

dedicated her time and energy to supporting students' success, including connecting her students with invaluable internships and work experiences.

A long-standing member of the National Association of Social Workers, Ms. Bullock has earned certifications in Critical Incident Stress Management and is a Board Certified Expert in War Trauma and Bereavement Trauma. Ms. Bullock earned recognition from both the National Association of Social Workers of California and the California Assembly for her support of academic freedom in higher education.

Mr. Speaker, Ms. Bullock has dedicated her career to serving her students and community through the study, teaching, and practice of social work. Therefore, it is fitting and proper that we honor her here today and extend our best wishes for an enjoyable retirement and many happy memories to come with her family.

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REMEMBERING THE LIFE OF  
SUSAN TOLCHIN

**HON. MARCY KAPTUR**

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, May 27, 2016*

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to remember the life of Susan J. Tolchin, someone who I had the privilege to work with and who I had long admired for her curiosity, her judgment, and her concern for others.

An ardent feminist, who along with her husband Marty, brought attention to the plight of middle-class working women, a class of Americans often overlooked and rarely chronicled, Susan and Marty authored several books together, all of which highlighted the mechanisms that the Tolchin's considered "occupational hazards of democracy."

As an author and a professor, Susan focused on and scrutinized political patronage and its many pitfalls, and was one of the first political scientists to identify growing voter disenchantment and disillusion with their government. She wisely concluded that these concerns were deeply rooted in the women's and worker's rights issues, largely discounted and ignored by policymakers, but which she sought to highlight through her teaching and writings.

In her seminal and sage work on political patronage, Susan redefined political patronage as that which "includes the vast range of favors awarded by constantly expanding governments." Likewise, her work on evolving voter anger was cutting-edge analysis, far ahead of her peers.

For those who had the fortune to know her, Susan was an engaging and charming conversationalist, with a natural curiosity and ability to learn from others. She was always learning and seeking new ideas, and applying this knowledge to her scholarship in the classroom and in her writings in political journals, magazines and books.

Susan's legacy of scholarship has provided those of us who also champion women's and laborers' rights with a critical knowledge base. Her work was inspirational, and insightful, and helped me and many others to understand trends and the undercurrents that caused them which others might have missed.

Susan was not only dedicated to struggles of the working, middle-class women, but also

to her family, whom she loved dearly. She and her husband Martin worked closely together for many decades, authoring many books. She adored her daughter Karen, also a professor, and their charming grandson, Charlie. They were quite a team, Susan and Marty, always joyful and supportive of each other.

Those who were fortunate to have known and loved Susan, or who had followed her work, will miss her terribly. Her passion was an inspiration for many, and one can only hope that her passing will not be the last chapter of her story, but that she will continue to inspire countless others. She certainly inspired me.

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MONTENEGRO SHOWS THE VIRTUE  
OF SELF-DETERMINATION

**HON. DANA ROHRBACHER**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, May 27, 2016*

Mr. ROHRBACHER. Mr. Speaker, the right of self-determination is today manifested by unhappy ethnic and national groups in almost every corner of the world—Scotland, Catalonia, Baluchistan, Biafra, or Kashmir. Current national establishments, as well as international organizations and alliances, however, fear changing the map, terrified by any proposal to dissolve the legal, political, and economic bonds between peoples that creates two countries where there is now one.

Self-determination and secession are, in the global establishment's mind, synonymous with instability, chaos and bloodshed. And, yes, that is what has happened all too often when a dominant ethnic group has refused to recognize rights of a minority to a vote on sticking with the status quo or governing themselves in a new or different country.

But chaos need not be the outcome of people exercising their right of self-determination.

Ten years ago this week, voters in Montenegro went to the polls in a referendum that posed the question, do you want Montenegro to be an independent state? When the votes were counted, 55.5 percent chose to peacefully dissolve their union with Serbia. Shortly thereafter, all five members of the United Nations Security Council recognized the newest country in the world.

In a region not known for a peaceful resolution of disputes, the peoples of Serbia and Montenegro have written a praiseworthy chapter in the history of democratic government and self-determination.

So what made it work so well this time? First and foremost, credit needs to be given to the Serbian government that permitted this referendum to occur. By doing so, made force and violence unnecessary and even counterproductive in the cause of Montenegrin independence. Belgrade, which has made its share of bad decisions, should be praised for making the right decision—right for the people of Serbia and Montenegro.

There are only a few examples of such an amiable separation. The Czech and Slovak split into two countries is certainly one example. We remember elections in Scotland and Quebec, where voters did not choose to be a new nation. Clearly it is better to let the future be determined by ballots, not bullets, and in such a democratic environment, fewer people

will want to vote for a split. If a minority decides to go for it, it will not result in a far-reaching trauma and decades of dissolution and animosity.

Today, for example, Montenegro is poised for a better future. It is advancing toward Euro-Atlantic integration, increasing its ability to fight organized crime and corruption, and strengthening its civil society and democratic structures. Yes, there are vexing problems, but with independence, the people of Montenegro know they themselves will determine if Montenegro is to be on the right track. With such a dynamic in play, there is every reason for confidence that problems will be solved and the building of a better country will get done.

As the chairman of the Europe, Eurasia, and Emerging Threats Subcommittee, I have followed the volatile situation in those areas that are under pressure from such nationalistic movements. Economic stagnation and corruption feed the desire for self-determination and continue to be the biggest hurdle to developing countries like Montenegro, even now when the people there are free to control their own destiny. Forging new standards for transparency and accountability should cut down and make all the difference in situations like this. Montenegro's success in achieving membership in the EU and NATO depends on it. The government of Montenegro now points to its macroeconomic predictability, educated workforce, and openness to incentivized tax structures to lure direct foreign investment and serve as fuel for economic progress.

Their future is in their hands. Thus, they know they must act—or they lose. So after decades of being a backwater country, literally and figuratively, Montenegro is on the move. Stratex Group, for example, is now the largest American investor in Montenegro. The CEO was one of many Jewish families that fled Soviet Communism and settled in the United States. As Montenegro develops, more international and domestic entrepreneurs, like Stratex, can be expected to take advantage of opportunities in this beautiful, free and independent country, opportunities brought on by the triumph of self-determination, sidelining conflict and corruption.

The more success stories there are in the wake of amicable separation, the more peaceful independent movements can be expected to emerge. New nations like Montenegro can be expected, and once in control of their own destiny, people in these new independent countries can be expected to prioritize critical reforms and educate their new generations about corruption, free enterprise, and democratic government in the 21st century. I congratulate Montenegro on ten years of independence, and recommend others look to its experience as an example of gaining freedom and prosperity through self-determination.

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PERSONAL EXPLANATION

**HON. TIM HUELSKAMP**

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Friday, May 27, 2016*

Mr. HUELSKAMP. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, May 24, 2016, I was not present for call votes number 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, and 238 due to a family obligation. If present,