

Unquestionably, Senator PELL's most significant contribution in education has been his effort to ensure that every student has the opportunity to pursue education and training beyond the high school level—financial barriers should not prevent a student from continuing education. In pursuit of this goal, Senator PELL introduced legislation to establish the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant, a program later named the PELL Grant Program in 1980. Last year alone, more than 3.6 million Pell grants were awarded to students attending institutions of higher education. Since 1973, when the first Pell Grants were awarded, more than 60 million grants have enabled students to meet their educational goals through this student financial assistance program.

Mr. President, Senator PELL's remarkable record in the Senate has not been limited to education and the arts. Over the years, and through his leadership in foreign affairs as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Senator PELL has worked tirelessly on behalf of refugees, against human rights abuses, and to reduce the threats from weapons of mass destruction. As a result of these efforts, treaties have been ratified that reduce nuclear weapons, prohibit the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction on the seabed, and the use of environmental modification techniques as weapons of war.

Mr. President, Senator PELL's legacy is one of hope, opportunity, and integrity. For those of us who remain in the Senate, we are challenged to continue his important work on behalf of peace, and to ensure that our children can realize their fullest potential through the widest possible educational opportunities. We have all been enriched by Senator PELL's service in the Senate, and are deeply grateful for his immeasurable contributions to the Nation.

THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Tuesday, September 24, the Federal debt stood at \$5,195,854,879,174.22.

Five years ago, September 24, 1991, the Federal debt stood at \$3,629,138,000,000.

Ten years ago, September 24, 1986, the Federal debt stood at \$2,107,495,000,000.

Fifteen years ago, September 24, 1981, the Federal debt stood at \$979,131,000,000.

Twenty-five years ago, September 24, 1971, the Federal debt stood at \$415,688,000,000. This reflects an increase of more than \$4 trillion (\$4,780,166,879,174.22) during the 25 years from 1971 to 1996.

REPORT BY SENATOR PELL

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, over the weekend I had the opportunity to read a report to the Foreign Relations Com-

mittee prepared by the distinguished ranking minority member of the Committee, Senator CLAIBORNE PELL.

The report, entitled "Democracy: An Emerging Asian Value," details the Senator from Rhode Island's recent trip to Asia. I was very interested in the report because the countries Senator PELL visited—Taiwan, Vietnam, and Indonesia—fall within the jurisdiction of the subcommittee I chair, the Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs. In fact, all three have been of special interest to me and have been the subject of several hearings in the subcommittee.

I found the distinguished Senator's observations about this dynamic region to be particularly cogent, and believe that our colleagues—and the public at large—would benefit from having those observations accessible to them in the RECORD. However, since the report is somewhat lengthy in terms of it being reproduced in the RECORD, I am going to treat one country at a time; today, Mr. President, I would direct the Senate's attention to the portion of the report on Indonesia.

So, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that pages 9 to 17 of S. Prt. 104-45, the section on Indonesia, be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. THOMAS. In closing, I must say that it has been a unique pleasure and honor to serve on the committee with its former Chairman, Senator PELL. I appreciate his views and opinions, as well as his frequent participation in the work of my subcommittee. His departure from the Senate is a loss both to the committee and to the whole institution; he will be missed.

EXCERPT FROM SENATE PRINT 104-45

INDONESIA

A. INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a vast, dynamic and complicated country. It has the fourth largest population in the world and the largest Muslim population in the world; yet it remains strongly secular. The government is an authoritarian one, led and dominated by President Soeharto, a small number of his advisors and the military. There is no apparent successor to Soeharto and no tested process in place for a transition of power. The economy is increasingly open and deregulated, but subject to widespread corruption and influence peddling.

There are a number of issues of interest to the United States in Indonesia. Indonesia has had an impressive economic development and an impressive increase in the average life expectancy. There is a developing middle class. The government has developed and implemented a model population control program. The focus of my trip, however, was a visit to East Timor. When I was in Indonesia in 1992, President Soeharto refused my request to visit East Timor because it was not convenient at that time. I appreciate his willingness to allow me to visit during this trip.

It is important to note that there are other human rights problems in Indonesia aside from those in East Timor. Many independent human rights observer groups criticize gov-

ernment policies in Aceh and Irian Jaya. Issues such as freedom of the press, freedom of speech, the right to form political parties and the development of the rule of law are all of substantial concern in Indonesia today.

In response to a request by the UN, Indonesia establishes a National Commission on Human Rights to investigate human rights issues country-wide. I met with several representatives from the Commission in Jakarta and was impressed with their dedication to improving the lives of ordinary Indonesians. Their investigations are hampered, however, by a lack of funding and staff. Still, they seem to be operating truly independent of the government and I commend their efforts.

That our delegation did not focus on human rights issues outside of East Timor does not mean they are unimportant or that they are unworthy of international attention. The broader spectrum of human rights concerns will likely continue to be an issue for U.S.-Indonesian relations for the foreseeable future. Time limitations of our trip caused us to focus our scrutiny primarily on East Timor.

B. EAST TIMOR

In December 1975, Indonesia invaded East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, during a period of great political upheaval in Lisbon, which meant that Portugal was in no position to resist. The Indonesian military has committed widespread and well-documented human rights abuses in the 20 years since the invasion. The number of East Timorese who have died from violence, abuse or starvation in these 21 years will probably never be known, but there are credible estimates that they could number as many as 200,000. A particularly egregious incident took place on November 12, 1991, when the Indonesian military shot and killed over 200 people (by most credible estimates, although the actual total will likely never be known), during a peaceful demonstration. By all accounts, the protesters were unarmed. This became known alternatively as the Dili or Santa Cruz Massacre. While no events on this scale have been reported since then, widespread reports of abuse continue, including arbitrary arrest, torture, disappearances and killings. I heard several credible reports of these types of abuses while I was there.

Since I have been back in the U.S., there has been yet another conflict between Indonesian troops and East Timorese youth. The most recent disturbance took place in Baucau, a small city on the northern coast, to the east of Dili. Early news reports indicated that Catholic East Timorese had taken to the streets to protest reports that Muslim Indonesians had torn a picture of the Virgin Mary. The U.S. State Department reported that roughly 80 were arrested and that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) had been given access to all of them. There were additional press reports quoting East Timorese leaders saying that some of those arrested had been mistreated.

Indonesia and Portugal have not had diplomatic relations since the takeover. Since 1992, the foreign ministers of each country have held talks under the auspices of the UN Secretary General on East Timor, but these talks have produced little. I met with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas in Jakarta and was particularly pleased to hear him speak highly of Portugal's relatively-new Foreign Minister Jaime Gama. For my part I attended the inauguration of Portugal's new President, Jorge Sampaio, in April and was struck by the new Government's interest in seeking some accommodation with the Indonesians.

Alatas felt that Gama showed a new willingness to listen to Indonesia's views, in contrast to his predecessor. I, too, am impressed