln did at his moment of maximum crisis, a vision of the "better angels of our nature," a big-hearted view of the nation we were always meant to become and must become if we are to enter the 21st century as the model of liberal democracy and market-oriented capitalism the world needs to see.●

MARYLAND ATHLETES VIC-TORIOUS AT OLYMPIC FESTIVAL

● Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I want to share with my colleagues my

pride in the accomplishments of Maryland's athletes in the recent Olympic Festival.

As my colleagues know, the Olympic Festival is one of the premiere events for Olympic-caliber athletes. Many of the more than 3,500 American athletes who participated in the festival will go on to compete in next year's summer Olympics in Atlanta and in the winter games in Nagano, Japan. They truly are America's finest.

I am proud to note that two dozen Maryland athletes were awarded gold medals. I salute them for their dedication to their sport and to the pursuit of excellence. I look forward to hearing of their future achievements.

The names of Maryland's gold medal winners follow:

MARYLAND'S GOLD MEDAL WINNERS

Peggy Boutillier of Baltimore, gold medal in field hockey.

Sonia Chase of Baltimore, gold medal in basketball.

John Criscione of Baltimore, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, c-2 team.

Dana Rucker of Baltimore, gold medal in boxing—middleweight.

Jennifer Hearn of Bethesda, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, k-1 team.

William Hearn of Bethesda, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, c-1 team.

Steven Jennings of Bethesda, gold medal in field hockey.

Brian Parsons of Bethesda, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, k-1 team.

Brent Wiesel of Bethesda, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, k-1 team.

David Briles Jr. of Bowie, gold medal in soccer.

Clint Peay of Columbia, gold medal in soccer.

Zach Thornton of Edgewood, gold medal in soccer.

Carolyn Schwarz of Gaithersburg, gold medal in field hockey.

Kendra Cameron of Gambrills, gold medal in bowling—team.

Catherine Hearn of Garrett Park, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, k-1 team.

Paul Dulebohn of Germantown, gold medal in figure skating—pairs.

Louis Bullock of Laurel, gold medal in basketball.

Tricia Burdt of Olney, gold medal in field hockey.

Joseph Criscione of Perry Hall, gold medal in canoe/kayak—slalom, c-2 team.

Kira Orr of Poolesville, gold medal in basketball.

Julie I-Wei Lu of Potomac, gold medal in table tennis.

Todd Sweeris of Rockville, gold medal in table tennis, singles.

Anthony Wood of Rockville, gold medal in soccer.

Amy Jun Feng of Wheaton, gold medal in table tennis—doubles and singles.●

RETIREMENT OF OFFICER WILLIAM DENNIS BAGIS

● Mr. KEMPTHORNE. Mr. President, during my first 2½ years as a U.S. Senator, I have had the privilege of getting to know many of the Capitol Hill Police officers. They are an exceptional