

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

PRIVATIZE THE U.S. POSTAL SERVICE

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, remember that old excuse "the check is in the mail"? In days gone by, that excuse could be used more easily than today because no other options were available to pay bills or to send written messages. With the telecommunications, computer, and information technology revolution, however, there are a variety of options at the public's fingertips to send documents and payments, such as e-mail, electronic financial transfers, and facsimile transmissions. As these technological advancements are used more routinely in everyday life, it is putting increased downward pressure on the U.S. Postal Service's [USPS] revenue stream. Unless we take action to unleash the Postal Service from its current restraints, it is likely to become, to the 21st century, what the horse drawn carriage became to the 20th century.

It is clear that we live in a rapidly changing world. In recent years, we have witnessed an explosion of technological innovations that have enabled people to do much more at home and at work faster than they ever could before. In today's highly competitive global economy, those who can do more, faster, have an edge over their competition. And so, market forces drive the computer and information technology revolution to continue to surpass previous limitations and speeds. As the world continues to seek ways of getting the job done more efficiently, traditional mailbox delivery service is being left behind. In fact, in a 1995 speech, Postmaster General Marvin Runyon said that the legislative framework governing the USPS is no longer in tune with the Nation's long-term postal needs. A major reason cited by the Postmaster General was the competition the USPS is facing from e-mail, electronic financial transfers, and fax machines. He went on to point out that the USPS had already lost 35 percent of its financial mail in the previous 5 years and 33 percent of its business mail to alternative forms of communication and transmission.

Even the Federal Government has recognized the advantages of alternative methods of making payments and issuing benefits. By the end of 1999, the U.S. Department of the Treasury plans to collect \$1 trillion in tax payments via computers. Already, the Treasury Department says that 55 percent of all payments made by the Federal Government are now sent electronically. In less than 2 years, all current and future Social Security beneficiaries will have their money directly deposited into their bank accounts. The savings to the taxpayers from these electronic transfers become apparent when you consider that it costs the Government 43 cents to send a payment by check versus 2 cents per payment to send funds electronically. In the economy

overall, a recent study, by Arthur D. Little, forecast that by the year 2000, electronic correspondence and transactions may overtake traditional mail in market share. Clearly, fundamental change is necessary to enable the USPS to adapt and compete in a rapidly changing environment.

Generally speaking, I am convinced that the vast majority of USPS employees are conscientious, hard-working individuals, who want to provide competitive, top notch service. For the most part, the problem is not so much with them as it is with the system in which they have to work. Put simply, the system lacks the incentives necessary to bring about the gains in productivity and customer service that are essential for the USPS to live up to the public's expectations and needs. For one thing, the USPS is insulated against competition in the delivery of first-class mail, which means customers need not be won over, but can be taken for granted. For another, it is subsidized by the Federal Government, through its ability to borrow from the Federal Treasury when it loses money and the fact that it does not have to pay taxes, which means there is less pressure to be efficient. A third reason lies in the fact that the USPS does not have to operate under any bottom-line incentives, such as a profit motive, which serve as the underlining motivator in making private companies so productive.

For this reason, I am reintroducing legislation today which would convert the USPS into a totally private corporation owned by postal employees. My bill calls for this transition to be implemented over a 5-year period, after which the USPS' current monopoly over the delivery of first class mail would end. To make the prospects for success of the new private corporation even more likely and attractive, my legislation calls for the cost-free transfer of the assets held by the USPS to the employee-owned corporation. Not only would a privatized Postal Service inherit a tremendous infrastructure advantage to assist in this transition, it would be free to develop entirely new products and services quickly to respond to market needs and demands. Moreover, as owners of the Postal Service, the employees would benefit from having a stake in the corporations success and profitability.

In the past, the major objection that the USPS has raised to privatization and the repeal of its monopoly has been that it would result, allegedly, in cream skimming by USPS competitors of metropolitan areas, leaving the USPS with the financially troublesome prospect of being left with only rural and bulk mail to deliver. However, the logic behind such an argument overlooks the significance of the telecommunications and computer revolution underway. With the rapid growth in the use of facsimile machines, modems, internet, electronic mail, the truth is the USPS is more likely to be left with rural and bulk mail to deliver if it does not privatize than if it does. For this reason, I hope that the fine men and women of the USPS might seriously consider this proposal and examine its merits. I hope, too, that

my colleagues might join me in this effort because only by keeping up with the times and the competition can the USPS hope to thrive in the future.

BUDGET DEAL BAD FOR EVERYONE

HON. BILL McCOLLUM

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. McCOLLUM. Mr. Speaker, with all due respect to the Republican leadership and many of my colleagues who earnestly and sincerely worked on and believe in the recently passed budget bill, I voted against it because as a conservative Republican I believe it is a terribly flawed product.

Incredibly, this budget will produce for fiscal year 1998 a \$70 billion, or 4.3-percent spending increase from 1997, which is a bigger increase than Democratic Congresses passed in fiscal years 1993, 1994, or 1995. It is \$5 billion more than even President Clinton requested.

As for the long haul in getting to balance by the year 2002, spending will rise from \$1.6 trillion to \$1.9 trillion. The assumption of this budget is that Federal tax receipts will rise from \$1.5 trillion in 1997 to \$1.9 trillion in 2002. Sure enough, this would make a balanced budget, but it would be a budget balanced by a huge increase in spending and an even bigger increase in taxes taken from the American people. I am for a balanced budget, but how it's balanced is as important as getting to balance.

The accompanying May 22, 1997, editorial of the Wall Street Journal and the op-ed piece by James K. Glassman that I am entering into the RECORD show in great detail just how bad this budget is. The Journal editorial points out that the budget dealmakers have agreed to continue through 2002 the rule that requires any tax cuts be offset by either tax increases or cuts in entitlements; they can't be offset by cuts in discretionary spending. As the Journal states: "the practical effect of this is to make future tax cuts all but impossible as a political matter."

Considered in this light, the minor tax adjustments that have been called cuts in this budget are simply not worth the price being paid. Congress should be eliminating the tax on capital gains and the estate taxes altogether. Because of the practical difficulty of doing this in the immediate future, prior to this budget deal Republicans had called for a reduction in the capital gains tax rate to a level of about 20 percent, an increase in the estate tax exemption from \$600,000 to \$1.2 million, and a \$500 per child tax credit. It appears highly unlikely that anything approaching these adjustments can be made under the budget deal, and even if it were, the price being paid is still too high.

When it was first announced, the Republican leadership's principle selling point was

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

Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

that over 10 years this budget would save the taxpayers about \$950 billion. By the time the debate on the floor took place, that figure was down to a little over \$600 billion. The fact is there are baseline savings, that is, actual spending will increase a lot every single year for the next 10 years but not by as much as it might otherwise, and this is labeled a spending reduction. It sounds good, but the truth is spending will continue to increase big time. And the proponents extrapolated 5 years beyond the budget deal to make the claimed savings sound better. Historically the only thing you can count on in a budget deal is the first year, because Congress passes a new budget every year and changes the mix.

The other point the budget dealmakers have tried to sell is that this budget has finally gotten control of runaway Medicare spending. That is where all the savings are supposed to come from. But the Medicare proposal is very flawed too. It assumes a shift of the cost of home health care from Medicare part A (the trust fund financed by the payroll tax) into Medicare part B (financed by general revenues and with high deductibles by patients).

This will postpone the day of reckoning of the solvency of the trust fund of Medicare part A, but does nothing to solve the underlying problems of Medicare. Fundamental reforms of Medicare—that promote more competition among HMO's, offer recipients new options, and create medical savings accounts which permit retirees to purchase low cost, high deductible catastrophic health insurance policies with Medicare contributing annually into the individual's savings account to cover the deductible—were not only omitted from this budget deal, but made less likely in the foreseeable future.

Furthermore, the budget deal will force unspecified price controls on the Health Care Financing Administration that will result in more irrational cutbacks in services through regulations such as the ones that now deny reimbursement for routine preventive checkup tests. Cutting Medicare spending without fundamental reform is bound to reduce benefits and make Medicare worse.

For all of these reasons and more, as the Washington Post headline on James K. Glassman's column said, the budget deal I voted against is bad for everyone. I wish it weren't so, but that's the way I see it.

[From the Washington Post]

BAD FOR EVERYONE

(By James K. Glassman)

Let's not kid ourselves. The budget that Congress is set to pass this week may succeed in showing a zero deficit on paper in the year 2002, but it fails miserably in its most important function—holding down federal spending.

In the latest Washington orgy of self-congratulation, Rep. John Kasich (R-Ohio), the House Budget chairman, proclaimed, "Cooperation between Congress and the president is resulting in smaller government."

No, it's not. The way to get smaller government is by spending less money. In fact, federal spending will rise sharply in fiscal year 1998—that's the year that starts on Oct. 1, 1997, and the only budget year that has any real significance. All the other numbers for all the other years are sheer fantasy. As anyone who runs a business knows, the only figure you can possibly control is next year's spending.

Also, when the government spends (whether it gets its funds through borrowing or tax-

ing), it is extracting money from the private sector, money that could be used for capital investment, for creating new businesses and better jobs.

To paraphrase James Carville: It's the spending, stupid—not the deficit.

And how much will federal spending increase next year? That's a question that I have been asking the House Budget Committee since May 2, when the original deal was announced. Finally, I've managed to get the answer (from other high-level GOP sources). For fiscal 1998, spending will be \$1.692 trillion. For this year, spending is estimated at \$1.622 trillion, so the government will be spending \$70 billion more—an increase of 4.32 percent.

How big is that increase?

—It's the largest since Bill Clinton became president, larger even than in the years when the Democrats controlled Congress.

—It's \$5 billion more than Clinton asked for in the budget he submitted in February. (By the way, the new budget also calls for spending of \$1.889 trillion in 2002; Clinton sought only \$1.880 trillion.)

—It's well ahead of inflation, which is estimated for 1998 at between 2.7 percent and 2.9 percent. This increase is about 1.5 percentage points (or half again) higher.

These are hard facts. What you hear from politicians simply tries to obscure them. For instance, Kasich bragged last week, "Over the next 10 years, passage of this plan will save taxpayers over \$950 billion."

What he means is that the government is now planning to spend about \$1 trillion less in the next decade (out of a total of about \$20 trillion) than it was planning to spend the last time it made plans. That earlier plan is called the "baseline," and it's a device that both Congress and the president use to make it seem that they're accomplishing more than they really are.

Many conservatives—including Kasich—used to criticize the use of the baseline as a deception. Indeed, they once proposed legislation to outlaw its use. Now they use it themselves, with trumpets.

The reason that the federal deficit is projected at zero under the new budget is not that government will be smaller, but that revenues from the taxpayers will be larger—much larger. According to the president's February budget, the Treasury was expected to collect \$1.5 trillion from citizens and businesses in 1997. According to the new bipartisan budget, that figure will rise to \$1.9 trillion in 2002. Meanwhile, spending will rise from \$1.6 trillion to \$1.9 trillion. And there you have it; a balanced budget.

But here's another idea. Why don't we simply increase spending from \$1.5 trillion to \$1.8 trillion, and taxes from \$1.6 trillion to \$1.8 trillion? Again, the deficit would be zero, but the economy—and individual Americans—would be big winners.

Instead, Congress is choosing a more familiar route—spend more and tax a lot more, and hope the two come out even.

This is the same route we have been traveling for the past four years, despite all the jabbering about "smaller government." In a January report, the Congressional Budget Office looked at the dramatic decline in the deficit—from \$290 billion in 1992 to \$107 billion in 1996—and asked, "How did this happen?"

The answer wasn't reduced spending. In fact, spending rose 13 percent, roughly the rate of inflation. Instead, the deficit fell because of higher revenues—a phenomenal increase of 33 percent.

Yes, the budget does call for tax cuts, but they are minuscule—and, again, the word "cut" is wildly misleading. All it means is that the Treasury will collect \$85 billion less over five years than it expected to collect

with the original baseline. That's \$85 billion out of total tax collections of more than \$9 trillion, or less than one percent.

But far worse is that the new budget calls for an acceleration in spending—well beyond inflation. It includes \$32 billion in new initiatives demanded by Clinton, including health coverage for children in low-income (but not "poor," since they're already covered by Medicaid) families, restoration of welfare benefits for legal immigrants and more Medicare subsidies for seniors.

Republicans have agreed to protect increased spending for Head Start, the Job Corps, child literacy, etc., etc. As for actually reducing government programs, don't hold your breath. There is no mention in the budget of killing Amtrak or the National Endowment for the Arts or the Advanced Technology Program, which provides \$225 million annually to huge corporations such as IBM to conduct research that they would undoubtedly fund on their own.

But to cut spending is hard. To collect more taxes that are the fruit of the sacrifices and genius of individual American managers and workers—that's easy. It's disappointing, but hardly a surprise, that this Congress has chosen the easy way.

[From the Wall Street Journal, May 22, 1997]

WILLIAM JEFFERSON KASICH

Anyone who doubts that the Republican revolution is moribund on Capitol Hill should consider that its leadership has just told the Heritage Foundation, the Cato Institute and Citizens for a Sound Economy to get lost. They were barred from GOP councils this week for daring to question the wisdom of the "bipartisan budget agreement" now being sold in Washington.

These outfits are three of the country's more prominent conservative activist groups, which means they care about policy. But the budget deal is mainly about politics, i.e., political survival, so Republicans don't want anyone rudely telling the truth about their transformation into Democrats. New Gingrich, John Kasich and company have become Clintonian in their ability to call a square a circle.

Mr. Kasich, the House budget chairman and likely Presidential candidate in 2000, once railed about such Beltway deceptions as phony "cuts" proposed against imaginary budget "baselines." But now he's invoking them himself. "Over the next 10 years, passage of this plan will save taxpayers over \$950 billion," Mr. Kasich said the other day.

The only problem with that sentence is that none of it means anything at all. The 10-year period is fanciful, since as countless budget deals have taught us the only year that really matters is the current one, in this case Fiscal Year 1998. The 10-year boast allows politicians to claim fiscal austerity, while putting off all the spending cuts for some future Congress.

The "save taxpayers" lingo is also worthy of our current President. Mr. Kasich's "savings" are nothing more than reductions against the automatic spending increases included in a "baseline" that rises each year. This is an invention of Democratic Congresses that designed it to more easily grow the government; they knew they would be able to denounce any reductions from the baseline as "cuts." Republicans only last year griped about this when Democrats used it to deplore their Medicare "cuts," but now Mr. Kasich is playing the same game.

This is no doubt because it lets him avoid talking about the real budget issue, which is spending. The bipartisan deal proposes to spend \$1,692 trillion in 1998, or \$5 billion more than even President Clinton requested. That's a \$70 billion, or 4.3%, increase from

1997, a bigger increase than Democratic Congresses passed in fiscal years 1993, 1994 or 1995. This is compromise?

Republicans are even agreeing to bust the caps on non-defense discretionary spending that George Mitchell, Dick Gephardt and President Clinton were forced to agree to in 1993. And one more thing: Mr. Kasich and friends have agreed to continue, through 2002, the rule that requires that any tax cuts be offset either by tax increases or cuts in entitlements. They can't be offset merely by cuts in "discretionary" spending accounts such as arts funding or legal services.

The practical effect of this is to make future tax cuts all but impossible as a political matter. Republicans will never try to cut taxes by cutting entitlements, or at least they'll never see it through if they try. It also makes discretionary cuts that much more difficult to pass, because it means such cuts can't be used to return money to taxpayers. Instead, if Congress ever does zero out, say, the National Endowment for the Arts, the money will merely get absorbed back into the broader budget. So why should Congress bother to cut any spending, since all of the political pressure will come from those who oppose the cuts?

As for entitlements, we've already written about the lack of any real Medicare reform. But we can't let pass without notice that Republicans have agreed to accept the same Trust Fund sleight of hand they denounced when the President proposed it in February. This is the transfer of fast-growing home health care costs away from the Trust Fund (financed by the payroll tax) onto the general revenue budget. This ruse allows the pols to claim the trust fund is "secure for 10 years" when all they've done is reshuffle the accounts and put the financial burden onto all taxpayers.

And, lest we forget, Mr. Kasich and friends are hailing the budget deal's \$85 billion in "badly needed tax relief." But that number is so small, in comparison with \$8 trillion in federal revenue over five years, that Republicans will have a hard time satisfying all of their constituents. Mr. Gingrich has been privately promising "historically accurate" scoring for the tax cuts, which would mean that a capital gains cut would arise more revenue than it lost. But we'll believe that when we see Republicans finally show the guts to do it.

Here and there a few Republicans are stepping up to speak honestly about all of this. David McIntosh, a sophomore from Indiana, was planning to offer an amendment on the House floor last night to spend less on discretionary accounts in return for larger tax cuts. And Phil Gramm of Texas may offer something similar in the Senate today. But with the Clintonized GOP leadership massed against it, neither effort can do much more than educate the country about what is really going on here.

The political truth about this budget is that Republicans are selling out their agenda in return for President Clinton's blessing. They want cover against Dick Gephardt and AFL-CIO attacks in 1998. And we can even understand their reluctance to fight Bill Clinton. But do they also have to emulate him?

TRIBUTE TO M. SGT. MICHAEL G.
HEISER

HON. TILLIE K. FOWLER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mrs. FOWLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask my colleagues to join me today in honoring the mem-

ory of M. Sgt. Michael G. Heiser, USAF, who died serving his country on June 25, 1996, in the bombing of the Khobar Towers complex in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia.

Master Sergeant Heiser entered the Air Force in 1979 and was a member of the Air Force Academy class of 1984. He traveled extensively in his Air Force career; he accompanied then-Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Berlin in November of 1989 when the Wall came down, and he was on the first United States plane escorted and allowed to land in free Russia. Master Sergeant Heiser was awarded the Academic Achievement Award and the Distinguished Graduate Award in 1993 at Kieseling NCO Academy and in 1995 he was selected as the Aircrew Member of the Year in Europe. After he reentered the Air Force enlisted ranks, he became one of the most decorated enlisted men in the Air Force.

Master Sergeant Heiser flew more than 10,000 hours in 9 years while he was based in Europe, and in 1996 was assigned to Patrick Air Force Base in Florida. Shortly afterwards, he was sent to Saudi Arabia with his squadron, whose motto is "So Others May Live."

Master Sergeant Heiser was killed in the line of duty in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, serving his country with honor and distinction. He was awarded the Purple Heart posthumously on June 30, 1996, which was accepted on behalf of their only child by his loving parents Fran and Gary Heiser, my constituents in Palm Coast, FL.

Next week, we will observe Memorial Day—the day our Nation sets aside for honoring our fallen heroes. In anticipation of that hallowed day, this week Mr. and Mrs. Heiser were presented with a Fallen Friend medallion in Palm Coast, FL. I ask all of my colleagues in the Congress to join me this Memorial Day in paying tribute to the ultimate sacrifice made by Michael and each of his brothers-in-arms who gave their lives at Dhahran in defense of our Nation's vital interests.

HONORING CAPT. LEROY A. FARR,
A LEADER WITH FEW EQUALS, A
GREAT AMERICAN

HON. CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to honor a very special friend and a true military leader, an all-American hero, U.S. Navy Capt. Leroy Farr.

Captain Farr is retiring from the Navy after 30 years of outstanding service to our country. He will be missed.

Mr. Speaker, I have deep respect and admiration for Captain Farr's character, commitment, and dedication. He's a doer, highly competent, yet modest. With his easy going manner, you just can't help liking the guy.

Capt. Leroy Farr has a diverse background in naval aviation and a distinguished one. Test pilot; landing signal officer; operations and maintenance officer; squadron commanding officer; air boss; program manger, and inspector general are some of the positions he has held. The veteran aviator graduated from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1967. He majored in mathematics and aeronautical engineering.

Ensign Farr attended North Carolina State University, receiving his master's degree in mechanical engineering in 1968. In April 1969, he earned the coveted naval aviation wings and entered the Light Attack community flying the A-7B. Lieutenant Farr served with VA-46, deploying twice with U.S.S. *John F. Kennedy* (CV-67).

In 1972, he was selected to attend the U.S. Air Force Test Pilot School at Edwards AFB, CA. In 1976, Lieutenant Farr attended the Armed Forces Staff College, Norfolk, VA. He went on to serve as project test pilot at the Pacific Missile Test Center, Point Mugu, CA. He returned to the A-7 Light Attack community for a tour with VA-83 at NAS Cecil Field, FL where he deployed with U.S.S. *Forrestal* (CV-59). In 1979, Lieutenant Commander Farr returned to shore duty with VA-174, the A-7 Fleet Training Squadron.

In 1980 Commander Farr went back to sea as executive officer and commanding officer of VA-37 flying the A-7E and deployed on both U.S.S. *Saratoga* (CV-60) and U.S.S. *John F. Kennedy* (CV-67). He began his air boss tour in 1983 on board U.S.S. *John F. Kennedy* (CV-67).

Commander Farr was assigned to Naval Air Systems Command headquarters in Washington, DC in 1985. There he served as a branch head in the Test and Evaluation Division, then as the unmanned air vehicle class desk officer in Weapons Engineering Division.

From 1987 through 1990, Captain Farr commanded the Naval Weapons Evaluation Facility in Albuquerque, NM. He was again assigned to Naval Air Systems Command Headquarters, first in the Inspector General's Office, then as head of the Ship and Shore Installations Division. In July 1992, Captain Farr was named program manager for the new established Aircraft Launch and Recovery Equipment Program (PMA251).

He became commanding officer of the Naval Air Warfare Center Aircraft Division Lakehurst, June 1993. I am especially grateful for the critical role he played in saving Lakehurst from closing.

Lakehurst, Mr. Speaker, is the heart of naval aviation. It is a unique, one-of-its-kind, world-class facility whose primary function is to ensure that aircraft safely launch and recover from the deck of a carrier or other platform, and that support equipment assist in the service of planes, parts, and ordinance at sea. The safety and success of every single naval aircraft depends on the work and skill housed at Navy Lakehurst.

Despite it's military value, the Department of Defense erroneously targeted Navy Lakehurst for closure—and then for a radical realignment. As part of the realignment scenario, the critical manufacturing, design, and research that goes on at Lakehurst was to be split apart and relocated at other bases.

As commanding officer of Lakehurst, Captain Farr was undoubtedly between a rock and a hard place. He knew the facts. But as a Navy officer, Captain Farr could not and would not violate his chain of command. At the same time, as a captain, a pilot, a former air boss and the current commanding officer of Navy Lakehurst, Captain Farr knew better than anyone just how devastating the close Lakehurst scenario would be for national security and pilot safety.

It was an unusual situation where one's own military command was supporting a plan not in

the best interest of American security. A predicament in which a man of less character, less courage, less fortitude, and less grit might decide to look the other way—and let the chips fall where they may. But not Leroy Farr. Captain Farr simply did what was right.

I remember his wife, Barbara, telling me just how much he grieved for the future of Navy Lakehurst and the future of any pilot who might fly off an aircraft carrier without the support of the skilled workers and artisans at Navy Lakehurst.

I had the good fortune of sitting in on Captain Farr's many briefings when BRAC officials would come to the base to see for themselves what went on at Navy Lakehurst. It was in these skillful presentations that Captain Farr laid the ground work for the ultimate reversal of the close Lakehurst scenario. Captain Farr was informed, clear, concise, fair, direct, honest, sincere, and effective.

It has been my distinct honor and privilege to have worked with Captain Farr and I know I speak not only for myself but for all who support Navy Lakehurst and are dedicated to a strong, capable military defense when I say that we will sincerely miss him.

I wish nothing but the best for Captain Farr because he, his wife, Barbara, and his family are the best of the best.

TRIBUTE TO GREENWOOD COUNTY
IN HONOR OF THEIR CENTEN-
NIAL CELEBRATION

HON. LINDSEY O. GRAHAM

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Greenwood County, of the Third Congressional District in South Carolina, on their 100th anniversary. Founded in 1897, Greenwood County began when over 1,100 residents petitioned South Carolina Governor W.H. Ellerbe requesting a special election for the formation of a new county. Now, a hundred years later, over 59,000 Greenwood County citizens anxiously await their County's birthday to celebrate its proud past and bright future.

Through the years, the citizens of Greenwood County have had the foresight and vision to facilitate growth throughout the County. Now, Greenwood County is home to many thriving businesses, cutting-edge industries, and close-knit families who represent a wholesome all-American way of life. These outstanding citizens characterize their proud past and their overwhelming confidence in the future.

Greenwood County residents have become active participants in commemorating this special event. The month-long-celebration festivities include essays, exhibits, lectures, and old photos to be enjoyed by the young and old, native and transplant. In addition to various planned activities, a special song to commemorate the Greenwood County Centennial was written.

As a successful and eventful chapter closes in the history of Greenwood County, I send my best wishes for a flourishing and thriving future. It is an honor and privilege for me to represent Greenwood County and their interests in the U.S. House of Representatives. I look

forward to watching the growth and development of Greenwood County over the next 100 years.

SURFACE TRANSPORTATION
SAFETY ACT OF 1997

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, today the distinguished ranking member of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, Mr. OBERSTAR, and I are introducing, at the request of the President, the Surface Transportation Safety Act of 1997. This legislation, which complements the national Economic Crossroads Transportation Efficiency Act of 1997, is designed to improve safety in a variety of transportation areas. In some cases, the provisions make important improvements in existing safety programs. In other cases, new approaches are taken. Other provisions make technical changes to reduce paperwork burdens on industries and Government. Introducing this bill by request, I do not necessarily endorse each provision, but I believe that this comprehensive bill is a serious effort to save lives in the transportation field. I would encourage the appropriate committees of the House to give these provisions the attention they deserve.

As is the case in any comprehensive bill, the provisions fall into a variety of committee jurisdictions. Various committees may wish to move certain sections or titles separately as they see fit to expedite consideration. As I briefly describe the provisions of the bill, I will also indicate the committees of jurisdiction for each provision, based upon consultations with the Office of the Parliamentarian.

As a second part of NEXTEA, the bill begins with title IX, which makes a number of amendments to our traffic safety laws. Perhaps the most important change is found in section 9001, dealing with primary safety belt use. The provision, within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, would transfer certain highway funds to occupant protection programs in any State which failed to enact a law requiring the use of safety belts. The connection between traffic safety and seat belt use is clear and convincing. No other engineering feat can match the safety provided by seat belts. The Department of Transportation estimates that over 75,000 lives were saved by safety belts between 1982 and 1995.

A study by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration in 1995 found that in States with a primary enforcement law, seat belt use increased by about 15 percent. This increase translates to a 5.9-percent decline in fatalities. For example, in California and Louisiana, States that recently upgraded their laws to provide for primary enforcement, safety belt use increased by 13 and 17 percentage points respectively.

Sections 9002 through 9005, within the jurisdiction of the Commerce Committee, would make a variety of minor changes to various auto safety laws. One of the provisions would allow an expansion of a program to allow manufacturers to seek waivers of various safety standards to adopt more innovative safety

approaches that would provide greater safety protection.

Section 9006, primarily within the jurisdiction of the Commerce Committee, with jurisdiction also in the Judiciary Committee, seeks to improve standardization in State titling requirements to alert consumers when they are buying severely damaged vehicles. Many damaged vehicles are rebuilt for sale, but they continue to pose a serious safety risk.

Title X of the bill would reauthorize hazardous materials programs within the jurisdiction of the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee.

Title XI of the bill, within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure and the Committee on Commerce, would upgrade programs to prevent excavator damage to underground utilities, such as natural gas pipelines. In the past decade, 98 people have lost their lives and 425 others were injured from accidents to pipelines caused by excavation. The bill would seek to reduce these accidents by enhancing one-call programs at the State level. One-call programs provide excavators a simple and effective way of avoiding pipelines.

Title XII, would clarify and reallocate responsibilities for ensuring food transportation safety among the Departments of Health and Human Services, Transportation and Agriculture. The provision, within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Commerce and the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, seeks to improve food safety by giving a primary role to the Department of Health and Human Services.

Title XIII, within the jurisdiction of the Judiciary Committee, would create criminal sanctions for violent attacks against railroads similar to the sanctions against attacks against airlines. Unfortunately, we have seen increased terrorist attacks against railroads, such as the attacks on Amtrak passenger trains near Santa Fe in 1996, near Hyder, AZ in 1995, near Opa-Locka, FL in 1993, and at Newport News, VA in 1992. The new provisions would make these intentional attacks on trains a Federal crime subject to penalties associated with attacks on airlines.

Title XIV, within the jurisdiction of the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure, would amend certain rail and mass transportation programs to require certain safety considerations to be made in grants.

In summary, Mr. Speaker, this bill represents a comprehensive approach to transportation safety that will undoubtedly save many lives and prevent tragic injuries. The provisions deserve careful consideration by this Congress.

CHARLTON, NY, FIRE DEPARTMENT NO. 1 CELEBRATES 75TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. GERALD B.H. SOLOMON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. SOLOMON. Mr. Speaker, I have always been partial to the charm and character of small towns and small town people. That's why I travel home to my congressional district every weekend, to see the picturesque towns and scenery that marks the 22d District of

New York. The town of Charlton is certainly no different.

The traits which make me most fond of such communities is the undeniable camaraderie which exists among neighbors. Looking out for one another and the needs of the community make such places great places to live and raise a family. This concept of community service is exemplified by the devoted service of the Charlton Volunteer Fire Department 1. For 75 years now, this organization has provided critical services for the citizens on a volunteer basis. As a former volunteer fireman myself, I understand and appreciate, the commitment required to perform such vital public duties.

It has become all too seldom that you see fellow citizens put themselves in harms way for the sake of another. While almost all things have changed over the years, thankfully, for the residents of Charlton, the members of their volunteer fire department continue to selflessly perform their duty without remiss. I can't say enough about the countless lives and millions of dollars in property they have saved by doing so over the course of their 75-year history.

That's why I am so glad to have this opportunity to pay tribute to them today. And for that matter, the residents of their community will have the opportunity to show their appreciation at their Founder's Day Parade marking this momentous occasion on Sunday, June 1, 1997.

Mr. Speaker, I have always been one to judge people by how much they give back to their community. On that scale, the members of this fire company, both past and present, are truly great Americans. I am proud of this organization because it typifies the spirit of voluntarism which has been such a central part of American life. We would all do well to emulate the service of the men and women who comprise Fire Department No. 1 in Charlton. To that end, it is with a sense of pride, Mr. Speaker, that I ask all Members to join me in paying tribute to them on the occasion of their 75th anniversary.

TRIBUTE TO THE ELDRIDGE
SALMON

HON. PETE SESSIONS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. SESSIONS. Mr. Speaker, on November 29, 1996, Texas lost a distinguished businessman and philanthropist, C. Eldridge Salmon, at the age of 73. He was born in the community of Salmon on September 26, 1923, to G.C. and Arbell Garrison Salmon, and though he moved to Houston as a child, he maintained an abiding commitment to the east Texas community throughout his lifetime.

A University of Houston graduate, Mr. Salmon was employed for more than 20 years as an auditor with Texaco Oil Co., during which time he earned the respect and admiration of his colleagues for his expertise, hard work, and dedication.

This esteemed gentleman amassed an extensive collection of artwork during his lifetime, and he generously donated many of his holdings to institutions in east Texas to enable others to enjoy fine art. He gave 176 pieces to

the library at Palestine High School, and his altruism further benefited Sam Houston State University, Grapeland High School, and public libraries in a number of communities in the area as well.

Eldridge Salmon left an indelible mark on the east Texas community during his lifetime, and though he is gone from us now, his memory will long endure in the many contributions he has left behind.

On behalf of all Texans, I pay tribute to the life of C. Eldridge Salmon and extend sincere sympathy to the members of his family, Dorothy Ernestine Salmon Baker of Houston, Cleon Salmon of Grapeland, and H.L. Garrison of Palestine, and to the many other friends and relatives of his distinguished gentleman.

GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE

HON. VIC FAZIO

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. FAZIO. Mr. Speaker, complex issues take not only courage but discipline and foresight to address. Global climate change is such an issue. While no one knows the precise answers, we do know the fragility of the environment around us and the importance of embarking on the journey to find those answers. It is in that spirit that the chief executive of British Petroleum, E. John Browne addressed global climate change in a speech this week at Stanford University in California.

Mr. Browne took a bold step in asserting that because the possibility that a link exists between human activity and climate change, that in fact we need to consider solutions now—while we have time to responsibly act. Mr. Browne's speech is grounded in reason. It provides a framework for moving forward in a constructive fashion on global climate change. His is a refreshing approach to a sometimes politically contentious, sometimes emotional, but always a fundamentally serious topic that affects humankind.

I commend Mr. Browne's speech to my colleagues in the U.S. Congress.

CLIMATE CHANGE

Dean Spence, Ladies and Gentlemen, good morning.

It is always marvelous to come back to Stanford . . . and it is a pleasure . . . and a privilege to be here to speak to you today on a subject which I believe is of the utmost importance.

I can't think of anywhere better than Stanford to discuss in a calm and rational way a subject which raises great emotion and which requires both analysis and action.

I think it's right to start by setting my comments in context.

Following the collapse of Communism in Europe and the fall of the Soviet Empire at the end of the 1980s, two alternative views of the consequences for the rest of the world were put forward.

Francis Fukuyama wrote a book with the ironic title "The End of History". Jacques Delors, then President of the European Commission, talked about the "Acceleration of History".

In the event, history has neither accelerated nor stopped. But it has changed.

The world in which we now live is one no longer defined by ideology. Of course, the old spectrums are still with us . . . of left to right . . . of radical to conservative, but ide-

ology is no longer the ultimate arbiter of analysis and action.

Governments, corporations and individual citizens have all had to redefine their roles in a society no longer divided by an Iron Curtain separating Capitalism from Communism.

A new age demands a fresh perspective of the nature of society and responsibility.

The passing of some of the old divisions reminds us we are all citizens of one world, and we must take shared responsibility for its future, and for its sustainable development.

We must do that in all our various roles . . . as students and teachers, as business people with capital to invest, as legislators with the power to make law . . . as individual citizens with the right to vote . . . and as consumers with the power of choice.

These roles overlap, of course. The people who work in BP are certainly business people, but they're also people with beliefs and convictions . . . individuals concerned with the quality of life for themselves and for their children.

When they come through the door into work every morning they don't leave behind their convictions and their sense of responsibility.

And the same applies to our consumers. Their choices determine our success as a company. And they too have beliefs and convictions.

Now that brings us to my subject today—the global environment.

That is a subject which concerns us all—in all our various roles and capacities.

I believe we've now come to an important moment in our consideration of the environment.

It is a moment when because of the shared interest I talked about, we need to go beyond analysis to seek solutions and to take action. It is a moment for change and for a rethinking of corporate responsibility.

A year ago, the Second Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change was published. That report and the discussion which has continued since its publication, shows that there is mounting concern about two stark facts.

The concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is rising, and the temperature of the earth's surface is increasing.

Karl Popper once described all science as being provisional. What he meant by that was that all science is open to refutation, to amendment and to development.

That view is certainly confirmed by the debate around climate change.

There's a lot of noise in the data. It is hard to isolate cause and effect. But there is now an effective consensus among the world's leading scientists and serious and well-informed people outside the scientific community that there is a discernible human influence on the climate, and a link between the concentration of carbon dioxide and the increase in temperature.

The prediction of the IPCC is that over the next century temperatures might rise by a further 1 to 3.5 degrees centigrade, and that sea levels might rise by between 15 and 95 centimeters. Some of that impact is probably unavoidable, because it results from current emissions.

Those are wide margins of error, and there remain large elements of uncertainty—about cause and effect . . . and even more importantly about the consequences.

But it would be unwise and potentially dangerous to ignore the mounting concern.

The time to consider the policy dimensions of climate change is not when the link between greenhouse gases and climate change is conclusively proven . . . but when the possibility cannot be discounted and is taken seriously by the society of which we are part.

We in BP have reached that point.

It is an important moment for us. A moment when analysis demonstrates the need for action and solutions.

To be absolutely clear—we must now focus on what can and what should be done, not because we can be certain climate change is happening, but because the possibility can't be ignored.

If we are all to take responsibility for the future of our planet, then it falls to us to begin to take precautionary action now.

But what sort of action? How should we respond to this mixture of concern and uncertainty?

I think the right metaphor for the process is a journey.

Governments have started on that journey. The Rio Conference marked an important point on that journey. So was the Berlin review meeting. The Kyoto Conference scheduled for the end of this year marks another staging post.

It will be a long journey because the responsibilities faced by governments are complex, and the interests of their economies and peoples are diverse, and sometimes contradictory. But the journey has begun, and has to continue.

The private sector has also embarked upon the journey . . . but now that involvement needs to be accelerated.

This too will be long and complex, with different people taking different approaches. But it is a journey that must proceed.

As I see it, there are two kinds of actions that can be taken in response to the challenge of climate change.

The first kind of action would be dramatic, sudden and surely wrong. Actions which sought, at a stroke, drastically to restrict carbon emissions or even to ban the use of fossil fuels would be unsustainable because they would crash into the realities of economic growth. They would also be seen as discriminatory above all in the developing world.

The second kind of action is that of a journey taken in partnership by all those involved. A step by step process involving both action to develop solutions and continuing research that will build knowledge through experience.

BP is committed to this second approach, which matches the agreement reached at Rio based on a balance between the needs of development and environmental protection. The Rio agreements recognise the need for economic development in the developing world. We believe we can contribute to achievement of the right balance by ensuring that we apply the technical innovations we're making on a common basis—everywhere in the world.

What we propose to do is substantial, real and measurable. I believe it will make a difference.

Before defining that action I think it is worth establishing a factual basis from which we can work.

Of the world's total carbon dioxide emissions only a small fraction comes from the activities of human beings, but it is that small fraction which might threaten the equilibrium between the much greater flows.

You could think of it as the impact of placing even a small weight on a weighscale which is precisely balanced.

But in preserving the balance we have to be clear where the problem actually lies.

Of the total carbon dioxide emissions caused by burning fossil fuels only 20% comes from transportation.

80% comes from static uses of energy—the energy used in our homes, in industry and in power generation. Of the total 43 per cent comes from petroleum.

We've looked carefully using the best available data at the precise impact of our own activities.

Our operations—in exploration and in refining—produce around 8 megatonnes of carbon.

On top of that a further 1 megatonne is produced by our Chemical operations. If you add to that the carbon produced by the consumption of the products we produce—the total goes up to around 95 megatonnes.

That is just one per cent of the total carbon dioxide emissions which come from all human activity.

Let me put that another way—to be clear.

Human activity accounts for a small part of the total volume of emissions of carbon—but it is that part which could cause disequilibrium.

Only a fraction of the total emissions come from the transportation sector—so that problem is not just caused by vehicles. Any response which is going to have a real impact has to look at all the sources.

As a company, our contribution is small, and our actions alone could not resolve the problem.

But that does not mean we should do nothing.

We have to look at both the way we use energy . . . to ensure we are working with maximum efficiency . . . and at how our products are used.

That means ensuring our own house is in order. It also means contributing to the wider analysis of the problem—through research, technology and through engagement in the search for the best public policy mechanisms—the actions which can produce the right solutions for the long term common interest.

We have a responsibility to act, and I hope that through our actions we can contribute to the much wider process which is desirable and necessary.

BP accepts that responsibility and we're therefore taking some specifics steps. To control our own emissions. To fund continuing scientific research. To take initiatives for joint implementation. To develop alternative fuels for the long term. And to contribute to the public policy debate in search of the wider global answers to the problem.

First we will monitor and control our own carbon dioxide emissions.

This follows the commitment we've made in relation to other environmental issues. Our overall goal is to do no harm or damage to the natural environment. That's an ambitious goal which we approach systematically.

Nobody can do everything at once. Companies work by prioritizing what they do. They take the easiest steps first—picking the low hanging fruit—and then they move on to tackle the more difficult and complex problems. That is the natural business process.

Our method has been to focus on one item at a time, to identify what can be delivered, and to establish monitoring processes and targets as part of our internal management system and to put in place an external confirmation of delivery.

In most cases the approach has meant that we've been able to go well beyond the regulatory requirements.

That's what we've done with emissions to water and to air.

In the North Sea, for instance, we've gone well beyond the legal requirements in reducing oil discharges to the sea.

And now at our crude oil export terminal in Scotland—at Hound Point—which handles 10% of Europe's oil supplies—we're investing \$100 m to eliminate emissions of volatile organic compounds.

These VOCs would themselves produce carbon dioxide by oxidation in the atmosphere.

No legislation has compelled us to take that step—we're doing it because we believe it is the right thing to do.

Now, as well as continuing our efforts in relation to the other greenhouse gases, it is time to establish a similar process for carbon dioxide.

Our carbon dioxide emissions result from burning hydrocarbon fuels to produce heat and power, from flaring feed and product gases, and directly from the process of separation or transformation.

So far our approach to carbon dioxide has been indirect and has mainly come through improvements in the energy efficiency of our production processes. Over the last decade, efficiency in our major manufacturing activities has improved by 20 percent.

Now we want to go further.

We have to continue to improve the efficiency with which we use energy.

And in addition we need a better understanding of how our own emissions of carbon can be monitored and controlled, using a variety of measures including sequestration. It is a very simple business lesson that what gets measured gets managed.

It is a learning process—just as it has been with the other emissions we've targeted but the learning is cumulative and I think it will have a substantial impact.

We have already taken some steps in the right direction.

In Norway, for example, we've reduced flaring to less than 20 percent of 1991 levels, primarily as a result of very simple, low cost measures.

The operation there is now close to the technical minimum flare rate which is dictated by safety considerations.

Our experience in Norway is being transferred elsewhere—starting with fields in the UK sector of the North Sea and that should produce further progressive reductions in emissions.

Our goal is to eliminate flaring except in emergencies.

That is one specific goal within the set of targets which we will establish.

Some are straightforward matters of efficient operation—such as the reduction of flaring and venting.

Others require the use of advanced technology in the form of improved manufacturing and separation processes that produce less waste and demand less energy.

Other steps will require investment to make existing facilities more energy efficient. For instance we're researching ways in which we can remove the carbon dioxide from large compressors and reinject it to improve oil recovery. That would bring a double benefit—a cut in emissions and an improvement in production efficiency.

The task is particularly challenging in the refining sector where the production of cleaner products require more extensive processing and a higher energy demand for each unit of output.

That means that to make gasoline cleaner, with lower sulfur levels, takes more energy at the manufacturing stage. That's the trade off.

In each case our aim will be to establish a data base, including benchmark data; to create a monitoring process, and the to develop targets for improvements through operational line management.

Monitoring and controlling emissions is one step.

The second is to increase the level of support we give to the continuing scientific work which is necessary.

As I said a few moments ago, there are still areas of significant uncertainty around the subject of climate change. Those who tell you they know all the answers are fools or knaves.

More research is needed—on the detail of cause and effect; on the consequences of what appears to be happening, and on the effectiveness of the various actions which can be taken.

We will increase our support for that work.

That support will be focused on finding solutions and will be directed to work of high quality which we believe can address the key outstanding questions.

Specifically, we've joined a partnership to design the right technology strategy to deal with climate change. That partnership which will work through the Batelle Institute includes the Electric Power Research Institute and the U.S. Department of Energy. We're also supporting work being done at MIT in Cambridge and through the Royal Society in London.

We're also joining the Greenhouse gas programme of the International Energy Agency which is analysing technologies for reducing and offsetting greenhouse gas emissions from fossil fuels.

The third area is the transfer of technology and the process of joint implementation which is the technical term for projects which bring different parties together to limit and reduce net emission levels of greenhouse gases.

Joint implementation is only in its infancy, but we believe it has great potential to contribute to the resolution of the climate change problem. It can increase the impact of reduction technology by lowering the overall cost of abatement actions.

We need to experiment and to learn . . . and we'd welcome further partners in the process. The aim of the learning process must be to make joint implementation a viable and legally creditable concept that can be included in international commitments.

We've begun by entering into some specific programmes of reforestation and forest conservation programmes in Turkey and now in Bolivia, and we're in discussion on a number of other technology based joint implementation projects.

The Bolivian example I think shows what can be done.

It's a programme to conserve 1.5 million hectares of forests in the province of Santa Cruz. It is sponsored by the Nature Conservancy and American Electric Power and sanctioned by the U.S. Government.

We're delighted to be involved, and to have the chance to transfer the learning from this project to others in which we are involved. Forest conservation projects are not easy or simple, and that learning process is very important.

Technology transfer is part of the joint implementation process but it should go wider and we're prepared to engage in an open dialogue with all the parties who are seeking answers to the climate change problem.

So those are three steps we can take—monitoring and controlling our own emissions, supporting the existing scientific work and encouraging new work, and developing experiments in joint implementation and technology transfer.

Why are we doing all those things? Simply because the oil industry is going to remain the world's predominant supplier of energy for the foreseeable future.

Given that role we have to play a positive and responsible part in identifying solutions to a problem which is potentially very serious.

The fourth step—the development of alternative energy—is related but distinct.

Looking ahead it seems clear that the combination of markets and technology will shift the energy mix.

The world's population is growing by 100 million every year. By 10,000 just since I started speaking.

Prosperity is spreading. By the end of the century 60 per cent of the world's economic activity will be taking place in the South—in areas which ten years ago we thought of as Third World countries.

Both these factors will shape a growing level of demand for energy.

At the same time technology moves on. The sort of changes we've seen in computing—with continuing expansion of semiconductor capacity is exceptional but not unique.

I think it is a reasonable assumption that the technology of alternative energy supplies will also continue to move forward.

One or more of those alternatives will take a greater share of the energy market as we go into the next century.

But let me be clear. That is not instead of oil and gas. It is additional.

We've been looking at alternative energies for a long time, and our conclusion is that one source which is likely to make a significant contribution is solar power.

At the moment solar is not commercially viable for either peak or base load power generation. The best technology produces electricity at something like double the cost of conventional sources for peak demand.

But technology is advancing, and with appropriate public support and investment I'm convinced that we can make solar competitive in supplying peak electricity demand within the next 10 years. That means, taking the whole period from the time we began research work, that 25 to 30 years will have elapsed.

For this industry that is the appropriate timescale on which to work.

We explore for oil and gas in a number of areas where production today wouldn't be commercially viable at the moment.

Thirty years ago we did that in Alaska.

We take that approach because we believe that markets and technology do move, and that the frontier of commercial viability is always changing.

We've been in solar power for a number of years and we have a 10 per cent share of the world market.

The business operates across the world—with operations in 16 countries.

Our aim now is to extend that reach—not least in the developing world, where energy demand is growing rapidly.

We also want to transfer our distinctive technologies into production, to increase manufacturing capacity and to position the business to reach \$1bn in sales over the next decade.

I am happy to report that there will be significant investment in the USA and we'll be commissioning a new solar manufacturing facility here in California before the end of this year.

The result of all is that gradually but progressively solar will make a contribution to the resolution of the problem of carbon dioxide emissions and climate change.

So a series of steps on the journey. These are the initial steps. We're examining what else we should do, and I hope to be able to announce some further steps later in the year.

Of course, as I said at the beginning, nothing we can do alone will resolve the concern about climate change. We can contribute, and over time we can move towards the elimination of emissions from our own operations and a substantial reduction in the emissions which come from the use of our products.

The subject of climate change, however, is a matter of wider public policy.

We believe that policy debate is important. We support that debate, and we're engaged in it, through the World Business Council on Sustainable Development . . . through the President's own Council here in the United States . . . and in the UK where the Government is committed to making significant progress on the subject.

Knowledge in this area is not proprietary, and we will share our expertise openly and freely.

Our instinct is that once clear objectives have been agreed, market based solutions are more likely to produce innovative and creative responses than an approach based on regulation alone.

Those market based solutions need to be as wide ranging in scope as possible because this is a global problem which has to be resolved without discrimination and without denying the peoples of the developing world the right to improve their living standards.

To try to do that would be arrogant and untenable—what we need are solutions which are inclusive, and which work through cooperation across national and industry boundaries.

There have been a number of experiments—all of them partial, but many of them interesting because they show the way in which effective markets can change behaviour.

We're working, for instance, with the Environmental Defence Fund to develop a voluntary emissions trading system for greenhouse gases, modelled on the system already in place in respect of sulphur.

Of course, a system which just operates here in the United States is only a part of the solution. Ideally such structures should be much wider.

But change begins with the first step and the development of successful systems here will set a standard which will spread.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I began with the issue of corporate responsibility. The need for rethinking in a new context.

No company can be really successful unless it is sustainable, unless it has capacity to keep using its skills and to keep growing its business.

Of course, that requires a competitive financial performance.

But it does require something more, perhaps particularly in the oil industry.

The whole industry is growing because world demand is growing. The world now uses almost 73 million barrels of oil a day—16% more than it did 10 years ago.

In another ten years because of the growth of population and prosperity that figure is likely to be over 85 mbd, and that is a cautious estimate. Some people say it will be more.

For efficient, competitive companies that growth will be very profitable.

But sustainability is about more than profits. High profitability is necessary but not sufficient.

Real sustainability is about simultaneously being profitable and responding to the reality and the concerns of the world in which you operate. We're not separate from the world. It's our world as well.

I disagree with some members of the environmental movement who say we have to abandon the use of oil and gas. They think it is the oil and gas industry which has reached the end of history.

I disagree because I think that view underestimates the potential for creative and positive action.

But that disagreement doesn't mean that we can ignore the mounting evidence about climate change and the growing concern.

As businessmen, when our customers are concerned, we'd better take notice.

To be sustainable, companies need a sustainable world. That means a world where the environmental equilibrium is maintained but also a world whose population can all enjoy the heat, light and mobility which we take for granted and which the oil industry helps to provide.

I don't believe those are incompatible goals.

Everything I've said today—all the actions we're taking and will take are directed to ensuring that they are not incompatible.

There are no easy answers. No silver bullets. Just steps on a journey which we should take together because we all have a vital interest in finding the answers.

The cultures of politics . . . and of science . . . and of enterprise, must work together if we are to match and master the challenges we all face.

I started by talking about the end of history. Of course it hasn't ended. It's moved on.

Francis Fukuyama who coined that phrase describes the future in terms of the need for a social order—a network of interdependence which goes beyond the contractual. An order driven by the sense of common human interest. Where that exists, societies thrive.

Nowhere is the need for that sort of social order—at the global level—more important than in this area.

The achievement of that has to be our common goal.

Thank you very much.

WORK OPPORTUNITY TAX CREDIT RENEWAL AND MODIFICATION

HON. AMO HOUGHTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. HOUGHTON. Mr. Speaker, today I am joined by my colleague, Mr. RANGEL, in introducing legislation to renew the Work Opportunity Tax Credit [WOTC]. This program was first enacted last year after extensive consultations between the Congress and administration. It replaces the old targeted jobs tax credit and is designed to address the major criticism raised against that program by requiring employers to prescreen for eligibility based predominantly upon participation in means tested public assistance programs. The WOTC helps provide transitional assistance for those going from welfare to work by giving businesses incentives to offset the added costs of hiring them.

Unfortunately, the participation and outreach by employers has not reached the level we anticipated, and falls far short of what is needed if we are to achieve the goal of moving millions of Americans from welfare dependency to self-sufficiency. Many companies are fast concluding that the hiring and training costs are too high, and the risks of working with those on public assistance too great, to justify their participation in WOTC.

After nearly 6 months the business community has told us that there is good news and bad news. The good news is that under WOTC nearly two-thirds of those hired come from welfare—under TJTC nearly 60 percent were youth and only 20 percent were from the welfare rolls. The bad news is that the new rules we adopted last year are too restrictive and need to be modified if WOTC is to be effective in achieving the goals of welfare to work. The legislation we are introducing today addresses these concerns.

Many people want to know why we need to pay companies to do their part for welfare reform. To answer that question, we have only to look at the challenges faced by employers who hire public assistance recipients. These individuals often lack a work ethic and basic job skills; they cost more to train; and, because of low self-esteem, they see failure in the work place as a viable and even likely op-

tion. Additionally, businesses that hire public assistance recipients have to assume indirect costs such as accommodation of complex work schedules, child care, transportation needs, and contact with multiple social service agencies. Any business, especially one that is willing to assume the additional costs of hiring and training welfare recipients, must remain profitable if they are to play a role in welfare reform.

To respond to the real world concerns expressed to us, Mr. RANGEL and I propose the following modifications to WOTC which will improve its effectiveness and viability.

First, our bill would modify the minimum number of hours of work required for WOTC eligibility. Currently, those eligible for WOTC must complete 400 hours of work in order for the employer to receive any tax credit. However, since many entry level workers tend to switch jobs voluntarily as they seek their place in the work force, they do not meet the 400-hour requirement. In those cases, employers never see a tax credit to offset the costs that they incurred in hiring and training these workers. A more equitable sharing of the costs must be developed, or the pool of employers willing to take this risk will continue to decline.

The current tax credit provided to employers for hiring those eligible is 35 percent of the first \$6,000 in wages, but only when the employee completes 400 hours of work. Those who qualify include persons on AFDC for 9 consecutive months out of the previous 18 months; 18- to 24-year-olds who live in empowerment zones [EZ] or enterprise community [EC]; 18- to 24-year-olds who are members of families on food stamps for the last 6 months; veterans on food stamps; vocational rehabilitation referrals; low-income felons; and 16- and 17-year-olds in EZ's and EC's are eligible for summer employment.

We propose to create a two-tiered credit: 25 percent of the wages earned from the date of hire for those who work between 120 hours and 399 hours, and 40 percent of wages earned from the date of hire for those who work at least 400 hours. This would result in a more equitable distribution of the risk due to the fact quite often entry level employees use the training and experience by their first employer to advance into jobs that are better paying, provide longer hours, or which are more conveniently located.

The second change to WOTC that this legislation provides would be to redefine the period during which a person must be receiving public assistance in order to qualify. The current interpretation requires an employee to have spent 9 consecutive months out of the last 18 months on welfare in order for a business to receive the hiring tax credit. We propose to change that requirement to any 9 of the previous 18 months. Such a change would allow for the short periods of time off welfare or food stamps which often results from a failure to comply with regulations such as filing updated paperwork or appearing for an interview. It makes no sense to deny employers willing to hire those on public assistance a tax incentive merely because the job applicant was off welfare for a short period of time.

The third and final change we propose is a 3-year extension of the WOTC Program. This will provide employers with the continuity they need to justify the investment of time and resources necessary to have a successful welfare to work WOTC Program.

These changes, taken together, should help to level the playing field which is currently so tilted against those on welfare that most employers are unwilling even to consider hiring them because of the extra costs and difficulties involved. Without a strong public-private partnership built on an improved WOTC Program, employers will be inclined to stand on the sidelines and leave the welfare to work challenge to others.

TRIBUTE TO SILVIO CONTE

HON. BOB LIVINGSTON

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to the memory of our former colleague, the late Representative Silvio Conte of Massachusetts, in the hope that his spirit of fellowship will serve as a lesson to us all. In that spirit I would like to submit this article, which appeared in the April 4, 1997, edition of Roll Call into the RECORD. In this day of partisan rancor and personality bashing, I suggest that we all could learn something about civility from the career of Sil Conte.

It is said that no Member of the House, perhaps in this century, brought as much enthusiasm and joy to this job than Sil Conte.

While Sil Conte was a fierce partisan on the floor, that's where it began and ended. Sil Conte did not look at his political opponents as enemies. He simply viewed them as people of good will with different ideas. And he viewed them as friends.

Sil Conte loved his job. He loved debating issues and ideas. He liked to joke and he took everything with a grain of salt. He had fun. Most of all, he loved the institution of Congress.

To quote the article:

Maybe the answer is for Members not to take themselves so seriously. Silvio Conte never did. And he actually liked his job. He didn't revile serving in Congress, and he certainly didn't detest members on the other side of the aisle because their party designation was different from his.

So, Mr. Speaker, I submit this article into the RECORD in the hopes that it will promote among the Members not just an air of civility, but that it will foster a love of this greatest of democratic institutions, this people's House, this Congress. Maybe then, we will feel Sil Conte's joy of politics.

[From the Roll Call, Apr. 14, 1997]

JOY IN MUDVILLE

In honor of the late, great Rep. Silvio Conte (R.-Mass), they call it the "joy of politics" award. Conte was a man who relished a good joke, who loved to win but never bashed his opponents in the face to do so, and who cherished the institution of Congress above all. And you can see from the photographs on page three of today's Roll Call that Members of Congress from both parties last week were having a blast at the fun—and eminently civil—event celebrating Conte's legacy. Civility doesn't mean boring, and it also doesn't mean an end to the partisan clashes that liven up the otherwise humdrum Congressional business of passing the nation's laws and overseeing their implementation.

But instead of joy, there is much rancor these days on the House floor—as a very unConte-like event last week demonstrated

yet again. The finger-pointing, epithet-throwing fracas between Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-Texas) and Appropriations ranking member David Obey (D-Wis) demoralized Members just back from Easter recess, making the much-ballyhooed bipartisan retreat to Hershey, Pa., last month seem like just another empty feel-good session. These are senior Members of Congress, leaders in their respective parties. If they can't get along, who can?

The truth is: There's no joy in Mudville. Civility has struck out. Deadly serious disdain for the other party is the prevailing emotion, and total, no-holds-barred, take-no-prisoners warfare is the mode of combat encouraged, at least tacitly, by leaders in both parties. The crusade of Democratic Whip David Bonior (Mich) against Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga), Ginrich's own history as a backbench guerrilla warrior, and the revolutionary fervor of the GOP class of 1994 all contribute to this toxic atmosphere. It's no wonder that the recommended reading in the House Republican Conference these days is the Army's field manual.

It's also no wonder, then, that DeLay and Obey won't even apologize to each other for the incident—the most they say is that they regret it occurred. More regretful than the combatants themselves are many other Members in both parties who have tried to launch a grassroots civility movement inside the House. The Hersheyites, led by Reps. Ray LaHood (R-Ill) and David Skaggs (D-Colo), are trying to put the contretemps behind them with a full schedule of meetings, briefings for other Members, and reform proposals in the works. To that end, Rep. David Dreier (R-Calif) will even host a hearing next week on whether changes in the House schedule—such as moving highly partisan one-minute speeches to the end of the day—can improve the 105th Congress's civility quotient.

But the civility hounds face daunting obstacles that we're not sure scheduling changes can fix. Members who so obviously detest each other will continue to do so—whether they spar on the House floor at 10 a.m. or 10 p.m. Hearings into Clinton White House fundraising this summer will raise the decibel level. Budget posturing will bring extremists from both parties into a pitch of rhetorical excess. And the list of challenges to civility goes on.

Maybe the answer is for Members not to take themselves so seriously. Silvio Conte never did. And he actually liked his job. He didn't revile serving in Congress, and he certainly didn't detest Members on the other side of the aisle because their party designation was different from his. Conte's secret was that he had fun on Capitol Hill. It's time to put the joy back into politics.

TRIBUTE TO THE RETIREMENT OF JOHN T. WILLIAMS

HON. ED BRYANT

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. BRYANT. Mr. Speaker, according to Patricia Pair of The Shelby Sun Times, one of Germantown, Tennessee's newspapers, John T. Williams "has had a full, interesting life." Friends and colleagues call him John T., which is to say he's called nothing but John T.

John T. became a public figure when he served as mayor for the town of Trezevant, TN. There, he chartered the town's first Boy Scout Troop. After a few years, John T.

moved his family to Paris, TN, where he helped charter the community's first Chamber of Commerce. In fact, John T. served as the Paris Chamber of Commerce's first president, and is one of two living charter members of that organization.

In 1953, John T. sold his insurance business and moved his family to Jackson, TN. During that period, John T. was appointed by then President Dwight Eisenhower to serve as a U.S. marshal for the western district of Tennessee, serving from 1955 to 1960 with distinction and honor.

But serving as U.S. marshal was not to be John T.'s last task in government service. He ran for Congress, hiring as his campaign manager someone whom we all know as a U.S. Senator but in those days was still a little-known FRED THOMPSON. After his congressional bid and tutelage of young THOMPSON, John T. served on the civil service commission for the city of Memphis, and would go on to lend his vast skills and services to former Congressmen Robin Beard and Don Sundquist, as well as myself.

John T. has been an institution in numerous communities across west Tennessee. His record of public service stands as an impeccable example for all public servants. Along with those who have had the opportunity and pleasure of working and associating with John T., it has been an honor to have had him as one of my employees. John T., though we'll always have with us your many feats of volunteerism and helping hands, enjoy your retirement. You certainly have earned it.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET, FISCAL YEAR 1998

SPEECH OF

HON. COLLIN C. PETERSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 20, 1997

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 84) establishing the congressional budget for the U.S. Government for the fiscal year 1998 and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 1999, 2000, 2001, and 2002.

Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota. Mr. Chairman, I support the Balanced Budget Agreement of 1997. I want to commend the chairman of the Budget Committee, Mr. KASICH, and the ranking member, Mr. SPRATT, Members on both sides of the aisle for their hard work in putting together this bipartisan agreement, and especially my "Blue Dog" colleagues in the coalition. Most everyone around here knows that this legislation couldn't have been developed without the centrist foundation we provided in the Blue Dogs' commonsense balanced budget plan.

Mr. Chairman, the American people want this to get done, and I intend to lend my support to passing this resolution through the process. A balanced budget is long overdue. I'm not happy with all of the details, but the moment is at hand and we need to pass this now.

I would rather be supporting the Blue Dog budget, but nobody got everything they wanted in this process, and I understand that.

However, I am very disappointed by the Republican leadership's refusal to allow the coalition Democrats to offer the alternative resolution we wanted to offer, which was the Republican bill plus strong budget enforcement language. As it is, I am concerned that this resolution lacks the strong budget enforcement language necessary to ensure that the spending caps and deficit targets are met and that we do in fact reach balance by the year 2002. It's one thing to say you will balance the budget by 2002—it is clearly another thing to actually do it. A strong enforcement mechanism is necessary to require the Congress and the President to take action if this plan goes off course, and the budget fails to meet its targets for spending and revenues. We should have had the opportunity to strengthen the enforcement provisions of the resolution we are now supporting. I am sure a majority of Members would have voted for stronger enforcement if they had been given the chance. Hopefully, this shortcoming can be remedied by the conference committee.

Two years ago when the Blue Dogs first offered their own alternative budget, I told people it was the sensible, middle ground and the foundation for a bipartisan agreement. Two years later, after a lot of hard work by all the Blue Dogs, as well as other Members and the President, we have essentially arrived right where the Blue Dogs started—on the sensible, middle ground, where compromise and bipartisanship have finally delivered what the American people have wanted for a long time—a balanced Federal budget.

Again, I wish this Congress was going to get a chance to vote on the Blue Dog budget, but I recognize that democracy requires compromise, and that's what it will take from all of us to keep this process moving in the right direction.

This budget resolution is only a broad outline, and I know the Blue Dogs will continue working with Members on both sides of the aisle when the real work begins on a Medicare bill, a Medicaid bill, a tax bill, a possible budget reconciliation bill, and all of the 13 appropriations bills.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET, FISCAL YEAR 1998

SPEECH OF

HON. RALPH M. HALL

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 84) establishing the congressional budget for the U.S. Government for the fiscal year 1998 and setting forth appropriate budgetary levels for fiscal years 1999, 2000, 2001, and 2002.

Mr. HALL of Texas. Mr. Chairman, I have had the privilege of serving in this body since 1981, and one of the first bills that I supported 16 years ago was a balanced budget. This is a goal that I have worked for year after year—and it is a goal that has eluded us until now. So I am gratified that the Congress has taken a dramatic first step this week toward achieving that goal by passing the budget resolution.

It has taken us years to come this far—and it is a testament to the hard work and dedication of many current and former Members of

Congress that this goal is finally within our grasp. We have a chance to return fiscal accountability and responsibility to the Federal Government and set a course that will ensure our Nation's well-being into the 21st century. We have a chance to preserve the American dream for our children and grandchildren and help ensure that their future is as bright with promise as was ours.

I thank all my colleagues who have worked so hard to achieve this goal, and I commend the coalition leadership which has played an important role in this endeavor in both the 104th and 105th Congresses. But we must be careful that what we do in the final analysis will be fair to all Americans, will be equitable, and will be enforceable. The tough choices lie ahead in the coming weeks, so we have much work yet to do. This week marks an important beginning—but a beginning that has an achievable end in sight.

Mr. Speaker, I want to commend my colleagues for their commitment to balancing the budget and their work thus far, and I want to urge continued bipartisan support as we try to make the right choices in the coming weeks and choose the best means to accomplish that goal.

TRIBUTE TO AN ELOQUENT AND
REASONED VOICE

HON. DAVID DREIER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, May 19, the San Gabriel Valley lost one of its most eloquent and reasoned voices when longtime resident and business leader F. Al Totter passed away. Following is an article from the San Gabriel Valley Tribune, where Al Totter served as publisher for nearly 24 years:

F. Al Totter, who served as publisher of the San Gabriel Valley Tribune for nearly 24 years and led the development of a major suburban newspaper group, died Monday of complications from pneumonia at the Citrus Valley Medical Center, Queen of the Valley campus. He was 66.

Totter, who started working at the Tribune as a classified ads manager on its first day of publication in 1955, served as publisher from 1968 to 1992. The Tribune's success—and that of its now sister papers the Pasadena Star-News and the Whittier Daily News, along with small community papers—reflected the residential and industrial boom of the region that it served.

"More than any other person, Al Totter was responsible for the strength and the growth of this newspaper group, especially of the San Gabriel Valley Tribune," said Ike Massey, publisher and chief executive officer of the San Gabriel Valley Newspaper Group. "I know he will be missed by many in the community."

Rep. David Dreier, R-San Dimas, a longtime Totter friend, said the region had lost its most eloquent and reasoned voice.

"He was the conscience of the Valley, and that really does describe him. He was an individual who cared deeply about the San Gabriel Valley, who cared deeply about his newspaper and the newspaper industry," Dreier said.

In 1982, Totter helped arrange the purchase of the Whittier Daily News by Thomson Newspapers, which had purchased the Tribune in 1968. Totter helped arrange Thomson's

1990 purchase of the Pasadena Star-News from William Dean Singleton, who had earlier purchased the paper from Knight-Ridder Co. He was president of the newspaper group when he retired in 1992.

Since 1996, all three newspapers have been part of the San Gabriel Valley Newspaper Group, owned by Denver-based MediaNews Group Inc., of which Singleton is president and CEO.

Dreier said he maintained contact with the publisher through the years, and had called him Monday after hearing from Totter's son-in-law that he was not in good health.

"I am just stunned in light of the fact I just called him this afternoon," Dreier said.

Steve Cox, Totter's son-in-law and the family spokesman, called him a "special husband and father."

"His guidance to his daughter, his son-in-law, and to his grandchildren will be remembered for their lifetimes," Cox said. "He was an extra special person and very dedicated to the family."

Born Sept. 4, 1930 in Joliet, Ill., Totter worked as a department store clothing salesman and a truck driver to pay his way through college, where he studied journalism and advertising.

He got his start in the newspaper industry in 1951 selling advertising for the Herald News in Joliet, then moved to California with his wife Shirley, who survives him.

Totter enlisted in the Air Force and served at Edwards Air Force Base during the Korean War. After his military discharge, he moved to Fullerton and worked as classified ads manager for the Daily News Tribune. He joined the newly established San Gabriel Valley Tribune in 1955 in the same capacity.

At the time, the San Bernardino (10) Freeway had just opened, paving the way for rapid growth in the San Gabriel Valley. Totter was one of a group of newspaper professionals who brought together several east Valley weekly papers to create the daily Tribune.

Totter was named business manager and vice president in 1961, when the paper was sold to Brush-Moore Newspapers centered in Canton, Ohio.

He served as general manager until 1968, when Brush-Moore Newspapers was purchased by Toronto-based Thomson Newspapers. Thomson named Totter publisher, a position he held until retirement in January 1992.

Totter helped lead Thomson's acquisition of many newspapers, including the Whittier Daily News. The company owned more than 160 daily newspapers in North America during the 1970s and '80s. He also served as an officer in the California Newspaper Publishers Association and California-Nevada Associated Press Association.

"He was very well respected in the journalism community in California and certainly played a major role in the growth and evolution of the Thomson newspapers in California," said Andy Lippman, chief of The Associated Press Los Angeles bureau.

He was a cost-conscious newspaper executive who knew how to turn a profit even during recessions.

Dick Terrill, who was circulation director and advertising manager under Totter, called the late publisher an "icon." Under Totter's direction, the Tribune and Whittier Daily News were the most profitable newspapers in the Thomson chain, he said.

"He was a very good businessman, and the papers did very well," said Terrill, now with the San Gabriel Valley Newspaper Group's Specialty Division.

Both the region and newspaper industry went through enormous changes during Totter's tenure as publisher.

"I have had the privilege of watching the newspaper industry move from the hot metal

(Linotype-produced metal type) to computers and modern offset presses," Totter said upon his 1992 retirement. "It was an honor to be able to say that I started with this newspaper and to see it grow and find an important place in the San Gabriel Valley."

Totter was also known throughout the industry as a tough negotiator in contract talks with old newspaper labor unions. He was also a tough boss with only one speed: fast.

"He walked fast, he thought fast, he talked fast and to most of his employees he was a very intimidating, imposing figure," said Bill Bell, editor of the Whittier Daily News. "I have interviewed many highly placed people in my 40 years in journalism and believe Al Totter is the most intimidating man I ever met. But, he could smile, joke, laugh and be quite charming when he wanted."

Pat Pahel, who served as Totter's secretary for his last five years, said the late publisher also had a compassionate side for employees, recalling a time when Totter helped one employee find proper medical care for a gravely ill child.

"He always knew who to get in touch with," Pahel said.

Totter was a leader in the San Gabriel Valley community, participating in such organizations as the West Covina Rotary and the South Hills Country Club.

Totter also was credited with playing a key role in the growth of the Life-Savers, a foundation that started in 1988 when a Covina doctor could not find a suitable bone marrow donor for his leukemia-stricken wife.

That prompted Dr. Rudolf Brutoco to organize Life-Savers and start a drive recruiting donors for people suffering with blood diseases. It grew into a national movement.

"He understood his readers and he wanted his paper to reflect that, but he also wanted to reach out to them and challenge them and I think he did that with the Life-Savers story," Brutoco said. "I give him credit for getting Life-Savers off the ground."

Totter's concern extended to his wallet. In October 1990, he donated \$15,000 to the organization from advertising placed in a special supplement. Brutoco said Totter's concern even continued in retirement.

"He contacted me a year or two ago and asked if there was anything else he could do to further the cause," Brutoco said. "He did that even in his retirement."

He was also supportive of Republican politicians, such as Dreier, Los Angeles County Supervisor Mike Antonovich, who represents a portion of the San Gabriel Valley, and former West Covina mayor and City Councilman Forest Tennant.

Antonovich, who said he met Totter around the time the supervisor first ran for county office in 1980, said the two held the same philosophical views.

"He was a fiscal conservative who espoused family values . . . He did not apologize for his views," Antonovich said.

But Totter never hesitated to let his political friends know when he disagreed with them and definitely knew his facts. Tennant recalled when the two clashed over a plan to install waste-burning, energy-producing facility in Irwindale during the mid-1980s.

"He not only called me up and told me I was wrong—and dead wrong—he convinced me that I was going to head the committee to oppose it, which I did," said Tennant, chuckling at the memory.

San Gabriel Valley Newspaper Group Editorial Page Editor Steve Scauzillo recalled that Totter hired him as an environmental writer when such beats were still rare in newsrooms.

"Very few newspaper publishers supported a full time environment writer in the 1980s

like he did. He supported environmental coverage," said Scauzillo, whom Totter hired exactly 11 years ago Monday to cover the environment.

Totter is survived by his wife, Shirley; daughter Cheri Cox; son-in-law Steve Cox; grandsons Bret and Chad; brother George Totter of Joliet, Ill.; and sister Audrey Totter-Fred of Westwood.

Funeral arrangements are pending. In lieu of flowers, the Totter family requests that contributions be sent to donors' favorite charity.

A LIFE IN NEWSPAPERS

The following shows highlights in the newspaper career of Al Totter:

1951.—Started selling advertising for The (Joliet) Herald News. The Korean War intervened and Totter joined the Air Force and was stationed at Edwards Air Force Base.

1953.—Discharged from the service and joined the Daily News Tribune in Fullerton as classified manager.

1955.—Helped organize merger of three weekly newspapers into The Tribune and joined new company as classified ads manager.

1959.—Appointed president of the Southern California Classified Managers Association.

1961.—Appointed business manager and elected vice president of The Tribune when it is sold to Brush-Moore Newspapers, based in Canton, Ohio.

1968.—Appointed publisher upon The Tribune's sale to Canada's Thomson Newspapers, which grew to become one of the world's largest newspaper companies.

1971.—Named president of the California-Nevada Associated Press Association.

1977.—Elected president of Western Newspaper Industrial Relations Bureau.

1982.—Helped arrange the purchase of the Whittier Daily News.

1988.—Elected to board of the California Newspaper Publishers Association.

1990.—Helped arrange Thomson's purchase of the Pasadena Star-News.

1992.—Retired.

TRIBUTE TO DR. RICARDO M. KHAN

HON. DONALD M. PAYNE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives notice that Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey will on this day confer on Mr. Ricardo Khan the honorary degree of Doctor of Fine Arts.

Ricardo Khan is the co-founder and artistic director of Crossroads Theatre Co. Founded in October 1978, the company has been propelled by a mission to promote and develop African American theater for its artistic and social value. Crossroads has emerged as a World Theater that, in the words of one critic, "sets out, consciously and consistently, to engage and illuminate the wider world."

Crossroads, which is approaching its 20th season next year, was established in a century-old former garment factory in New Brunswick, NJ. Audiences climbed up steep, narrow stairs to a small second-floor theater space where some nights there were more actors on the stage than patrons in the seats. Mr. Khan kept his vision and developed through the years a close connection to his community-based audience while continuing to present

exciting and inspiring dramas, comedies and musicals. During the 1991-92 season, the company entered a new era when it moved from the factory to a new, \$4 million, 264-seat facility in downtown New Brunswick.

While managing the artistic and business challenges of a burgeoning professional theater company, Mr. Khan provided opportunities to a new generation of theater artists who work in front of and behind the scenes, from directors, actors, and choreographers to designers of sets, lighting, sound, and costumes.

Productions from Crossroads have been seen in theaters across the country and in many foreign lands. "Sheila's Day" was presented in London, in South Africa and in New York City and toured the U.S. Following a production of Leslie Lee's "Black Eagles" at the Ford's Theater here in Washington, the members of the cast and artistic team of the show were invited to the White House where they were publicly congratulated by then-President George Bush and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell. "Black Eagles" is a dramatization of the heroic exploits of the African-American pilots who fought during World War II.

Mr. Khan's vision has become a showcase for plays by young playwrights as well as for the critically acclaimed productions of works by Pulitzer Prizewinner August Wilson, former U.S. poet laureate Rita Dove, Leslie Lee, Pearl Cleage, Ruby Dee, Ossie Davis, and many other prominent American playwrights. In addition, Mr. Khan has always remembered his own dreams as a young graduate of the Mason Gross School of the Arts at Rutgers and is committed to providing opportunities to aspiring students of theater. Through the African American College Initiative Program [AACIP] which connects Crossroads to the theater programs at many prominent colleges and universities, each year several students are awarded internships to learn from their practical experience at Crossroads.

Mr. Khan is an educator who has taught acting at Rutgers University and has been a guest lecturer for the American Theater Association, Actors' Equity Association, the League of Chicago Theaters, Harvard University, University of Massachusetts, the Tisch School of the Arts at NYU, Brown University, and at Wayne State University.

Mr. Khan is also a prominent spokesperson on the issues current in American theater. He has served as co-chair of the Theatre Advisory Panel of the National Endowment of the Arts. Currently, he serves as president of the Theater Communications Group, the national organization of the American theater. He is also a member of Actors Equity Association, Screen Actors Guild, American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, and the Society of Stage Directors and Choreographers.

Though Dr. Khan's motivation in establishing Crossroads Theatre Co. may have been to create a forum for the creation and nurturing of dramatic expressions of the African-American experience, he has accomplished much more. Crossroads has become a holy place in the struggle among the races; at Crossroads, people of all races are as one, sharing the human experience through dramatic expression.

I'm sure my colleagues in the House of Representatives join me in extending both congratulations and thanks to Dr. Ricardo M. Khan.

MFN TRADE STATUS IS OUR BEST TOOL FOR IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHINA

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, the President recently announced his intention to recommend the extension of most favored nation [MFN] trade status for China, a decision which I strongly support. A failure on America's part to extend MFN would be a grave error which would harm Chinese citizens, the very people MFN opponents want to help. The United States has numerous areas of conflict and disagreement with the Chinese Government, but all of these issues will be addressed more effectively in the context of maintaining normal trade relations. It is important for us to remember that, in the last 15 years, China has witnessed a dramatic improvement in its standard of living. Such improvement is due in no small part to the free-market economic reforms which are supported by our expanding trade relationship.

As the House begins the annual debate on China's MFN status, I want to call Members' attention to an excellent article by Congressman DAVID DREIER, Vice Chairman of the Rules Committee and a leader on trade matters in the House. Congressman DREIER makes a strong case in favor of promoting normal trade relations with China. The article, which was published in the May 19 issue of Insight magazine, discusses the benefits that economic reform has brought to the Chinese people and illustrates the dire need for this reform to continue.

[From Insight, May 19, 1997]

SANCTIONS WOULD UNDERMINE THE MARKET REFORMS THAT HAVE INITIATED POSITIVE CHANGE

(By David Dreier)

Fostering freedom and human rights around the world is a universal foreign-policy goal in Congress. That was the case in 1989, when I joined nearly a dozen of my colleagues, Democrats and Republicans, in a march to the front door of the Chinese Embassy to protest the brutal massacre of student protesters in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. It remains a bipartisan priority today because support for freedom and democracy is part and parcel of what it means to be American.

The current debate in Congress is not about the goal of ending human-rights abuses in China but about the effectiveness of economic sanctions as a means to achieve that goal. It would be a mistake for China's leaders to interpret this debate as a weakening of our resolve.

In looking at conditions in China during the last 20 years, the path to democracy of numerous countries around the globe and the effectiveness of unilateral economic sanctions to improve human rights for people living under the boot of other repressive regimes, it becomes unmistakably clear that such sanctions will not improve human rights in China. If anything, economic sanctions will set back the cause of freedom.

Achieving greater human freedom in China is an important priority if for no other reason than the fact that one-fifth of the human race lives in that vast country. Today, the Chinese people lack individual rights, political freedom and freedom of speech, religion,

association and the press. Even the most basic human freedom of childbearing is regulated by the authoritarian national government.

When looking at repression in China, however, I am reminded of the ancient saying that, in the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king. It does no good to evaluate progress toward freedom in China by comparing it with the United States or any other democracy. Instead, a historical perspective is needed.

While China offers a 4,000-year story of political repression, some of its bleakest days have come in the last generation. More than 60 million Chinese starved to death during Mao Tse-tung's disastrous Great Leap Forward, and another million were murdered by the Communists during the international isolation of Mao's Cultural Revolution. The Chinese were scarred by those brutal events, and no one wants to return to the terror of economic calamity and starvation.

Stapleton Roy, the former American ambassador to China, put the current conditions in China in the following perspective: "If you look at the 150 years of modern Chinese history . . . you can't avoid the conclusion that the last 15 years are the best 15 years in China's modern history. And of those 15 years, the last two years are the best in terms of prosperity, individual choice, access to outside information, freedom of movement within the country and stable domestic conditions."

Today, the Chinese economy is the fastest growing in the world. While many Chinese remain poor peasants, few go hungry, and hundreds of millions of Chinese have seen their lives substantially improved through economic reform. Many enjoy greater material wealth and a greater degree of personal economic freedom. Market reform is the single most powerful force for positive change in China in this century and possibly in the country's long history. The recent economic progress, which significantly has improved living conditions in China, is a profound moral victory. Fostering further positive change is a moral imperative as well.

As reported in the March 4 New York Times, Zhu Wenjun, a woman living outside Shanghai, has seen her life improve dramatically due to economic reform. Zhu, 45, quit a teaching job that paid \$25 a month to work for a company that exports toys and garments that pays \$360 a month. "It used to be that when you became a teacher, you were a teacher for life," Zhu was quoted as saying. "Now you can switch jobs. Now I am talking with people overseas and thinking about economic issues."

Economic reform in China has helped to lift hundreds of millions of hardworking people from desperate poverty, giving them choices and opportunities never available before. Hundreds of millions of Chinese have access to information and contact with Western values through technologies spreading across the country, thanks to economic reform and the growth it created. This is a tremendous victory for human freedom.

Americans are justified in their outrage about the Chinese government's policy methods of population control. This has led many Chinese families to abort female babies with the hope of having a son. Here again, moral outrage and economic sanctions will not be enough to end this violation of basic human rights.

The New York Times reported another encouraging story from inside China that shows how economic reform undermines repression, including China's one-child policy. Ye Xiuying is a 26-year-old woman who runs a small clock shop in Dongguan, a small town in Guangdong province. Through her own entrepreneurial spirit and energy, she

rose from a \$35-per-month factory worker to running her own business and earning up to \$1,200 a month. Along with buying a home and looking forward to traveling to the United States, Ye used \$1,800 to pay the one-time government fine so she could have a second child.

The hopeful stories of Zhu and Ye have been repeated many, many times across China during the last 15 years. That is why Nicholas Kristoff, former New York Times Beijing bureau chief, said, "Talk to Chinese peasants, workers and intellectuals and on one subject you get virtual unanimity: 'Don't curb trade.'"

The Chinese are learning firsthand one of the great truths of the late 20th century: Market-oriented reforms promote private enterprise, which encourages trade, which creates wealth, which improves living standards, which undermines political repression.

While full political freedom for the Chinese may be decades away, other hopeful signs of change exist. Today, 500 million Chinese farmers experience local democracy, voting in competitive village elections in which winners are not Communist candidates. The Chinese government also is recognizing that the rule of law is a necessary underpinning of a true market economy. Furthermore, the Chinese media, while strictly censored, increasingly are outside the control of the party and the state. In particular, the spread of communications technology throughout China, including telephones, fax machines, computers, the Internet, satellites and television, is weakening the state's grip on information.

The evidence that market reforms are the main engine driving improved human rights in China is mirrored around the globe. South Korea, Taiwan, Chile and Argentina all broke the chains of authoritarian dictatorship and political repression during the last 25 years primarily because their respective governments adopted market-based economic reforms. As a result, each country grew wealthier and more open and each eventually evolved into democracies.

The cause of human freedom advanced in those instances in which the United States did not employ economic sanctions against dictatorships. In contrast, decades of American economic sanctions against Iran, Iraq, Libya and Cuba, while merited on national-security grounds, only have led to greater economic and political repression.

The real-world failure of economic sanctions to result in human-rights gains has left proponents of sanctions groping for new arguments. The argument du jour is that China is our next Cold War adversary, and since the United States used trade sanctions against the Soviet Union in a successful Cold War campaign, the same strategy should be applied to China.

This line of thinking is fundamentally flawed. A Cold War with China is unthinkable absent the support of our international allies, and the simple reality is that a Cold War strategy would garner no support. During the Cold War with the Soviet Union, the world's democracies by and large saw an aggressive military opponent bent on undermining democracy around the world. Today, China is not viewed as a similar threat to democracy nor to international peace and security. China's neighbors, while concerned with that country's evolution as a major economic and political power, do not advocate Cold War-style confrontation. The United States' closest allies in Asia—Japan, Korea, Australia and Thailand—strongly oppose economic warfare with China. They see economic reform as a condition of peace and security in the region.

The unwillingness of our allies to join us in a crusade against China largely is based on

the fact that China has not earned international enmity. The Soviet Union conquered its neighbors in Eastern Europe and imposed puppet regimes on previously independent countries. They invaded Afghanistan and instigated violent insurrections throughout Africa, Latin America and Asia. The Soviet Union earned the Ronald Reagan label, "evil empire." Chinese foreign policy, even with its distressing proliferation policies, is in a different league altogether.

The national-security rationale for anti-China sanctions is as weak as the human-rights arguments. Just as economic engagement consistently has proved to be the best human-rights policy, Cold War-style economic sanctions are national-security fool's gold. Imposing economic sanctions on China would throw away the real progress of the last 15 years and send 1.2 billion people to the darkest days of Maoism. When Reagan called on Mikhail Gorbachev to "tear down this wall," he demanded freedom for Eastern Europeans to mingle with the West—just the opposite of the spirit of trade sanctions against China, which attempt to erect new walls around the Chinese people.

Economic sanctions, especially when imposed unilaterally, are not an effective tool to promote human rights. Economic sanctions against China would undermine the market reforms that have been the single most powerful force for positive change in that country. They could shatter the hopes and dreams of 20 percent of the human race seeking to rise above the poverty and oppression that have been staples of Chinese history.

THE BENEFITS OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

HON. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ask Americans to give our children a choice of educational opportunities. I am a strong supporter of college education, but our children should have a wider range of post-high school educational choices in addition to college education. We should include the trade and technical school education as one of our national education priorities.

With the growth of technology and our commitment to international commerce trade and technical training education is vital to our society. This type of specific vocational/technical education is indispensable to the expansion of career opportunities in the United States. While college and post-graduate programs are appropriate avenues for many students, many other students would benefit greatly from the opportunity to orient their education toward acquiring specialized technical or trade skills (e.g., electrician, computer programming and repair, graphic arts). Technical and vocational careers are just as important—and in some instances vital—to the welfare of our society as are professional, white-collar careers. Technical and vocational careers pay well.

I urge all of us to recognize the need for technical education in high school curricula and for more colleges to have courses of study related to technological and trade school career choice. Our education agenda should include vocational education as an alternative to high school students.

I believe that three points need to be implemented in order for students to receive this opportunity:

First, encouraging schools to build partnerships with the private sector in order to prepare trade school-oriented students for alternative career opportunities. The formation of school to job co-ops is beneficial because it will allow students to incorporate their technical training with real work experience.

Second, the name vocational should be replaced by a more positive name in order to dispel the negativity usually associated with vocational education (e.g., technological/trade education). Vocational education is technical/trade education which focuses on the development of specific hands-on skills.

Third, creating a positive awareness within the general public and among educators of technology and trade education. Our society needs to recognize trade education as a necessary component of our educational system.

In closing, I urge all of my colleagues to consider trade and technological education as a priority in our national education agenda. Our children need this choice, because only by giving them these opportunities will they be able to empower themselves.

UNITED STATES-CHINA RELATIONS IN THE PACIFIC CENTURY

HON. ENI F.H. FALEOMAVEGA

OF AMERICAN SAMOA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. FALEOMAVEGA. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed an honor to speak before you during this month celebrating the rich and diverse heritage of Asian-Pacific Americans.

I am very proud of the deep and enduring contributions of my fellow Americans—those whose roots extend from the soil of nations in Asia and the Pacific islands.

I have served on the House Committee dealing with Foreign Affairs for 8 years, and as a member of its Asia-Pacific Affairs Subcommittee have long argued that U.S. foreign policy has been overly preoccupied with Europe and the Middle East—to the neglect of the Asia-Pacific region. With two-thirds of the world's population and gross domestic product originating from the Asia-Pacific, America cannot afford to neglect its interests in this important part of the globe.

Looking at the Asia-Pacific region today, perhaps no country figures to have a greater impact on the United States than the People's Republic of China. The emergence of China as a major world power is one of the historic events of the late 20th century. As we enter the 21st century, the Pacific century, China is projected to become a true great power. Thus, it is fitting that we take this occasion to examine the very complex subject of Sino-American relations. I would like to share with you my thoughts on the major issues affecting our relationship.

While not so long ago Asia-Pacific issues were being given shortshrif, now, the region is buffeted by a whirlwind of attention from Washington. At the center of the vortex is China, where suddenly all roads seem to lead. Vice President Gore recently traveled to China, the first visit of an American President or Vice President since 1989. Last month, the

highest ranking official in the House of Representatives, Speaker NEWT GINGRICH, lead a congressional delegation to China. Preceding their visits was that of Secretary of State Albright. And President Clinton will also visit China, shortly after his summit meeting with Chinese President Jiang Zemin in Washington later this year.

All of this attention on China is well-founded. With 1.3 billion people, China is the most populous nation and the most promising market of the planet. With the world's third largest economy and dynamic growth over 10 percent for several years running, China's possesses foreign exchange reserves exceeding \$100 billion—second only to Japan. With the world's largest military, over 3.2 million strong, which is undergoing modernization and has nuclear arms, China is a force not to be taken lightly. All of these factors underscore why America's relationship with China is one of the most crucial in the world, and why it is growing in importance.

CHINA ENGAGEMENT

I have long been a supporter of maintaining broad and comprehensive ties with the People's Republic of China. This policy of China engagement has been upheld in a bipartisan fashion by five previous administrations and I support President Clinton in his efforts now for comprehensive engagement with China. We cannot allow America's board-ranging, multi-faceted relationship with China to be held hostage to my particular issue or interest.

As for those that advocate a policy of China containment, I believe that this is dangerous and shortsighted. China is not what the former Soviet Union was—an ideological and military expansionist threat to democracies around the world, that was also closed to external trade. United States attempts to isolate China will not be supported by our allies and will only result in friction with our trading partners. Moreover, a containment policy would result in China responding with hostility and noncooperation directly targeted toward the United States. Our World War II ally, China, is not our enemy and we should not force China into responding like one to protect itself. The quickest way to transform China from friend to foe would be adoption of a containment policy.

It is in America's national interest to have a productive relationship with a China that is strong, stable, open, and prosperous—a China that is increasingly integrated into the international community and global marketplace as a responsible and accountable partner.

Since China opened her doors to the West in the 1970's with President Nixon's initiative, we have seen tremendous strides forward on several fronts. Business, social, and political ties with the west have blossomed, allowing a torrent of information, technology, and Western values to stream into China. This has resulted in a profound improvement of life for the Chinese people, giving them new-found freedoms in employment, travel, and housing, with expanded access to information and democratic participation in village elections. Over the past two decades, political and individual freedoms, along with an increased standard of living, have significantly changed for the better for the average Chinese.

While in our eyes much remains to be done for human rights, we should not forget that it was not so long ago—during Mao's rule and the cultural revolution—that hundreds of thousands of Chinese were murdered or impris-

oned from political persecution; while untold numbers fought starvation, sometimes through desperate acts of cannibalism.

The progress from the China of Mao Tse-tung, yesterday, to the China of President Jiang Zemin, today, is, indeed remarkable. China may be the first example of a Communist system that will succeed in meeting the long-term economic needs of her people. Feeding China's 1.3 billion hungry people—five times more than all the people in America—has by itself been a monumental accomplishment. In a nation of such huge size, which adds 12 million new mouths each year, I can understand why some say that providing food and shelter and stability may be preservation of the most basic yet important of human rights, particularly at this stage of China's development.

Clearly, America's engagement with China has played an invaluable role in this transition. It has been a long road from the 1950's and 1960's, when China opposed virtually all United States foreign policy goals. Then, China supported North Korea's attack on the south and ultimately entered the conflict to fight against us. It fired artillery at Taiwan on its islands of Quemoy and Matsu. China fought border wars with India and the Soviet Union. And it attempted to subvert nations friendly to us by sponsoring revolutionary movements in Africa, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines.

Today, the picture is very different. In Korea, China has played a crucial role in providing stability on the Peninsula, including assistance to stop North Korea's nuclear weapons program and diplomatic efforts to prevent the outbreak of a war between the Koreans. Far from subverting its neighbors, China now seeks investment from their business leaders. Rather than oppose our foreign policy goals, it has acceded to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, signed onto the comprehensive test ban treaty, taken part in the security dialogue at the ASEAN regional forum, worked toward international environmental protection accords and cooperated with us at the U.N. Security Council. With strong ties to the West, China is evolving into a more open society with a government that is increasingly sensitive to international opinion and willing to work with fellow nations and the United States.

HONG KONG

One of the most important issues to soon test United States-Sino relations is the transfer of Hong Kong from Britain to China this July 1.

America has substantial interests in Hong Kong, including \$14 billion in United States investment and two-way trade exceeding \$24 billion. Some 37,000 Americans reside in Hong Kong, with United States Navy ships making 60–80 port calls a year. The Government of Hong Kong works closely with the United States to combat narcotics trafficking, alien smuggling, and organized crime.

Under the joint declaration signed in 1984, Britain and China agreed for Hong Kong's reversion to China and the orderly transfer of power. The agreement holds that for 50 years China will extend Hong Kong a high degree of autonomy to control its own affairs, except in the areas of national defense and foreign relations. China's policy has been dubbed the "one country, two systems" approach. It is designed to preserve the unique economic environment that has made Hong Kong a capitalistic success story, and permits activities and

freedoms in Hong Kong that are not allowed in the rest of China.

While some in Washington bemoan the reversion of Hong Kong to Chinese control and predict Hong Kong's demise, I am not one of those. I view the return of Hong Kong to China as just, proper, and long overdue. It is the end to a long period of national humiliation for China.

For 157 years, the British have ruled over the Chinese People of Hong Kong as a colony of imperialism. It began in the 1840's, when China resisted Britain's efforts to sell China opium. Rebuffed, England started a war, called the opium war, which China lost and for which Britain took Hong Kong Island as a Prize. Twenty years later, England initiated another conflict, the arrow war, and defeated China again. Its prize this time was Kowloon, the mainland part of Hong Kong. In 1898, Britain gained another large amount of land by 99-year lease, the new territories, which is vital to Hong Kong's operations. With the expiration of that lease this July, the British had no choice legally but to return Hong Kong to its rightful owners, China.

While China is undergoing accusations of undermining democracy in Hong Kong, I find it ironic that no one said anything during the 150 years of British Imperial rule when democracy never existed in Hong Kong. The Governor of Hong Kong, always British, was appointed by London, without an election nor the input of the citizens of Hong Kong. There was no democratically elected legislative council. All of the top civil servants were British. And the major companies in Hong Kong were kept in English hands. The British were the elite, and the native Chinese were second-class citizens in their own homeland.

It was not until recently in 1990, at the 11th hour before Hong Kong's return to China, that Britain took steps to turn Hong Kong into a democracy. After a century-and-a-half of colonial rule and imperialism, I find it hypocritical that Britain is preaching to China about preserving democracy. While some have argued that these late democratic reforms were in response to the Tiananmen Square tragedy, others in Hong Kong feel that they were undertaken solely to dress up Britain's legacy in Hong Kong; to make Britain look good in history after being forced to leave its colony—a practice repeated with its other former colonies.

The Western media have focused on the disbanding of the existing elected legislative council for a provisional legislature and the effort to retract the 1992 civil rights ordinances as signaling Hong Kong's looming problems. What is often not mentioned, however, is that Britain unilaterally undertook election reforms and legislative changes in violation of the 1984 joint declaration with China, which held Hong Kong's legal system in existence then was not to be changed. Britain's unilateral action was perceived as an arrogant insult to China, reopening wounds on an already sensitive matter. In rolling back these legal changes, China is merely holding Britain to its commitment to retain British laws followed for decades in Hong Kong.

While the media portrays dark storm clouds gathering over Hong Kong, I see rays of light. The appointment of C.H. Tung as chief executive of the new Hong Kong Government has been widely applauded, as he is a man of integrity that commands great respect not only

in Hong Kong and Beijing but in Washington and throughout the international community. Another very positive sign is that Mr. Tung has retained the senior leadership of the civil service and the Hong Kong Administration. He has also made clear that the provisional legislature's term shall be brief, as he will secure the election of a new legislative council soon after his government is in place.

Public confidence in Hong Kong about the transition is high, with recent polls showing that almost two-thirds of Hong Kong residents would voluntarily choose to join China if the decision were up to them. This confidence is reflected in the real estate market, where within the past year residential property prices have increased 20 to 40 percent and luxury homes have doubled in price. Hong Kong's stock exchange has also reflected this confidence, achieving several record highs in recent months and increasing in value by 34 percent over the year prior.

I believe that there is reason for optimism that the transition will go well. China, more than any other country, has the greatest stakes to lose if Hong Kong's autonomy is threatened and its economy strangled. First, Hong Kong is the central engine that drives 60 percent of foreign trade and investment in China, fueling China's economic reform process which is vital to its stability. Half of China's exports, over \$140 billion, go through Hong Kong, with Chinese investments there exceeding \$50 billion. Quite simply, undermining international confidence in Hong Kong will deal a fatal blow to China's own economic development. Second, China knows the world is watching and it needs Hong Kong to succeed to gain legitimacy as a responsible and mature nation in the eyes of the international community. A smooth transition will immeasurably enhance China's credibility and that of its Communist Government's ability to govern. Last, as Beijing is well aware, Hong Kong is a test case for Taiwan. The failure of the "one country, two systems" approach with Hong Kong would spell doom for peaceful reunification with Taiwan. Moreover, a crackdown on Hong Kong could result in international support for Taiwan's independence. China's highest priority has always been to reunite with Taiwan and I do not believe it will jeopardize reunification by a failure to handle Hong Kong properly. In short, I don't think we'll be seeing anytime soon Chinese PLA troops on the streets of Hong Kong beating demonstrators.

Congress passed the Hong Kong Policy Act in 1992 and the Hong Kong Reversion Act just months ago. They send the message to China that the United States is concerned about Hong Kong's freedoms, that we are monitoring the transition, and will take steps to terminate our relationship with Hong Kong if it is no longer autonomous. While I supported these bills, we must be careful not to intervene too much in Hong Kong, a matter that is totally within China's sovereign right. Micromanagement of the transition process may prove to be counterproductive.

At this point, I think we need to step back and give China and the new Hong Kong Government of Chief Executive Tung room to breathe. Certainly, Mr. Tung deserves the opportunity to show that he can effectively lead Hong Kong and China must be given the chance to demonstrate that it will keep its promises.

IN HONOR OF ASIAN-PACIFIC AMERICANS

While China may be the magnet in the Asia-Pacific region attracting much of United States foreign policy attention today, China along with the other nations of the Asia-Pacific have played another role by contributing offspring to the rich ethnic diversity of the United States.

Americans of Asian-Pacific descent, almost 10 million strong, are the fastest growing demographic group in the United States today. Over the last decade, the Asian-Pacific American community has more than doubled and this rapid growth is expected to continue well into the next century.

As many of you are aware, immigrants from the Asia-Pacific region are amongst the newest wave to arrive in the United States in recent years. However, they are merely the latest chapter in the long history of Asian-Pacific Americans in our Nation.

During this month for celebration, it is only fitting that we honor our fellow citizens of Asian-Pacific descent—both from the past and the present—that have blessed and enriched our Nation. I submit that Asian-Pacific Americans have certainly been an asset to our country's development, and it is most appropriate that our President and Congress have proclaimed May as Asian-Pacific heritage month.

The people of the Asia-Pacific have contributed much to America's development in the sciences and medicine. Nothing exemplifies this more than Time magazine's selection of a Chinese-American, Dr. David Ho, head of the prestigious Aaron Diamond Aids Research Center, as its "1996 Man of the Year." Dr. Ho's journey from being a 12-year-old immigrant to being honored as "Man of the Year" for giving hope to millions of people affected with the HIV virus is a testament to the significant contributions that Asian-Pacific American immigrants have made in America.

Dr. David Ho, scientific director and chief executive officer of the Aaron Diamond Aids Research Center at New York University Medical School, is one of the foremost aids scientists in the world. While unraveling how the aids virus causes death after infection, Dr. Ho pioneered a treatment for HIV infection that has shown promise in beating back the deadly disease. In focusing treatment research on the early stages of infection, using cocktails of antiviral drugs to combat the aids-causing virus, HIV, Dr. Ho has fundamentally changed the approach to combating aids, stated Time magazine. Dr. Ho's accomplishments are a credit to the Asian-Pacific American community and more importantly give renewed hope to millions of patients around the world suffering from the HIV virus.

Dr. Ho's scientific advances continue a long record of service by Asian-Pacific Americans. In 1899, a Japanese immigrant arrived on the shores of this Nation. After years of study and work, this man, Dr. Hideyo Noguchi, isolated the syphilis germ, leading to a cure for the deadly, wide-spread disease. For decades, Dr. Makio Murayama conducted vital research in the United States that laid the groundwork for combatting sickle-cell anemia. In 1973, Dr. Leo Esaki, an Asian immigrant to our country, was awarded the Nobel Prize in physics for his electron tunneling theories. and, in engineering, few have matched the architectural masterpieces created by the genius of Chinese-American, I.M. Pei.

Major contributions to U.S. business and industry have also been made by Asian-Pacific

Americans. Wang laboratories, the innovative business enterprise in computer research and development, was founded in 1955 by Chinese-American, An Wang. This Nation's largest tungsten refinery was built in 1953 by industrialist K.C. Li and his company, the Wah Chang Corp. And, in 1964, an immigrant from Shanghai, China, Gerald Tsai, started from scratch an investment firm, the Manhattan Fund, which today has well over \$270 million in assets.

In the entertainment and sports fields, American Martial Arts Expert Bruce Lee entertained the movie audiences of this Nation, while destroying the stereotype of the passive, quiet Asian male. World-class Conductor Seiji Ozawa has led the San Francisco Symphony through brilliant performances over the years.

A native-Hawaiian named Duke Kahanamoku shocked the world by winning the Olympic Gold Medal in swimming seven decades ago; followed by Dr. Sammy Lee, a Korean-American who won the Olympic Gold Medal in high diving. Then there was Tommy Kono of Hawaii, also an Olympic Gold medalist in weightlifting. And, yes, perhaps the greatest Olympic diver ever known to the world, a Samoan-American by the name of Greg Louganis—whose record in gold medals and national championships will be in the books for a long time. Japanese-American Kristi Yamaguchi's enthralling gold medal ice-skating performance at the Winter Olympics continues the legacy of milestone achievements by Asian-Pacific Americans.

In professional sports, of course, we have Michael Chang blazing new paths in tennis, Pacific-Islanders Brian Williams and Michael Jones of world rugby, and the tens of dozens of Polynesian-Americans—like All-Pro Samoan Linebacker, Junior Seau, and Jesse Sapolu of the San Francisco Forty-Niners—who have made their mark as players in the National Football league.

We also have Asian-Pacific Americans who are making their mark on history, not in our country, but in the Far East. Samoan-American Salevaa Atisanoe is a 578-pound Sumo wrestler in Japan who goes by the name of Konishiki. Salevaa, or Konishiki, incidentally, also happens to be a relative of mine. Konishiki was the first foreigner in Japan's centuries-old sport to break through to the rarified air of Sumo's second-highest rank. Another Somoan/Tongan-American, Leitani Peitani—known in Japan as Musashimaru—has also gained prominence as a Sumo wrestler.

Native-Hawaiian Chad Rowen, or Akebono as he is known in Japan, has scaled even greater heights by attaining the exalted status of Yokozuna or grand champion. Until this Polynesian-American arrived on the scene, no foreigner had ever been permitted to fill this sacred position, as the Japanese associate the Yokozuna with the essence of Shinto's guardian spirits. The ascendancy to grand champion status goes to the heart of the Japanese religion and culture.

In honoring Asian-Pacific Americans that have served to enrich our country, I would be remiss, as a Vietnam veteran, if I did not

honor the contributions of the Japanese-Americans who served in the United States Army's 100th Battalion and 442d Infantry Combat Group. History speaks for itself in documenting that none have shed their blood more valiantly for America than the Japanese-American that served in these units while fighting enemy forces in Europe during World War II.

The records of the 100th Battalion and 442d Infantry are without equal. These Japanese-American units suffered an unprecedented casualty rate of 314 percent, and received over 18,000 individual decorations, many posthumously awarded, for valor in battle.

With the tremendous sacrifice of lives, a high number of medals were given the unit. I find it unusual, however, that only one medal of honor was awarded, while 52 Distinguished Service Crosses, 560 Silver Stars, and 9,480 Purple Hearts were given. The great number of Japanese-American lives lost should have resulted in more of these ultimate symbols of sacrifice being awarded. Nonetheless, the 442d Combat Group emerged as the most decorated combat unit of its size in the history of the U.S. Army. President Truman was so moved by their bravery in the field of battle, as well as that of black American soldiers During World War II, that he issued an executive order to desegregate the armed services.

I am proud to say that we can count the honorable DANIEL K. INOUE and the late, highly-respected Senator, Spark Matsunaga, both from Hawaii, as Members from Congress that distinguished themselves in battle as soldiers with the 100th Battalion and 442d Infantry. It was while fighting in Europe that Senator INOUE lost his arm and was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, the second highest medal for bravery.

These Japanese-Americans paid their dues in blood to protect our Nation from its enemies. It is a shameful black mark on the history of our country that when the patriotic survivors of the 100th Battalion and 442d Infantry returned to the United States, many were reunited with families that were locked up behind barbed-wire fences, living in concentration camps. You might be interested to know, my colleagues on the Hill, Congressman ROBERT MATSUI and former Representative Norman Mineta, were children of the concentration camps.

The wholesale and arbitrary abolishment of the constitutional rights of these loyal Japanese-Americans will forever serve as a reminder and testament that this must never be allowed to occur again. When the miscarriage of justice unfolded during World War II, Americans of German and Italian ancestry were not similarly jailed en masse. Some declare the incident as an example of outright racism and bigotry in its ugliest form. After viewing the Holocaust Museum in Washington, I understand better why the genocide of 6 million Jews has prompted the cry, "never again." Likewise, I sincerely hope that mass internments on the basis of race will never again darken the history of our great Nation.

To those that say, well that occurred decades ago, I say we must continue to be vigilant in guarding against such evil today.

Not long ago we had the case of Bruce Yamashita, a Japanese-American from Hawaii who was discharged from the Marine Corps in an ugly display of racial discrimination. Marine Corps superiors taunted Yamashita with ethnic slurs and told him, "We don't want your kind around here. Go back to your own country." After years of perseverance and appeals, Mr. Yamashita was vindicated after proving he was the target of vicious racial harassment during his officer training program. The Secretary of the Navy's investigation into whether minorities were deliberately being discouraged from becoming officers resulted in Bruce Yamashita receiving his commission as a captain in the Marine Corps.

I am also greatly disturbed by recent events involving campaign funding, where the integrity of the Asian-Pacific American community has been unfairly tarnished by the transgressions of a few. With the intensity of a witchhunt, the national media have obsessively fixated on political contributions from Americans of Asian-Pacific descent. This singling out of one ethnic group has led to the unfair characterization that all Asian-Pacific American political contributors are "Asian foreigners buying up America."

I find this racial scapegoating to be repugnant and morally objectionable. Playing up fears of the "Asian connection" serves to alienate Asian-Pacific Americans from participating in our political process. Moreover, this negative reporting acts to marginalize Asian-Pacific Americans political empowerment at a time when we are coming of age in American politics. Lost in the barrage of hysteria has been the fact that our community has 75,000 newly registered voters, greater numbers of immigrants becoming citizens, and more Asian-Pacific Americans candidates running for political office than ever before—culminating with the first Asian-American Governor elected in the continental United States, Gary Locke of Washington State.

Perhaps these attacks are a convenient way to ostracize a growing American political force. When Caucasians raise money from Caucasians, it is called gaining political power, but when Asian-Pacific Americans begin to participate, we are accused of being foreigners trying to infiltrate U.S. policymaking. Now that Asian-Pacific Americans are finally at the table and our opinions heard, we are once again being cast as outsiders and not as true Americans.

This is nothing new. One need only look at the history of this country to see that the scapegoating of Asian-Pacific Americans as foreigners has been used as an excuse to burn down our communities in the 1880's, deny us the right to own land, marry our own kind and practice many professions in the early 1900's, and put us in concentration camps in 1942. To protect America's greatness, we should all be sensitive to the fact that democratic participation by people of all races and backgrounds, including Asian-Pacific Americans, is crucial to our Nation's health and vitality.

In concluding, I think Bruce Yamashita's case and the hysteria surrounding Asian-Pacific Americans political contributions bear implications not just for the military and the media but for our society as a whole. It asks the question, how long do we have to endure the attitude of those who consider Asian-Pacific Americans and other minorities as lesser Americans?

I applaud Captain Yamashita and others like him who have spoken out to ensure that racial

discrimination is not tolerated. During this month as we recognize the diverse experiences and contributions of the Asian-Pacific Americans community to our great Nation, I would hope that we all take inspiration from his example.

With that in mind, I would like to close my remarks by asking what is America all about? I think it could not have been said better than on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial when Martin Luther King said, "I have a dream. My

dream is that one day my children will be judged not by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

That is what America is all about, and Asian-Pacific Americans wish to find a just and equitable place in our society that will allow them—like all Americans—to grow, succeed achieve, and contribute to the advancement of this great Nation as we enter the "Pacific century."