SENATE—Monday, October 23, 1989

(Legislative day of Monday, September 18, 1989)

The Senate met at 2:30 p.m., on the expiration of the recess, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. Byrd].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Richard C. Halverson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Let us pray:

I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; For kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and

honesty.-I Timothy 2:1, 2.

Almighty God, "Giver of life and breath and all things," in light of the Apostle Paul's exhortation to pray, we remember the words of Benjamin Franklin at the Constitutional Convention in 1787 addressing Gen. George Washington who presided, he said:

"In the situation of this Assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, Sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of lights to illuminate our understandings? * * * I have lived, Sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing the proofs I see of this truth-that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it possible that an empire can rise without his aid? * * * * "

Gracious, patient God, our Founding Fathers prayed because they needed to-often their lives depended on it. At this critical time in world affairs, so filled with unprecedented opportunity, teach us to pray.

In Jesus' name. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader is recognized.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Journal of proceedings be approved to date.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SCHEDULE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, this afternoon, following the time reserved for the two leaders, there will be a period for morning business until 3 o'clock, with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 5 minutes

At 3 o'clock, the Senate will begin consideration of H.R. 1231, an Eastern Airlines bill. As I indicated on Friday, there will be no rollcall votes today.

Looking ahead this week in terms of the Senate's schedule, for the information of Senators, the continuing resolution expires at midnight on this Wednesday, October 25, I hope we can complete action on a clean CR in an expeditious manner by Wednesday with the possible exception of the earthquake disaster assistance, if the House acts tomorrow, as expected. It is obvious that all of us in the Senate join in wanting to work to provide what assistance is necessary.

We also anticipate having a number of conference reports available-VA-HUD; Legislative; Transportation; and State, Justice, Commerce. We hope to complete action on those four appropriations conference reports this week.

I also hope that the Senate will consider and approve a program of assistance to Poland and Hungary early this week.

In addition, I have agreed sometime ago to schedule death penalty legislation sponsored by Senator Specter, and I hope to do that later this week.

In addition, Mr. President, there will be six mutual legal assistance treaties with other countries, important for many reasons, including our drug fighting effort, and we hope to take them from the Executive Calendar and act on them this week.

Senators should be prepared for lengthy sessions, extending well into the evening, including rollcall votes throughout the week.

CONTRADICTORY GOALS, CON-FLICTING ACTIONS: THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION AND CHEMI-CAL WEAPONS ARMS CONTROL

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, chemical weapons were first widely used on the Western front during World War I. Following that war, shock and abhorrence at the highly lethal nature of chemical weapons and the agony which they inflict on their victims, led to an international effort to prohibit their use.

The result was the Geneva Protocol of 1925, which outlaws the use of chemical weapons in war. The Geneva protocol does not, however, bar the manufacture, possession, or transfer of chemical weapons. In addition, many parties to the protocol, including the United States and the Soviet Union. have reserved the right to retaliate in kind if chemical weapons are used against them in conflict.

For roughly 60 years, due partly to deterrence and partly to the constraints of the Geneva protocol, the use of chemical weapons in combat has been rare. During World War II. despite the possession of vast stocks of chemical weapons by many of the countries involved in that particular conflict, widespread use did not occur. In other conflicts since then, chemicals have largely been avoided.

But the story has not been entirely positive.

The United States and the Soviet Union manufactured stockpiles of chemical weapons. The vast Soviet stockpile created an imbalance in chemical warfare capabilities between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. This situation contributed to the resumption of production of chemical munitions by the United States, following our suspension in production which lasted for more than a decade.

In addition, in recent years the constraints against the use of chemical weapons appear to be eroding. Chemical weapons were used in the war between Iraq and Iran. That conflict appeared to illustrate the military utility of these weapons, at least when used against unprotected troops. An even more savage example of chemical warfare was the use of chemicals by the Iraqi Government against its own Kurdish population, resulting in the deaths of noncombatants, including children. It is in this context—the use against innocent civilians-that chemical weapons can truly become weapons of terror and mass destruction, in Winston Churchill's words, a "hellish poison."

The CIA estimates that as many as 20 nations currently possess the capability to manufacture chemical weapons, and that by the end of the century 15 more nations may acquire that capability.

Finally, the proliferation of the technologies required to produce ballistic missiles has added a new and ominous element. The marriage of ballistic missiles and chemical warheads

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

presents the specter of a new weapon of terror, with the ability to inflict horrible and random death on large numbers of civilians. As the constraints on use of chemical weapons erode, the temptation to use them will increase. We face the danger that chemical weapons will become again a feature of war.

It is imperative that the talks in Geneva be energized. If we are to succeed in placing meaningful restraints on the production and possession of chemical weapons, we must achieve results soon, before the problem has moved beyond the ability of an arms control agreement to control.

These are the reasons that the effort at the Geneva talks to achieve a total, global, comprehensive ban on the production and possession of chemical weapons is so important.

We should not delude ourselves into thinking that chemical arms control will be simple or easy to achieve. The problems of verification are formidable, the number of countries involved are larger than in any other arms control negotiation, and the diverse interests of the parties will be difficult to reconcile.

Nevertheless, this year there have been some reasons for optimism. President Bush has indicated that chemical weapons arms control is one of his highest priorities. The Soviet Union has indicated a willingness to pursue verification experiments which could add to our confidence in monitoring a treaty. The Soviet Union has also announced a willingness to reduce its stockpile, and it contends that it no longer produces chemical weapons. A major conference on the issue of chemical warfare was held in Paris in

Those were positive signs. But recent press reports indicate that the administration has taken a major step backward by deciding that the United States will continue to produce chemical weapons for up to 8 years after signing the multilateral convention banning production of such weapons.

This is an extremely negative development.

This shift in policy can only result in delay and confusion at the Geneva talks, where until now the United States position-indeed, the position of all the Western powers-has been that a global ban on production of chemical weapons would take effect soon after the treaty enters into force.

The resulting delay at Geneva could mean that the opportunity to achieve progress on a global ban on chemical weapons will be lost, perhaps forever. The efforts of other countries to attain this capability will proceed, while the arms control process will be stalled as a result of American indecision and inconsistency.

How can the United States possibly expect other countries to observe a

ban on production if we reserve to ourselves the right to ignore the ban? What would our reaction be if the Soviet Union made such a proposal? The answers are obvious. The right to produce chemical weapons, even after a treaty banning production is signed, will undoubtedly be sought by other countries as well. This will mean that verifying a chemical weapons ban, if one can ever then be attained and hard enough under the best of conditions, will become enormously more difficult. That is because, among other reasons, the technical problems in measuring a limited amount of "permitted production" are much more formidable than those needed to monitor a total ban. Once produced and stockpiled, verifying destruction of chemical weapons is also difficult.

Finally, the logic behind this decision to continue production after signing a treaty agreeing not to continue production is not apparent. Presumably, some in the administration believe it would be necessary to continue producing the Bigeye bomb, a weapon which we do not yet possess, even after signing a chemical weapons convention. Why, if the Soviet Union is reducing its stockpile and no longer producing weapons-and has signed the global ban-would the United States then need to continue production? What contingency outside of the NATO area could require that the United States retain a chemical weapons capability-one which we do not possess today-for either retaliation or deterrence?

For these reasons, the reported decision by the administration to change the American negotiating position in the Geneva talks is a wrong decision and one which I hope will soon be reversed. I call upon President Bush to clarify his policy on this issue and to provide us with the justification for the change or, as I hope he will, reaffirm that the United States truly seeks an early and total ban on the production and possession of chemical weapons in the Geneva talks.

RESERVATION OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER'S TIME

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my leader time. if any, and reserve all of the leader time of the distinguished Republican leader.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The majority leader's time has expired.

Without objection the time of the Republican leader will be reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There will now be a period for the transaction of morning business to extend until the hour of 3 p.m. today with Senators being permitted to speak therein for not to exceed 5 minutes each.

EARTHQUAKE ASSISTANCE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I note the presence of the distinguished Senator from California on the floor and want to say to him, as I have said to his colleague from California [Mr. CRANSTON], on behalf of all Senators we deeply regret the tragedy which has occurred in California and stand prepared to move as promptly as possible with the disaster relief program that will meet the needs of the people of California so far as it is in our power to do so. I want to provide that assurance to my friend.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The junior Senator from California [Mr. Wilsonl is recognized for not to exceed 5 minutes.

Mr. WILSON. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE GREAT SAN FRANCISCO EARTHQUAKE

Mr. WILSON. Let me begin by thanking my friend, the distinguished majority leader, for that assurance. That is in fact why I have come to the floor. Having just returned from California, Mr. President, at the time of that disastrous earthquake I was on the 13th floor of a building in downtown San Francisco. Like most Californians, I have experienced quakes before. This was like nothing that I have ever experienced in its magnitude and its intensity. It was truly frightening.

But the great wonder, Mr. President, is really what did not happen. Obviously, we are preoccupied with the tragic loss of life that occurred, but the remarkable thing is that the loss of life was not greater. It is a tribute to two preventive actions on the part of society and on the part of individuals as well as on the part of governmental agencies. The first of these has to do with the efforts that had been made in my State and a number of communities, and specifically within the bay area, to make new construction quake-resistant. The building in which I experienced the quake clearly reflected more than a tremor, but it stood and suffered no real structural damage, at least so far as I was aware at that time.

That is true, Mr. President, of most of the buildings in downtown San Francisco. The loss of life occurred when an old brick wall fell and took several lives. The other casualty occurred in the so-called marina district, an area built upon portions of the bay that had been filled for the 1915 Exposition and thereafter dedicated to residential uses.

What occurred in that instance, Mr. President, was that that fill, probably never adequately compacted, in some instances liquefied, and what had been three- and four-story houses and apartment buildings literally had their foundations shaken from beneath and stories them four suddenly became one. Gas mains were broken. A fire broke out, but a single fire, and tragic as it was, in consuming not only a quarter of the block but seven lives, a greater wonder is that there was not a replication of the terrible tragedy of the 1906 San Francisco earthquake when major damage occurred when, following the quake, the city was swept by fires.

The preventive action that I speak of reflects great credit upon the architectural profession and upon the foresight of those in policymaking roles who have required the adoption of building codes that prevented the

greater tragedy.

The second preventive act occurred last August when a major quake simulation exercise was conducted by agencies of government coordinating nine activities of the Federal, State, and local levels of government.

The result was when the real thing came, there was coordination that I think has seldom been seen. I am convinced far greater loss of life would have occurred had it not been for the prompt cooperation between those

agencies.

But finally the thing that has taken me to the floor today, Mr. President, is to pay a deserved tribute to all of the many inspired acts of heroism and dedication to their fellow men which were demonstrated in that moment of real test.

Many of these were volunteers, citizens who had come from as far away that first night as the Napa Valley, and wonder of wonders, after 4 days, a 57-year-old stevedore has been taken from the rubble of the collapsed segment of the Nimitz Freeway. He was removed by an Orange County fireman, a volunteer who had traveled some 600 miles to the north to participate in the rescue operation that to many seemed futile.

Another rescue had occurred earlier. When the interval of 20 feet between the decks of that double-decker freeway collapsed to a crawl space of less than 20 inches—in many cases, virtually no crawl space existed at all—those caught in that mile and a quarter segment—Mr. President, I ask for an additional 2 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. There being no objection, the Senator is recognized for 2 additional minutes.

Mr. WILSON. When there was an effort made to rescue those trapped in their automobiles in that mile and a quarter segment, and genuinely concerned rescue workers went crawling through that crawl space, there was

with no assurance that the 20 inches or less would not collapse upon them, taking their lives as well.

The most dramatic act of heroism came on the part of two young doctors. A doctor crawled through a crawl space that barely permitted him to move, and rescued a young child. He had to do so by first cutting through the dead mother of the child with a chain saw, and then in order to free the child had to amputate the child's mangled foot.

Mr. President, to those dedicated volunteers who had the courage to crawl through that terribly frightening claustrophobic crawl space, to those who came from miles and miles away, and through that first night and many thereafter went sleepless, manning the Red Cross and Salvation Army shelters, I can only say that the tribute to them, the tribute that they deserve, cannot be expressed in words. I think they felt it in the satisfaction of knowing they made a difference in the lives of their fellows, but I will tell you that it was the best of America.

It is ironic that tragedy often seems to be required to invite demonstrations of that kind, but on this instance I felt enormous pride in my fellow Californians, especially the people of the bay area for rallying in a moment of great trial, great stress, and from their performance they passed that test with not just flying colors but with the kind of demonstration of courage and caring that I think demonstrates the best of the American people.

Mr. President, I thank the Chair.

Mr. DOLE. Would the Senator like some of my leader time?

Mr. WILSON. I thank my friend, the Republican leader. I will not take more time. I do not think any other words would permit me to express my gratitude and my admiration for those people. But I am terribly proud.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Republican leader is recognized. His time has been reserved.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I want to commend the distinguished Senator from California not just for the statement, but for the work he has been undertaking in his State in the past several days.

His presence was missed in the Senate, but he was certainly doing precisely what he should have been doing in being on the scene throughout all of last week.

I want to also indicate, as the majority leader has, that we want to be helpful, and we want to do it as quickly as possible insofar as aid is concerned. I assume it may happen this week under the continuing resolution, or some other appropriate vehicle.

I hope my colleagues on both sides will defer any other amendments to some other bill and not clutter up an

important earthquake relief bill with other amendments.

Mr. WILSON. Mr. President, I thank my friend, the distinguished Republican leader.

Let me echo the hope that he has expressed. It is really imperative that these people who are hurting get the assistance they need and get it promptly. It is urgently required.

Let me say that the Federal, State, and the local agencies have responded with FEMA in particular setting up agency centers in seven counties that have been declared disaster areas. They have had volunteers from the regional offices of the Department of Health and Human Services, and from the Federal Emergency Management reservists. They have had those from the State social services department. Some 325 volunteers have come in. They have been trained. They are now servicing those centers.

So there is much of which to be proud, but we need that assistance not only for those repairing the bridge and freeway, but obviously to get the assistance to all of those who are in need of shelter because of damage to their homes, their businesses, and of course FEMA is stretched thin. Hugo has sent most of its regulars to South Carolina, St. Croix, and Puerto Rico.

So I thank my friend as well as the distinguished majority leader for their assurances of prompt action. I hope this can come under the continuing resolution. Senator Symms, at my request, introduced on Friday morning, with the cosponsorship of the distinguished Republican leader, the kinds of changes in the law that will be necessary for us to realistically respond to the needs.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I also indicate to the majority leader, who sort of outlined some of the matters that we need to dispose of this week—including a number of appropriations conference reports, Eastern Airlines, a continuing resolution, debt ceiling extension, and we have a number of treaties on the Executive Calendar. Then Senator Specter, I think, has a time agreement on terrorism; death penalty.

So there are a number of things we need to do this week. I am not certain how quickly the debt limit can be disposed of. There was some indication earlier that there might be another short-term debt extension coming from the House side. I recently talked with the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee who indicated he would not do that.

So I will say as I said before there will be an effort at that time on either a short-term or long-term extension of the debt ceiling to add a capital gains provision, one that has, particularly on the Senate side, had the support of the Republicans and the Democrats. It is referred to as the Packwood proposal, Packwood-Roth.

There are a number of Democrats who have expressed an interest, including the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. Boren], and maybe a dozen others on that side.

So I think we should be forewarned there will be that effort to add amendments to the debt ceiling with reference to capital gains. I assume there are other amendments. At least I have heard of other amendments to the debt ceiling on both sides of the aisle, dealing with Gramm-Rudman-Hollings, Social Security, section 89, and a number of provisions that were in the reconciliation package that were removed by the Senate.

So it could be that the debate on the debt ceiling extension could last for some time. But in any event, I want to indicate to the majority leader that we certainly wish to cooperate in every

way possible.

Hopefully, we will complete as many appropriations bills conference reports as we can so that we will not be back with another continuing resolution after this one.

I reserve the remainder of my time. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Republican leader reserves the remainder of his time.

Mr. KERREY addressed the Chair. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. Kerrey] is recognized for not to exceed 5 minutes.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I rise to commend the distinguished majority leader for his earlier remarks concerning chemical weapons. I wish to associate myself with those remarks.

It seems to me that part of the question on chemical weapons is a series of values that the American people have. I believe the case can be made by the Senators that it is American values above all the world's that have had

the greatest influence.

That value of freedom and value of free markets and of a free and open political system has begun to be adopted by more and more people throughout the world. Similarly, with chemical weapons, it seems to me there is a question of values. Two weeks ago, the administration and Pentagon officials said that we needed to continue the production of a bomb called the Bigeve bomb after a treaty was signed to phase out such chemical weapons. They argued that this weapon is needed to deter the Soviet Union and Third World nations from staging poison gas attacks.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The time for morning business has expired.

Mr. KERREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to continue as in morning business for a period not to exceed 5 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KERREY. The case for continued production of chemical weapons is not persuasive given our position at Geneva and the Soviet Union's offer to stop production themselves. I am simply not persuaded by arguments about the need for a deterrent against a nation which has agreed to stop production entirely. Nor am I persuaded they are needed against nations who are not deterred by our threat to lower our standards to theirs.

However, I do not want this afternoon to be drawn into the strategic argument first. Before the strategic argument we must consider the moral arguments. The first test of any weapon system must be this: Will it be acceptable to the American people? If a weapons system fails this test, it must be rejected. Period.

The technician with statistics and military experts with convoluted theories should not even be called into the room to give their opinion until this question is answered "Yes." There is too much danger for America in the potential of being intimidated or seduced by the logic of the arguments offered by those who devote their lives to providing us with the security needed to keep America free.

The theories developed within the bowels of the Pentagon proposing to continue production of chemical weapons must be placed within the context of American values and American ideals. Inside the world of the technocrat it is possible to conclude that all manner of terrible weapons are needed in order to maintain the strength of the United States of America. Outside, in the hands of the mother who must send her son or daughter to use these weapons, oral judgments will be made.

It will do us little good to have a weapon which theoretically deters if the way in which the weapon kills is morally unacceptable to the American people. It will not deter if our enemies know we will never use it. I believe such is the case with chemical weapons

Military leaders who understand how chemical weapons work and who understand that war—particularly for a free and open society like ours—is an extension of politics, will not use chemical weapons. The clean lines of the theory will evaporate in the terrifying reality of the consequences.

Consider the Bigeye bomb which the Pentagon convinced President Bush we need for national security reasons. This is the modern chemical weapon which President Bush says we need to manufacture to deter the Soviet Union or such madmen as Qadhafi.

Here is how it kills people. When the bomb explodes it spreads a cloud of gas that kills by the nerve agent VX. This agent causes paralysis of involuntary muscles and thus blocks breathing.

Imagine that you are a military commander with an enemy who you must engage. The balloon has gone up somewhere in the world, and we have made the decision to attack. Would you consider using the Bigeye bomb? Would you use a weapon that killed in this indiscriminate fashion? Would you risk losing the support of the people of the United States as a result of a televised broadcast of casualties whose respiratory system had been paralyzed by your decision?

Mr. President, I believe you would not. I believe you would then consider the question which I posed at the beginning of this statement: Would the American people tolerate it? Would their support of this action be lost as a consequence of the nature of the kill-

ing?

You would answer the first question "no" and the second "yes." Thus, the deterrence arguments and the strategic rationalizations would have been wasted exercises.

Accordingly, the U.S. position should be this: Chemical weapons, quite simply, are wrong. We accept the Soviet offer to stop production of them. We insist on a joint United States-Soviet commission which will not only verify the cessation of production but will do three additional things:

First. Enable us to inventory United States and Soviet stock of chemical weapons and publish the findings. The public needs to know.

Second. To develop an acceptable joint method to destroy the entire inventory.

Third. Upon this example, the United States and the Soviet Union should take forceful actions and institute negative sanctions against any company or nation that does not do likewise.

America's greatest influence upon this world has been, and will continue to be, our willingness to stand for selfevident truths. We must continue to place our values ahead of all other considerations.

I yield the floor.

RECOGNIZING THE ACCOM-PLISHMENTS OF THE 169TH TACTICAL FIGHTER GROUP, SOUTH CAROLINA AIR NATION-AL GUARD, IN WINNING THE WORLDWIDE GUNNERY MEET, GUNSMOKE 1989

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I rise today to congratulate the officers

and airmen of the South Carolina Air National Guard's 169th Tactical Fighter Group for winning the Overall Top Team Award for the Air Force's worldwide gunnery meet, Gunsmoke 1989. In winning this world championship of the tactical air command, the team from 169th Tactical Fighter Group defeated 15 teams from U.S. Air Force units around the world.

The Gunsmoke competition tests the skills of the Air Force's best air and ground crews in the air-to-ground mission. It requires aircrews to demonstrate skills in staffing, bombing, navigation, and aircraft maintenance.

By winning this coveted designation of the "Overall Top Team", the pilots from McEntire Air National Guard Base—Maj. George Jernigan, Maj. John Bellinger, both from Columbia, Maj. Waymond Nutt of Sumter, and Capt. Timothy Rush also from Columbia-clearly demonstrated the professionalism and dedication of not only these men and their crews, but the entire South Carolina National Guard commanded by Maj. Gen. Eston Marchant.

Mr. President, not only did the Air National Guard win the top team award, but Capt. Patrick Shay, a Reserve pilot with the 944th Tactical Fighter Group from Luke Air Force Base, Arizona, won the top gun award.

The accomplishments of the South Carolina Air Guard team and those of Captain Shay are a reflection of the skills and preparedness of all our Air National Guard and Air Force Reserve units. The success of these guardsmen and Reserve crews clearly demonstrates that the Reserve components of our total force are equal to the task expected of them.

Mr. President, over the past several years, the Congress has been most supportive of the Reserve components. I believe that the results of the Gunsmoke '89 competition reflect that

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the names of the entire 169th Tactical Fighter Group Team be included in the RECORD immediately after my remarks.

There being no objection, the roster was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE 169TH TACTICAL FIGHTER GROUP, SOUTH CAROLINA AIR NATIONAL GUARD, 169TH GUNSMOKE '89 TEAM ROSTER

MAJ. George R. Jernigan III, Team Chief.

MAJ. John N. Bellinger, Jr.

MAJ. Waymond C. Nutt, Jr. MAJ. Timothy R. Rush. MAJ. Charles E. Savage.

CAPT. George C. Ronan IV.

CMSGT. Jimmy F. Joye. SMSGT. Vitalis G. Viavoda. SMSGT. Shelton Mincey.

MSGT. Donald D. Hawkins.

MSGT. Kenneth Wood. MSGT. James R. Bolin.

MSGT. Travis V. Abernathy, Sr. MSGT. Thomas H. Muller.

MSGT. Charles E. Dickson.

MSGT. Joseph A. Jefferson. MSGT. Herman E. Warren. MSGT. Thomas J. Brock. MSGT. Richard A. Felder. TSGT. Wallace B. Ward. TSGT. Raymond F. Brown. TSGT. Robert L. Hux. Jr. TSGT. Jewell Lillard.

TSGT. Malcolm R. Rast, Jr. TSGT. William D. Delevan, Jr.

TSGT. Patrick X. Carr. TSGT. William H. Dimsdale, Jr.

TSGT. Michael L. Hale. SSGT. James D. Turner. SSGT. Claude A. Shealy, Jr.

SSGT, Chris A. Smoak. SSGT. William B. Gibson. SSGT. Timothy A. Bodie.

SSGT. Timothy W. Newbert. SSGT. Keith O. Mullins.

SSGT. Jonathan T. Waters. SSGT. Robert E. Hudson.

SSGT. Scott A. Robinson. SSGT. Douglass W. Stewart.

SSGT. Jonathan Brumble. SSGT. Mark B. Drafts. SSGT. Daniel D. Shelley.

SGT. Daniel W. Goldie SGT. Robert B. White, Jr. SGT. Melissa R. Speas.

TERRY ANDERSON'S CONTINUING CAPTIVITY

Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. President, it is now 1,682 days that Terry Anderson has been held in captivity in Beirut.

I ask unanimous consent that the recent Associated Press article on this subject be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FADLALLAH: WASHINGTON STALLING ON HOSTAGES

BEIRUT, LEBANON.- A Shiite Moslem cleric linked to the captors of Western hostages was quoted Wednesday as saying Washington is delaying efforts to gain freedom for eight American captives.

Sheik Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah, spirtural head of the pro-Irananian group Hezbollah, told the pro-Syrian Beirut daily Ash-Sharq: "In my opinion, America is following a plan for freezing the issue of the hostages at the media level.'

Hezbollah, or Party of God, is widely believed to be the umbrella for Shiite factions holding most of the 16 foreign hostages in Lebanon.

"America can free its hostages in a very simple way." Fadlallah was quoted as saving.

'Instead, the United States is using the hostages as a blackmail card in its so-called war against terrorism," Fadlallah added, without elaboration.

Eight Americans are among the 16 Western hostages held in Lebanon. The hostage held longest is Terry Anderson, chief Middle East correspondent for The Associated Press, who was kidnapped March 16, 1985.

In Kuwait, the newspaper Al-Qabas reported Thursday that Western hostages in Lebanon could be released soon as a result of recent intensive contacts between Syria and Iran.

Numerous articles speculating on the release of Western hostages have appeared in the Lebanese and Arab press in the past few years, but few have been correct.

Syria and Iran are allies in the 14-year-old Lebanese civil war, backing the Lebanese Moslems against the Christians.

In a London dispatch, Al-Qabas quoted Arab diplomatic sources as saying the release of the foreign hostages was the key topic of talks this week between Iranian officials and Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Sharaa.

The sources were quoted as predicting the hostages would be freed in stages.

EMERGENCY LAW ENFORCEMENT MONEYS

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President. I rise to extend my warm thanks and heartfelt appreciation to my colleague, Senator Hollings, for his alacrity in including an additional \$5 million in emergency law enforcement moneys for California in the conference on the fiscal year 1990 Commerce, Justice, and the Judiciary appropria-State. tions bill.

These funds will be invaluable to the State and its law enforcement agents as they work to ensure a safe and quick restoration of Bay area cities. The Senator from South Carolina and his staff, still in the wake of disaster in their own State, have been very helpful to California as it confronts the devastation of the Loma Prieta earthquake.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Morning business has expired.

INVESTIGATION OF EASTERN AIRLINES DISPUTE

PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the Senate will resume consideration of H.R. 1231. which the clerk will now report.

The legislative clerk read as follows: A bill (H.R. 1231) to direct the President to establish an emergency board to investigate and report respecting the dispute between Eastern Airlines and its collective bargaining units.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill.

Mr. ADAMS addressed the Chair. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The

senior Senator from Washington [Mr. ADAMS] is recognized.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I rise to speak on H.R. 1231, a bill pertaining to the Eastern Airlines' dispute. Cloture to proceed on this bill was reached by the Senate on October 3, 1989. As it presently reads, H.R. 1231 directs the President to appoint an emergency board in accordance with the authority provided under the Railway Labor Act.

I might state, Mr. President, that as a former Secretary of Transportation, I handled a number of matters under the Railway Labor Act, and I want my colleagues to understand that the

Railway Labor Act is a separate type of statutory approach to settling labor disputes, as compared to the National Labor Relations Act. It applies to rail-

roads and airlines specifically.

Though I find the language of this particular bill to be a reasonable and acceptable solution to the ongoing dispute, it is my understanding that the majority leader will be offering a significant compromise over the original concept in an attempt to obtain agreement, a consensus, mind you, between the administration and the Congress on the handling of this very difficult matter which is disrupting America's aviation travel and, as such, its travel in general.

Specifically, we offer the creation of a commission, rather than the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, which will investigate the situation and make findings of fact and recommendations to the Congress and the Secretary of Transportation. The difference with the creation of an emergency board, is that the President does not appoint the membership, but that Congress also participates in the appointments. Let me emphasize the dire need for us

to act on this proposal.

Mr. President, though this is a significant compromise, I want to make it perfectly clear that as an ex-Secretary of Transportation for the United States, I find it very hard to understand the position of this administration with regard to this labor dispute.

In fact, I firmly believe that the administration through its nonactions has not only exacerbated the current labor and management relations but is participating in the crippling of a significant portion of the U.S. airline industry.

It is impossible for me to understand why this President of the United States refused to act on the recommendation of the National Mediation Board, which determined that this dispute between labor and management of Eastern Airlines substantially interrupted an essential transportation service of the interstate commerce system.

Contrary to both the National Mediation Board recommendation and the wishes of the Eastern employees, the President of the United States refused to appoint an emergency board to work out a solution. Let me point out that this is the first time in the 62year-old history of the Railway Labor Act that a President has rejected a National Mediation Board recommendation to establish an emergency board. President Reagan appointed emergency boards on 11 occasions, every time that the board, the NMB, recommended that he act.

It is vitally important that this body take the time to understand and act on this proposal. As the Secretary of Transportation who helped implement airline deregulation in the late 1970's, I have become very concerned since that time. The many protections for the employees that were placed in the bill as part of the compromise for changing the regulatory system have never taken place.

Let me be as specific as possible: Deregulation was not supposed to be a weapon against labor. Deregulation was not supposed to allow the growth of a noncompetitive oligopoly. Deregulation was not developed to allow uncontrolled mergers that sucked capital from the industry by those who are interested only in upstream cash flows and not the development of a strong competitive U.S.-based corporation.

Parenthetically I might state that transportation is different than other industries in its necessity for capital and its necessity to avoid sending money upstream for quick profits. Because of safety issues, the transportation industry requires an accumulation of capital and the spending of that capital in a careful manner, to be certain that the equipment that is being used is inspected and being used by trained people.

Mr. President, to those who argue that Congress should not be involved. they ignore the obvious public policy concerns that this dispute engenders. As a nation we now travel for great distances. In fact, most of our distance traveling is done by air. The rest to a very significant degree is done by automobile.

These are concerns, therefore, that involve more than simple labor-management disputes. The underlying issue represents efforts not only to corner a market and disrupt labormanagement relations but, as I said before, if allowed to continue will cripple a significant part of the U.S.-based airline industry.

The affected principal in this case is Texas Air. Within a corporate hierarchy house of mirrors, Texas Air oversees Continental and the remnants of three other airlines later merged into Continental: New York Air, which used to provide a shuttle service; People Express, which used to provide a low-cost service; and Frontier, which used to compete in the western market. They represent now some of the sickest airlines in the industry. The Eastern purchase which was recently implemented made Texas Air move from a small company into the largest airline company in the non-Communist world with 451 planes and 47,000 employees.

At this point, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to print in the RECORD a Wall Street Journal article that reflects this house of mirrors and how it is used.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Apr. 7, 19881

HOUSE OF MIRRORS: LORENZO'S TEXAS AIR KEEPS COLLECTING FEES FROM AIRLINE Units That Have Continuing Losses

(By Thomas Petzinger, Jr., and Paulette Thomas)

Houston.-Imagine a house of many rooms.

Every room has a paying tenant. A bank can foreclose on an individual room, but not on the whole house. The landlord has many partners, but no one can challenge his management of the property.

This is the house that Frank Lorenzo built.

As the chairman of Texas Air Corp., Mr. Lorenzo presides over some of the nation's sickest airlines-Continental, Eastern, the corporate remnants of People Express, Frontier and New York Air. All are losing money at some of the fastest rates in aviation history and rank as the industry's biggest debtors. As such, they are blocked by their lenders from paying profit to the parent company for years.

Yet thanks to Mr. Lorenzo's masterly corporate architecture, huge losses at subsidiaries don't stop cash from moving to the top. While the airlines' public debt holders anxiously watch the deficits close in on half a billion dollars, the parent company keeps raking in from the airlines an assortment of management fees, airplane rents, airportgate rents, fuel-purchase commissions and other payments. "Upstreaming" of cash company officials call this, and it totaled more than \$150 million for the parent last year.

Perhaps most remarkable. Mr. Lorenzo has built one of the most leveraged major corporations in the nation while insulating Texas Air-and himself-from most of the cost and much of the risk. As a group, the Texas Air companies have piled up \$5.4 billion in debt. Last year they had to pay \$623 million simply to service the long-term part of that debt-an interest bill higher than the annual revenue of each of nearly 100 companies at the bottom of the Fortune 500. Yet parent Texas Air paid creditors barely one-tenth that amount.

Now, reports filed with the Securities and Exchange Commission show how far the airlines have to go. The reports, among other things, list some \$7 billion in lease-related liabilities that are invisible on the balance sheet, and they show that Texas Air's once-huge cash reserves were dwindling last year at a rate of more than \$1 million a day. The situation is not without irony; the entire Texas Air empire, after a year that produced the company's biggest net loss ever-\$466 million-has just won its first unqualified auditors' opinion in five years.

All this may make the 47-year-old Mr. Lorenzo the quintessential manager-on-theedge-a live practioner of the concept that cash flow is more important than profits. Fighting a war of attrition against the losses at his ailing airlines, he buys time with a seemingly foolproof trickle-up system. If he eventually wins the war-curbs Eastern's costs and fixes Continental's service problems-his airlines, with their exceptional size and market dominance, may become for him a kind of mass-production profit machine.

Should he fail, well, the parent company could be hurt, yet it would be almost sure to remain standing. For by financing the operation so piecemeal and by draping it with so many corporate veils, Mr. Lorenzo has left most of the leverage to himself—and not to airline creditors. Mr. Lorenzo, though his personal investment is virtually nil, preserves voting control with corporate defenses that make poison pills look like penny candy.

SCRIP AND DEBT

Mr. Lorenzo declined to be interviewed, although a Texas Air spokesman responded to a list of written questions. The company has always maintained that it conducts internal transactions at arm's length, and that its overriding goal is to build profitable airlines. Texas Air, however—viewed solely as a parent company, segregated from the consolidated empire that reports financial results—ran a "modest" profit in 1987, the spokesman said.

This is a company in which internal transactions worth hundreds of millions of dolars have been conducted with house money, securities labeled "scrip." At the same time, with 24 issues of publicly traded securities listed on U.S. exchanges, Mr. Lorenzo treats the financing markets like drive-up teller windows. In one of many private placements, Eastern, desperate for \$200 million cash, last month agreed to pay 17.25%, or more than twice the prime rate.

Partly by happenstance, partly by design, Mr. Lorenzo has created one of the nation's most complex major corporations. "It took me months to figure this company out," says Richard Bilotti, who worked on Texas Air's first junk-bond issue at Kidder, Peabody & Co. and who now follows the company as a junk-bond analyst for Prudential-Bache Securities Inc. "I've opened Texas Air annual reports and documents and thought, 'I'm going to become a TV repairman."

But within the units, crisis seems to follow upon crisis. The reports to the SEC last week—"10K" filings by Texas Air, Continental, Eastern and the surviving corporate shell of People Express—spell out the problems. The parent's reports list six pages of litigation and even a 130-sponsor congressional resolution demanding a federal investigation of Texas Air's affairs.

At Eastern, executives worry that lenders could repossess assets if a threatened strike takes hold. At Continental, officials expect further big losses for the first quarter, partly from the cost of overcoming continuing customer-service problems. The reports tell how New York Air temporarily slipped into default on one lending agreement. And they show how the net worth of the entire enterprise—the largest airline operation in the noncommunist world—sank 38% last year, to just \$500 million.

Mr. Lorenzo keeps the enterprise going with techniques that range from the iron fist to the velvet glove. After cutting a deal to acquire People Express in 1986, he twice forced debt holders to accept reduced terms. Yet a few years ago, at a presentation to Standard & Poor Corp., he slipped his arm around the shoulders of a ratings agent, quietly pleaded for a bond rating better than triple-C.

To Mr. Lorenzo's critics, the structure of Texas Air is a blueprint for greed-designed by Mr. Lorenzo and a few close associates "to satisfy their own selfish desire," as the public debt holders of Continental once alleged in a lawsuit; "to destroy trade-union representation," as the machinists union claims in a suit filed this month; or to "loot Eastern for the benefit of Texas Air," as the pilots' union charges in another suit.

But if Mr. Lorenzo is intent on personal enrichment, it isn't evident from his oper-

ations to date. He does draw a \$1,000-a-day salary, has profited nicely from personal transactions with the company and has traded Texas air shares in the market adroitly. But he has hardly accumulated the kind of wealth available to most executives who personally control \$8 billion a year enterprises. Mr. Lorenzo gets his jollies running marathons rather than collecting antique cars or European guest houses.

The exotic structure of the enterprise, has, however, given him the chance to earn

a little more than mad money.

Mr. Lorenzo maintains control of the empire through a special class of supervoting stock held by his flyspeck personal holding company, Jet Capital Corp. With only 1% of the equity of Texas Air, it has 34% voting control. The investment company, which shares its headquarters and telephone number with Texas Air's New York office, also invests jointly with Texas Air and conducts other activities in whose spoils Mr. Lorenzo shares as Jet Capital's 52% shareholder.

The way Eastern Airlines has been treated in a few transactions is worth a look. For instance, according to Texas Air's SEC filing last week, Jet Capital arranged a \$1.25 million fee for itself for advising Texas Air on its recent plan to shift ownership of Eastern's East Coast shuttle to a new Texas Air subsidiary for \$225 million. In exchange for its role in "structuring" the transaction through a chain of five corporations, Jet Capital was also awarded an equity interest in the new unit.

Jet Capital, alas, may receive only part of its fee and may never receive its equity stake. For at the behest of Eastern's union leaders, a federal judge last month put the brakes on Mr. Lorenzo's efforts to continually reconfigure Texas Air, temporarily blocking the shuttle sale as a violation of Eastern's labor agreements.

Ever since acquiring debt-plagued Eastern 16 months ago, Mr. Lorenzo has been carving up the airline to bring Eastern's few profitable operations closer to home. It began with Eastern's computer-reservations subsidiaries, System One Direct Access Inc. and EAL Automation Systems Inc., which in 1986 generated \$255 million in cash. The units' profits, however, merely subsidized Eastern's huge overall deficits.

Eastern's own investment bankers had valued part of the system at between \$200 million and \$320 million. But Texas Air paid Eastern just \$100 million for the whole works—and not in cash but in a note bearing interest of only 6.5%, payable in 2001.

CONVERTIBLE INTO STOCK

"If one were creating junk, this would be at the bottom of the barrel," says Farrell Kupersmith, a senior partner in the accounting firm of Touche, Ross & Co. Today, Mr. Kupersmith advises the pilots' union at Eastern, but when Continental went through bankruptcy proceedings in the mid-1980s, he testified against the unions. Explaining his switch in sides, the accounting executive says, "We have a pro-business bias, but the system here is being abused.

Texas Air justified the terms of the transaction with the fairness opinion of an investment-banking firm. These are no mere 6.5% notes, after all. Eastern can convert them into, of all things, the common stock of its parent company; of course, for Eastern to do so profitably, Texas Air's shares would have to be worth more than their all-time high of \$51.50 apiece, according to calculations by Touche Ross. They trade at a about \$12 now.

Eastern explains the sale of the reservations system by noting that only the parent company had the wherewithal to upgrade its software and set System One on an expansion binge. Texas Air combined the former Eastern unit with CCS Automation System, Inc., a system it had picked up from Continental a year earlier for \$15 million. As a direct unit of Texas Air, it has become a third-ranked and fastest-growing reservation system in the all-important travelagent market.

But today, System One draws funds from Continental and Eastern that the airlines used to pay to themselves. These include a fee of \$1.65 for every airline reservation plus other fees, payments that total about \$130 million a year in Eastern's case alone. A Texas Air spokesman declines to say what income, if any, the parent company is drawing from this flourishing new unit. But neither do the financial statements reveal any injection of capital by the parent. In the true style of a Texas Air unit. System One has accumulated \$64 million of its own debt.

IONOSPHERE CLUB

Other assets and operations have been switched out of Eastern. For instance, it sold 11 gates at Newark International Airport to Continental for \$11 million—in a promissory note paying 10% interest. Yet Eastern sold eight gates and related facilities in the smaller market of Charlotte, N.C., to Piedmont Aviation for \$25 million. Eastern explains that the gates in Charlotte were especially valuable to Piedmont because its hub is there, and says the price paid Continental squares with other Newark gate sales.

Eastern has suspended nonstop service from its hometown of Miami to London and on more than a dozen other routes; Continental later began service on the same routes. A new unit has been created to hold Eastern's chain of members-only Ionosphere Clubs—a sure sign, Eastern's unions contend, that they, too, will be moved to Continental. Eastern says it merely wanted to segregate the profitable club chain from the airline's problems.

"Eastern's new management team is in the business of running an airline, not dismantling it," the company says in a position paper recently distributed on Capitol Hill. Until labor costs are slashed and losses reversed, the company adds, "it should not surprise anyone that the company is smaller."

If Texas Air's planes and gates and reservation systems are structured like a modular home, with movable walls for maximum flexibility, its finances seem more like a hall of mirrors.

New York Air assumed nearly \$50 million of debt in the failed Frontier Airlines subsidiary of the nearly failed People Expressbut the debt was also guaranteed by Texas Air. Eastern, though desperate for cash, paid Texas Air \$25 million—"for investment purposes"—in exchange for notes in People Express. (The notes yield 20%, a Texas Air spokesman says.)

When Continental bought 50% of Bar Harbor Airways, a commuter that feeds passengers to Eastern, the apparently grateful Eastern paid Continental a fee of \$1 million—although the whole sale was worth

only \$1.5 million.

Then there are the leases. People Express's SEC filing described one of these succinctly, if not necessarily simply: The lease, involving a Boeing 747 worth \$30 million, was "sold by the lessor in a sale and

leaseback transaction pursuant to which the aircraft was leased to a special-purpose subsidiary of Texas Air and simultaneously subleased to the airline under an operating

lease agreement."

At the operating level, such day-to-day dealings can go over the heads of even top executives. Michael Levine, a Yale Law School professor who served as president of Mr. Lorenzo's once-promising New York Air unit, always tried to make sure that the unit's public shareholders were treated fairly in transactions with Texas Air-as, he says, they were. "Other than that," he adds, 'it wasn't a concern of mine how many lawyers it came through.'

PAINT JOB

Much of Texas Air's complexity happened by accident-or by circumstance, at least. Though its planes were repainted in Continental colors, People Express remains a separate entity, an arrangement that, among other things, helps shield the rest of the empire from huge litigation claims. Frontier Airlines, though also a Continental unit, remains in Chapter 11 proceedings, which began just before its acquisition by Texas Air. Mr. Lorenzo created Texas Air Leasing so that Continental, which underwent its own bankruptcy reorganization from 1983 to 1986, could launch a feverish expansionleasing planes from Texas Air rather than trying to acquire them on its own.

Tax matters, too, drive much of Texas Air's complexity, even though as a big money-loser "Texas Air is not a taxpayer on a consolidated basis under any circumstances," as one of the company's investment bankers puts it. The company's \$7 billion in off-books liabilities consist of longterm rent payments for planes that Texas Air might otherwise own; renting them enables some profitable owner to take depreciation deductions and share the savings with Texas Air. And because the units have lost such stunning sums, dissolving their corporate identities would forfeit a windfall of future tax benefits, assuming they ever have profits to shelter.

Finally, Texas Air's financing has left Mr. Lorenzo some breathing room to wage his cost war with organized labor and to attack his operating problems. For this year and next, long-term debt will mature at a rate of only about \$300 million a year; by 1992, the cost will have climbed to more than \$500 million. And while the whole empire's debtservice costs have risen 485% in the past three years, the parent's debt-service cost has remained steady or declined slightly, without giving effect to relatively small pre-

ferred-dividend payments. Thus, in 1988, Texas Air needs only to "upstream" \$83.7 million to meet its obligations to debt holders, preferred shareholders and aircraft lessor. And while the company won't disclose how much money it expects to take in from units, it is clear the

parent will be well provided for.

Eastern and Continental burned an estimated 2.5 billion gallons of fuel last year. For efficiency's sake, a single unit, Texas Air Fuel Management Inc., supplied the fuel-but it collected a penny a gallon from the airlines for doing so. Continental currently pays Texas Air more than \$9 milion a month in rent for 51 aircraft and 21 gates. Management fees and debt-guarantee fees totaled an estimated \$32 million last year. The grand total, not counting any income from the plum reservations unit, gains on cash investments or any undisclosed income: about \$150 million.

Even that won't be enough when the company, in 1990, has to begin paying off the huge debt issues that financed its pellmell growth. But so far, nobody at Texas Air seems to be panicking.

"At some point," says Robert Snedeker, senior vice president and treasurer, "we would anticipate it would be appropriate to look for something beyond breaking even.'

Mr. ADAMS. Looking at this article, Mr. President, you can see that as a group, the Texas Air companies have accumulated up to \$5.4 billion in debt. In 1987, they had to pay \$623 million simply to service the long-term debt. Yet as this recent article that I have just placed in the RECORD points out, very little of that debt is being paid. While the public debt piles up Texas Air, as the parent company at the top of this hierarchy of this terrible conglomerate, is well insulated from these costs. On the contrary, in fact, Texas Air adds to this burden by periodically billing Eastern and others for its services.

Mr. President, this is what we call upstreaming of cash by Texas Air. It sucks the lifeblood from what was once a strong Eastern Airlines, and its ownership has kept Eastern Airlines from buying equipment, arriving at the size that it should, and becoming competitive.

For instance, Eastern is billed by Texas Air to participate in a reservation system that it once owned, but it has now been stripped from Eastern. Eastern pays approximately \$130 million per year to use what was its own system. Similarly, payment of management fees from Eastern to Texas Air averages \$6 million a year. In others words, they used to manage themselves but now they pay \$6 million for the privilege.

A Texas Air subsidiary now charges Eastern \$9 million annually for fuel. They used to buy their own fuel.

Eastern management together with Texas Air have also participated now in stripping Eastern of valuable assets, providing for additional dollars to go upstream in the cash flow. This includes the sale of valuable airplanes, gates, and slots.

Another interesting fact is found in a recent Touche Ross & Co. analysis. Very cruelly, Eastern was forced to finance its own takeover by Texas Air using \$108 million of its own cash and issuing about \$230 million in new preferred stock. Eastern also made a \$34 million loan to Texas Air and paid Texas Air a \$20 million inducement fee for purchasing Eastern. In other words, the purchaser in this case did not pay anything. The purchasee paid to be purchased. Texas Air put none of its own cash in this deal.

Let me also say, Mr. President, that in contemplating this analysis, management's assertions that high labor costs are injuring the company appear to lose credibility. This is especially true when faced with the facts that if one compares the annual average labor cost per employee in the airline industry, the average pay in this instance is below the average pay offered by five other major airline companies.

Mr. President, I have outlined this financial history to put the matter in context. There are underlying issues that go to the necessity of considering this bill. There are public policy concerns that need to be dealt with. There exists reasons that Congress should be involved.

I ask my colleagues to study this bill and the compromises that may be offered. It is imperative that we address this longstanding dispute. By moving in this direction, we also begin to address what I see are very ominous danger signals within the airline in-

dustry as a whole.

Mr. President, I hope at a later time in this debate to compare the oligopoly that exists now under deregulation with the oligopoly that was alleged to exist before all of this started. There are fewer airlines with more control over the business now than there were in the early days of the airline industry. Over 69 percent is covered by five carriers. The hub operation has gone into the basic fabric of our operation. But it is overdone and it has become a nightmare for passengers.

This is a very important time. I do not know why the President of the United States did not issue an emergency board so that there could be a cooling off period. But now it is up to

Congress to do something.

As a bit of history, I might state that when I was in the House of Representatives I was asked by the Speaker of the House to look into a railroad dispute involving West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the Pennsylvania Railroad. We worked years to make changes to develop a better railroad system.

I hope that the Congress will not shirk its responsibility to see that the airline industry adequately reviews all safety issues. The industry should not be financially manipulated. It is more than a Sears or J.C. Penney. When an airplane is not maintained it falls from the sky, it is not like a pile of sweaters falling on the floor.

I thank you very much, Mr. President, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The point of no quorum has been raised. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll

Mr. DANFORTH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the order for the quorum call is rescinded.

The senior Senator from Missouri, Mr. Danforth, is recognized.

(Mr. KERREY assumed the chair.)

Mr. DANFORTH Mr. President al

Mr. DANFORTH. Mr. President, although I find myself on the opposite side of the Senator from Washington on this legislation, I do want to say that I think the Senator has performed a service by focusing at least some of his remarks on the general issue of competitiveness in the airline industry and the state of the airline industry today, some 11 years after deregulation.

This is, indeed, a subject which deserves general attention in the U.S. Senate. As I will point out in a few minutes, my basic concern with the efforts of the Senator with the legislation that is now pending before the Senate is that it does not express general concern about the state of the airline industry. Instead, it is very narrowly targeted to one specific instance. And it is an effort by some Senators to weigh in a particular labor-management dispute. I doubt the propriety of doing that. I doubt the wisdom of the U.S. Senate, particularly more than 8 months after a strike has started, of saying, "Here we come," as a kind of Greek chorus, after the fact presenting our answers to all of the problems that have developed in this particular airline with these particular unions.

So I do not think that it is appropriate for us to be airline specific or strike specific. And I do not believe that it is appropriate for the Congress of the United States to act as a kind of court or an adjudicatory body, substituting its wisdom about the equities of a particular disagreement for the views of, say, the bankruptcy court which now has jurisdiction over this matter.

But I do want to say to the Senator from Washington that he has done us a service in directing the attention of the Senate to the more general problem of competitiveness in the airline industry. That is a matter which should be debated before the Congress of the United States. That is an issue of general policy; not a question of the Congress picking sides between two disputing factions in a particular disagreement, but rather a question of policymaking. That is what we are in the business of doing, it seems to me, of determining matters of public policy.

Clearly the circumstances in the airline industry are a matter of our own making, at least in part, because back in 1978, we decided that we were going to deregulate the airline industry. And I was a party to that. I served on the Senate Commerce Committee at the time. I believed that it was a good idea. And I believe at that time, as a matter of fact, the Senator from Washington was Secretary of Transportation. We agree that there are some areas where the Government should effectively get

out of the business of regulation and let the marketplace work. And that was the theory in airline deregulation.

But the theory was that, as we did away with the CAB [Civil Aeronautics Board] and as we moved away from Government regulation in airlines, something was going to replace regulation, and that "something" was to be competition.

So, the theory was if we did not have regulation we would have a very competitive industry and that competition would act as the marketplace regulator so prices would be contained and services would be maintained, because of competition. And, in fact, in the early days of deregulation that is precisely what happened. A large number of new entries entered the airline industry. There were some very low-fare entries. People Express comes to mind as an example of a whole new option that was made available to the traveling public.

We thought at that time, for the first few years after deregulation, the theory was correct and it was working out very well. However, Mr. President, shortly after the initial flush of success with deregulation, it became apparent that something was going seriously wrong. What was going seriously wrong were these instant entries into air transportation were going under and they were going out of business. Then, mergers began to take place.

Now we find ourselves, 11 years after deregulation, with 90 percent of the airline transportation in the United States being controlled by just eight airlines. So we have had a reversal of what we saw in the first years of deregulation and we do have a monopoly situation, particularly at the hub airports.

In my native city of St. Louis, for example, 82 percent of the passengers at Lambert Field in St. Louis are TWA passengers. Clearly, when 82 percent of the traveling public is flying on one airplane, that airline is able to do pretty much what it wants to do.

So we asked for a study by the General Accounting Office about the situation at Lambert and the GAO came back with its report. It reported that after the merger of Ozark and TWA the fares at Lambert had gone up at a rate two to three times more rapidly than the increase in fares nationally.

Then there was another GAO study about the hub airports. It turns out where there is a dominant airline the fares go up two to three times. So it is exactly the same situation we found at Lambert, except it is national in scope. It exists in Minneapolis, Memphis, wherever else there is a hub and wherever else there is a dominant airline.

It is proof of an old economic theory. It is proof that competition does work, and where there is no competition serious problems arise.

So we now have the situation in the airline industry where we have the worst of all possible worlds. We do not have regulation and we do not have competition. We have a monopoly situation. We have specific airlines that operate pretty much as they want, especially at the hub airports.

The Commerce Committee has studied this matter. I might say one of the distinguishing features between what we have done in the Commerce Committee and the legislation we now have before us is that the Commerce Committee has worked on this matter. The Commerce Committee has worked on the general question of competitiveness in the airline industry. The Commerce Committee has never worked on this bill.

I do not think it was ever even reported to our committee; never. For reasons I do not understand, this bill, which is not new, has not been referred to the Senate Commerce Committee. Not a single hearing has been held. As far as I know, not a word has been said in the Commerce Committee on the subject of the Eastern Airlines legislation.

But, where we have been very active has been in the area of the general state of the airline industry; the general question of competitiveness.

We have asked for and we have received three different studies from the General Accounting Office. We have asked for and we have received an additional study from the Department of Transportation.

We have held 3 days of hearings about those various studies and on the basis of that information and on the basis of the studies and on the basis of the hearings, we have introduced legislation. We did it just 2 weeks ago.

Senator McCain and I introduced a bill which drew upon the expert advice that was made available to us and it dealt with specific problems such as computerized reservation services; such as majority in interest clauses, which make it possible for dominant airlines to prevent the use of gates by other airlines. And we provided the possibility of a passenger charge so airports could expand and provide more gates with a preference for new entries.

We would, by this legislation, put the Federal Trade Commission back in the business of supervising competitiveness in the airline industry and using the antitrust laws to provide competitiveness in the airline industry. It is a comprehensive bill and hearings are now scheduled before the committee on this legislation: November 1 we will have a hearing on this legislation. The chairman of the Aviation Subcommittee, Senator Ford, has indicated a desire to be very cooperative in working out this legislation. I think we will be able to do the job.

That is what the Congress should be doing. Congress should be studying the large problems and fashioning industrywide solutions. Where there is no competition, we should ask ourselves why there is no competition, and we should fix that problem. And where there is too little capacity we should ask ourselves what are going to be the needs of the traveling public in the decades ahead, and we should provide for such funds as are necessary in order to provide expanded capacity for the future. That is what Congress should be doing.

I submit that what Congress should not be doing is acting as an adjudicatory body as opposed to a legislative body. What Congress should not be doing is waiting for a dispute to arise between constituents and a person who could be labeled the archenemy and then say: "Well, we are going to enter into this dispute on the side of the angels, on the side of public opinion; we are going to be a kind of National Mediation Board or a National Labor Relations Board. We are going to decide as politicians who is right and who is wrong on a specific dispute." That is what we should not be doing, Mr. President. And that is what this legislation would do.

It is said: What is wrong with getting Congress in this act? What is wrong with a Presidential emergency board? Well, there are several things that are wrong with a Presidential emergency board. The first is that the purpose of this legislation is to recreate the situation at Eastern Airlines that existed before early March of this year.

Back in February, the National Mediation Board proposed the creation of a Presidential emergency board. That was before the strike ever happened. I can remember when that strike happened. I believe that the first day was a Saturday because I was very curious as to what was going to happen in air

transportation. We thought that the whole air transportation system in this country was going to be shut down. We had been told that pilots all over the country were going to have slow-down operations; that they were going to fly by the book; that there was going to be this awful congestion; and that the country was going to be brought to its knees.

It was within that context that the suggestion was made by the National Mediation Board that a Presidential emergency board should be created and that the status quo should be maintained.

I went out to the airport by subway on a Saturday. I thought, I should not even drive; it is going to be such a mob scene out there. I got out to National Airport that Saturday afternoon in early March and, guess what? There was not any traffic problem. Cars were driving in and our of National Airport emergency.

The purpose of a Presidential emergency board is to deal with a national emergency, not simply to weigh in on one side of a labor-management disnute

As a matter of fact, it is very uncommon for a Presidential emergency board to be created. Since 1966, the National Mediation Board has not recommended a single Presidential emergency board until this year. There have been 65 strikes in the airline industry since 1966. It is not the common practice. It is not the common practice for Government to barge in in order to solve a strike. We leave that to collective bargaining, unless there is a national emergency.

The fact of the matter is that while there is undoubted hardship for individual pilots and mechanics and people who have invested their lives in Eastern Airlines—that hardship is beyond dispute-it is not what could be called an emergency in public transportation. That is why it is simply wrong to create a Presidential emergency board.

Furthermore, it is impossible under the present circumstances. It is literally impossible to do what this legislation would have us do. It is literally impossible to reestablish the status quo before early March of this year. It cannot be done. The situation has changed too dramatically.

For example, the Eastern shuttle has been sold. How, Mr. President, do we by legislation unscramble that particular egg? How do we reestablish the status quo for Eastern Airlines when the shuttle, including 21 aircraft and nearly 2,000 employees, has been sold; and when \$365 million of cash was received for the sale, which became part of a bankruptcy estate? How do we legislate that away? What do we do? Do we rebuy the planes and rebuy the shuttle somehow?

Eastern Airlines is not the airline that it was before last March. How can we recreate it by Government fiat? It now operates 70 percent of its prestrike flights. What do we do? Do we just order it to start flying the additional 30 percent? I do not think that it is possible.

Maybe it would have been possible last February before the strike ever happened. Maybe it would have been possible to freeze the status quo. Maybe it would have even been a good idea at that time. But this is 8 months plus late-81/2 months after the fact. And to say we want to go back to last February, mechanically how could that be done?

Then we have the whole question of the bankruptcy court and the fact that this is now a matter that is in litigation. It is before the bankruptcy court. There is no precedent to determine what the relation is, as a legal

and planes were flying. It was not an matter, between the bankruptcy court and a Presidential emergency board. Who is in charge here?

The idea of a bankruptcy court assuming jurisdiction is that that court can make decisions relating to the operation of the airline. Then in addition to the bankruptcy court, we create a Presidential emergency board. What if there is a dispute between them? How do you operate this operation with two heads, with two decisionmakers? Constitutionally, how can this be done?

Once jurisdiction is assumed by the bankruptcy court, then constitutionally can Congress interject itself into this dispute? I do not know the answer to that question. But I do know that the question has never been asked before the Senate Commerce Committee. We have not had any witnesses come in and tell us how we put this thing together.

Mr. President, this bill, if it was ever a good idea, is not a good idea now. If it was ever a good idea for Congress to be not a legislative body but a quasijudicial body or a mediator between sides, it is too late for that now. It is too late to do it now. It is 81/2 months too late. It cannot be done.

We might want to say, oh, we would love to do something for the pilots, for the mechanics, for the other people who have had their lives disrupted. Yes, we would. But I do not think that that is the role of Congress 8½ months after the fact. I do not think it can be done, and I do not think it should be attempted. That specific adjudicatory role is not really what Congress is all about.

Mr. President, I hope that this legislation would be voluntarily laid aside by its sponsors. I hope that we would refocus our attention on the real problem. The real problem is not a specific individual. The real problem is not a specific airline. The real problem is the health of air transportation in the postderegulation United States. That is the real problem.

That is the kind of question that legislators should address. We have introduced legislation to deal with that problem. It is before the Commerce Committee. A hearing will be held on November 1. It is my hope that we can mark it up in short order. It is a good

That is the way to deal with problems, not to pick sides and to muscle into the affairs of a bankruptcy court and to muck around in pending litigation, but to deal with underlying problems of public policy.

Mr. ADAMS. Mr. President, I have listened with great interest to the remarks of my good friend from Missouri [Mr. Danforth] on airline deregulation. I might state that I served on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in the House when this was first being considered, before be-

coming Secretary of Transportation. The reason this issue has not appeared before the Senate Commerce Committee in its particular form is that it involves a labor dispute within the Railway Labor Act. I think we are 11 years late in dealing with the competitive problems of the airline industry, and I am appalled that during the period of time when I did not serve in either the House or the Senate, there was no action to require the Antitrust Division to act upon these oligopolies. There was no action by the SEC to prevent this ladening of debt upon our airlines. Further, thought this had a deadly impact on safety, there was no action by the regulatory agencies to prevent the airline industry from being negatively treated in the so-called junk bond takeover market.

There was a very good reason for regulating the airlines in the original instance, as there were good reasons to regulate trucks and railroads in the 1890's. The airlines are a natural monopoly. I stated this to Mr. Kahn at the time when he argued that airplanes were fungible, that they could fly back and forth, and that we could in the late 1970's deregulate.

We did deregulate airlines at that time under another administration and another Senate and Congress but in a very careful way. That deregulation, which has been eloquently and accurately described by my friend and colleague from Missouri, was directed toward a process by which new entrants would come into choke points in the system, and there then would be protection for those working in the airline industry while this terrible transition occurred.

Airlines are fungible, airports are not. It was obvious to all of us who had studied the industry for many, many years that major airlines with access to capital in this country would soon impact upon the choke points, which were the airports in this country. And furthermore, the airlines would make every effort to dominate those hubs. We turned the existing airlines industry upside down.

I can remember stating again and again during the deregulation debate that some regulation must be maintained in the CAB for a peroid of 4 or 5 years and you must have a very active antitrust division. Otherwise what would occur was that the airlines would long haul, short haul the passengers just as the railroad passenger trains had done in the previous century. By that I mean the airlines would rush to the competitive routes-New York to San Francisco, New York to Los Angeles, New York to Miami. They would be able to offer competitive fares in that instance and competition would work there. We had no doubt about that. You saw the \$99 fare. We saw other cheap fares. To this day I can fly to Seattle cheaper

than I can to cities closer than from here to Seattle. I pay almost the same price to go coast to coast as I do from here to New England. I pay less to go to San Francisco, which is farther, than I do to Seattle. This is not a money competition system.

I agreed to and supported deregulation to bring in new entries, new aircraft, but on the basis that they would not be allowed to be attacked by the financial interests which had an interest in taking over only the high-density routes and cutting out and destroying not just the small cities, but the medium-sized cities as well.

Executives will not fly and marketeers will not cast their gold upon cities that have no air service or which take several jumps to get there or which are greatly impacted by landing at hubs where the weather will shut them out.

So when we talk about this bill today, there is a reason why it is cast in terms of a labor dispute. This is one of the last of the monopolies, I would say to my friend from Missouri. The original companies are nearly all gone. Nobody stopped their demise, and the big five went in and did just what we were afraid they would do. I am very familiar with what they did with TWA and Ozark in St. Louis, which became a hub. Competition vanished. It pretty well vanished in Minneapolis. It pretty well vanished in Denver, though it is struggling back a little. It is in the process of vanishing in many other medium-sized cities because we have now found we have overcrowded these big airports to an extent where we now use medium-sized cities, and when a hub falls on that, the monopoly falls on it.

Now, the reason, Mr. President, that this bill appears now is that this is our second time round. Mr. Lorenzo with Texas Air took over Continental Airlines through the bankruptcy court once before. The bankruptcy court was used at that time to break the unions and to take over Continental Airlines in such a brutal fashion that the Congress of the United States did act in that labor dispute. The Congress of the United States passed a specific law which prohibited the bankruptcy court from being able to cast aside all labor contracts. I regret that the bankruptcy judge in this chapter 11 proceeding, though it is well within his power and has been cleverly used by the litigants, has left control of this bankruptucy with the management that took it into bankruptcy. The only reason we have not had a repetition of what was done with Continental Airlines in the Texas bankruptcy is that this Congress passed a law which prohibited this type of action. We said you would simply destroy labor contracts by moving into bankruptcy.

But what has happened? Eastern Airlines uses a clever starvation tactic.

The starvation tactic is very simple. It is to sell airline properties to other parties so that, even if you had a union contract, you would not have a property to fly. It has been to buy no new airplanes, and to sell or transfer among the subsidiaries, airplanes that were already owned by Eastern.

Eastern had terrible problems coming into this deregulation period. It owned old equipment. But it had the best route system, probably, in the world if not the best one of the top three.

This internal attach was used to buttress Continental Airlines and used to financially manipulate, an oligopoly system to create the destruction of an airline.

I am glad that the Senator from Missouri and myself and everyone else were able to fly in and out of the South when this collapse started. I am concerned that once this oligopoly has carried out its course—the fares will again rise.

The question has been asked by another Senator regarding the fairness of costs. The question is why should it cost \$630 to fly a corpse on an American Airlines flight from New York to Los Angeles when it costs \$388 to fly a live passenger on an American flight from New York to Los Angeles? I think the answser to that is the competitive system has not quite worked the way we anticipated.

I might also say that the American public has benefited in ways from some lower prices. These lower prices have gone to the swift of foot and the clever of mind, and in some cases to the friendship of those who know the business. For the life of me I have never understood why it is that I seem to always pay the higher fare when someone else has some unusual type of discount.

It goes to basic economics which again shows that this is a different kind of monopoly. I say to the Senator, a monopoly different from any other monopoly in the world, and that is why some regulation is required. I will give you a personal experience. If you ever decide to fly with a dog or a pet, be certain you take them with you. I made the mistake of shipping a pet for my daughter to Seattle. It went separate from myself. It turned out that the cost for that pet was over \$400, whereas my ticket was less than \$400.

My only response to the airline was, the poor thing sat for 13 hours in Denver, because they did not put it on the same flight, and did not feed it. I worried if it was ever going to get there. For nearly \$600 it should have been in a first-class seat with a bib, and hopefully a first-class meal.

I do not understand what happened. But I certainly received a very abrupt

reply from the airlines.

What I am saying is that an airlines can price its product as it wishes. For passengers this is particularly deadly because once the pilot, the gasoline, the slot for the space is bought, it is really your first 90 seats who pay for it. The remaining seats on that airplane, if there are 10 or 20, therefore have a zero cost base. This means that when two planes take off, if one has some empty seats and the other is full-it is completely deregulatedthere is no relationship to the cost of the other carrier.

We had rules before in order that the new entrants or the half-filled planes did not automatically create an oligopoly by knocking out the other

airlines.

That is what happened in the first few years. Those with capital and power turned around and crushed it. Now you have the frequent flier, or you get a discount on a particular day. But of course you will find that your discount will never apply during the

heavy traffic season.

I am hopeful that the bill that the Senator mentioned comes to the floor. I will be very anxious to review it, I will be very hopeful the relevant issues are addressed. But this bill we are discussing today dwells on a specific problem, for a particular reason. It is to prevent the use of the bankruptcy court to attack the structure of the airline industry, and in this case the structure of one of the big five airlines.

We will try to provide some fairness for the people who spent their lives building this airline. We will try to keep the cities that have been on line with service from this airline, to retain some competition. We will not let the financial manipulations of the bankruptcy court, and a house of mirrors now known as Texas Air, leverage and cripple this airline; a crippling action that sucks cash and postpones repairs on essential equipment. We are concerned about the older skilled employees as well. We want to see an airline the American public can be proud of with service it is entitled to.

This is a dispute between labor and management under the Railway Labor Act. Again, I wish the President had appointed an emergency board. I hope now that the Congress and the administration will save what is left of this market. I say to the Senator that Air Florida is gone; People Express is

gone; Piedmont is gone.

Let us be hopeful that some new airline moves into the South to compete with Delta. I hope somebody does. Delta is a fine airline, but it would be nice to have others come in and compete. Eastern can and should. Maybe it will have a new name; maybe it will have some new personnel, but the

bankruptcy courts were never created to regulate an airline or to understand the manipulations that can take place.

People flying on an airline are entitled to safety. As I stated before, this is not like a mercantile business. Safety is a critical factor. True and

proper regulation is necessary.

I hope that we will have an opportunity to review the competitive bill Senator Danforth speaks about. But immediately we need to put competition back into the picture and move for a special commission on this matter. We need to take this from the bankruptcy court, where it is entangled. I want it manipulated mechanically with safety, not financially, for dollars and for preferred stocks and for junk bonds, making money for some New York broker.

I yield the floor, and I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum having been suggested, the clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk pro-

ceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The majority leader is recognized.

AMENDMENT NO. 1043

(Purpose: To make a substitute amendment) Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I

offer a substitute amendment to H.R. 1231.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the amendment.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Maine [Mr. MITCHELL], for himself, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Graham, Mr. FORD, Mr. DIXON, Mr. ADAMS, Mr. LIEBER-MAN, Mr. METZENBAUM, Mr. KERRY, and Mr. Bradley, proposes an amendment numbered

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further reading of the amendment be dispensed with

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. ESTABLISHMENT.

There is established a commission (hereinafter in this Act referred to as "the Commission") to investigate the labor dispute involving Eastern Airlines and the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, the Airline Pilots Association, and the Transport Workers Union. SEC. 2. MEMBERSHIP.

(a) Composition.—The Commission shall consist of four members, of which not later than 10 days after the date of enactment of

(1) one member of the Commission shall be appointed by the President Pro Tempore of the Senate:

(2) one member of the Commission shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives;

(3) one member of the Commission shall be appointed by the Minority Leader of the Senate: and

(4) one member of the Commission shall be appointed by the Minority Leader of the House of Representatives.

(b) VACANCIES.-A vacancy in the Commission shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(c) CHAIRPERSON.—The Commission shall elect a Chairperson from among the members of the Commission.

(d) MEETINGS.—The Commission shall meet at the call of the Chairperson or a majority of the Commission.

SEC. 3. DUTIES.

The Commission shall-

(1) investigate and make findings of fact and recommendations regarding the prompt and equitable settlement of the dsipute referred to in section 1:

(2) consider issues arising out of the dis-

pute: and

(3) make policy recommendations to Congress and the Secretary of Transportation concerning-

(A) the powers of the Secretary to intervene on behalf of the public interest to maintain competitiveness in the aviation industry in light of mergers, acquisitions, and bankruptcies of air carriers; and

(B) the adequacy to protect employee collective bargaining rights in bankruptcy pro-

ceedings involving air carriers.

SEC. 4. REPORT.

(a) In General.-Not later than 45 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall submit to Congress and the Secretary of Transportation a written report containing its findings and recommendations.

(b) Availability to Public.-The Secretary of Transportation shall make the

report available to the public. SEC. 5, ADMINISTRATION.

(a) Information.—The heads of executive agencies, the General Accounting Office, and the Congressional Budget Office, to the extent permitted by law, shall provide the Commission with such information as the Commission may require in carrying out the duties and functions of the Commission.

(b) COMPENSATION .-

(1) In general.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), members of the Commission shall serve without any additional compensation for work performed on the Commis-

(2) Travel expenses.—Such members who are private citizens of the United States may be allowed travel expenses, including a per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law for persons serving intermittently in the Government service under sections 5701 through 5707 of title 5. United States Code.

(c) STAFF.—Subject to the approval of the Secretary of Transportation and without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service or the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates, the Chairperson of the Commission may hire and fix the compensation of such staff personnel as the Commission determines are necessary to carry out duties and functions of the Commission.

(d) PERSONNEL AND SUPPORT SERVICES .-

(1) DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION.—On request of the Commission, the Secretary of Transportation shall furnish the Commission with such personnel and support services as are necessary to assist the Commission in carrying out the duties and functions of the Commission.

(2) OTHER AGENCIES.—On the request of the Commission, the heads of other executive agencies and the General Accounting Office may furnish the Commission with such personnel and support services as the head of the agency or Office and the Chairperson of the Commission agree are necessary to assist the Commission in carrying out the duties and functions of the Commission.

(3) REIMBURSEMENT.—The Commission shall not be required to pay or reimburse an agency or the Office for personnel and support services provided under this section.

(e) RECORD.-

(1) In GENERAL.—In accordance with section 12 of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App. 2), the Secretary of Transportation shall maintain records of—

(A) the disposition of any funds that may be at the disposal of the Commission; and

(B) the nature and extent of activities of the Commission.

(2) GAO ACCESS.—The Comptroller General of the United States shall have access to such records for the purpose of audit and examination.

(f) EXEMPTION FROM CERTAIN PROVISIONS.—The Commission shall be exempt from sections 7(d), 10(e), 10(f), and 14 of the Federal Advisory Committee Act and sections 4301 through 4308 of title 5 of the United States Code.

SEC. 6. FUNDING.

This Act shall be carried out using funds otherwise available to the Secretary of Transportation for the expenses of advisory committees.

SEC. 7. TERMINATION.

This Act and the Commission shall terminate on the submission of the report required under section 4.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, this amendment reflects the essence of a preliminary draft that was circulated prior to the earlier cloture vote on the motion to proceed: That is, to establish a commission to investigate the Eastern Airlines dispute.

The Commission would be responsible for making findings of fact and recommendations for possible settlement of the dispute—as well as for considering certain broader policy issues and making possible recommendations to Congress and the Secretary

of Transportation.

However, the substitute amendment also now contains modified provisions aimed at accommodating key concerns that have been raised by Republican Senators; namely, that the Commission needed to be more evenly balanced, and that the mandate of the Commission needed to avoid being too broad.

The Democratic sponsors of the amendment have taken these concerns by Republican Senators seriously. In order to make clear the balanced, bipartisan nature of this issue—which was reflected in the cloture vote—we have made the following changes:

First, the composition of the Commission has been increased from three to four. Selection of Commission mem-

bers would be made by the President pro tem and the minority leader of the Senate; and by the Speaker and minority leader of the House of Representatives.

That is, the size of the Commission is an even number of four. Democrats would pick two of the members, and Republicans would pick two.

The duties of the Commission also have been narrowed to include only those policy issues which are most directly relevant at this time to the Eastern dispute.

These issues include examination of the powers of the Secretary of Transportation to intervene on behalf of the public interest in situations involving mergers, acquisitions, and bankruptcies of air carriers; and examination of the adequacy of protection of collective bargaining rights in bankruptcy proceedings involving air carriers.

What has been dropped from the substitute is the focus on the impact of increased concentrations or increased foreign ownership in the airline industry; or the issue of the use of replacement workers in labor disputes. They have been dropped in order to expedite the work of the Commission, and to make its report more focused and concise.

I will repeat the changes that have been made. The substitute amendment that I am offering provides for a Commission of four members who are to be appointed equally by Democrats and Republicans. The duties of the Commission also are slightly narrower.

The essence of the substitute otherwise is the same as that which previously was announced and debated on the motion to proceed to the bill.

It is an appropriate, balanced, and reasonable proposal for investigating ongoing issues involved in the Eastern Airlines dispute.

Mr. President, I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BRYAN). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I rise to urge my colleagues to support the substitute offered by the majority leader, myself, Senator Graham, and others.

In response to concerns raised over the content of the substitute, the sponsors have agreed to several changes, in an effort to accommodate those concerns.

As modified, the substitute will establish a Commission to investigate the labor dispute at Eastern Airlines, which will soon be entering its 9th month.

The Commission will have four members, two selected by the Senate leadership, and two selected by the House leadership.

The Commission is charged with making findings of fact and recommendations for the prompt and equitable settlement of this dispute. The Commission will also make policy recommendations in two areas this dispute has brought to the forefront of attention.

The first area involves the powers of the Secretary of Transportation to intervene on behalf of the public to maintain competitiveness in the aviation industry, in light of recent mergers, acquisitions, and bankruptcies of air carriers.

The second area involves the adequacy of protection of employee collective bargaining rights in airline

bankruptcy proceedings.

This legislation should not be necessary. If President Bush had followed the unbroken precedent of naming an emergency board—a precedent that even President Reagan honored—we would have had recommendations for the settlement of this dispute 4 months ago.

Instead, President Bush ignored this time-honored procedure for obtaining objective recommendations. In every instance that the National Mediation Board has recommended a neutral emergency board to find facts and make recommendations, every President has agreed to the recommendation—except President Bush.

Secretary of Transportation Skinner has attempted to explain this decision by the administration to abdicate its responsibility. He claims there was no national emergency. This is the same Samuel Skinner who in September 1988 had called on Congress to intervene in a commuter railroad dispute in Chicago, saying it was Congress' public responsibility.

In the wake of the administration's inaction, the House of Representatives enacted legislation to mandate the creation of an emergency board, and to make the findings of fact and recommendations for the settlement of the dispute. When the Senate attempted to take up that bill, the administration and their allies in the Senate were adamantly opposed to this measure of simple fairness. They threatened to filibuster against any such attempt to establish just procedures to end the strike. The House-passed bill has languished in the Senate ever since, while the strike has continued to fester.

Six months later the strike continues, the employees of Eastern and their families have suffered great hardship, and we still have no neutral findings and recommendations for ending the dispute.

The substitute before the Senate today will create a balanced Commis-

sion, two appointed by Democrat leaders, two appointed by Republican leaders

I cannot fathom any rational reason for opposing the creating of this neutral panel to report on this dispute, and to make neutral recommendations for its settlement.

What facts are the opponents of this legislation afraid of?

What recommendations for the settlement are they hiding from?

I know Frank Lorenzo does not want the facts of this dispute to be aired. I also strongly suspect he does not want this dispute to be settled, never intended it to be settled, and does not want neutral recommendations made public. But the traveling public, the Eastern employees, and the rest of the airline industry employees have a right to know what could have averted this unprecedented tragedy, and what could still, at this late date, become a basis for settlement if Frank Lorenzo can be convinced to begin dealing in good faith.

We have gone over the facts of this dispute before, but they bear repeating.

From the time of his purchase of Eastern in 1986, Frank Lorenzo has systematically plundered Eastern of its valuable assets. His sharp dealings of Eastern triggered an article in the respected publication Financial World which observed "Eastern appears to be the victim of a corporate version of the battered-child syndrome: it is being mugged by its own parent."

Frank Lorenzo bought Eastern Airlines for \$640 million, but he put up only \$280 million of his own money. Eastern actually put up \$108 million of the cash for its own aquisition.

That was only the beginning. From day one, Frank Lorenzo has systematically siphoned cash and assets away from Eastern. The reservation system was sold for a song-to Texas Air, which is also owned by Frank Lorenzo. Eleven gates were sold at Newark for a pittance-to Continental Airlines. which is also owned by Frank Lorenzo. Eastern was forced to pay \$10 million a month to use its former reservation system, and \$6 million a year for management fees-which by any measure of truth should be called mismanagement fees.

Before the National Mediation Board declared an impasse in the dispute last February, the Board had offered both parties the opportunity to submit the dispute to arbitration. The union readily agreed—but Frank Lorenzo refused to accept a fair and impartial mediation of the dispute by a neutral arbitrator.

Serious issues were raised by events leading up to the strike, and additional serious issues have been raised by events since the strike.

The bankruptcy proceedings have been abused by Frank Lorenzo again.

He did it once before with Continental Airlines. Congress closed one loophole after that abuse, but other loopholes are still large enough for antiworker chief executives to slip through.

Obviously, Congress cannot act now to unscramble the eggs that Frank Lorenzo has scrambled since last March. But there is still time to bring a measure of justice to this irresponsible dispute.

One corporate raider should not be able to sabotage a distinguished airline with 50 years of service, and destroy the hopes and dreams of 30,000 Eastern families.

At every step of the way, the normal process for peaceful settlement of this dispute has been blocked by Frank Lorenzo. In his numerous nefarious antiworker maneuvers, Frank Lorenzo has been aided and abetted every step of the way by the Bush administration. That is wrong, and it is long past time for Congress to act. The traveling public and the workers of America deserve a fair and objective assessment of the issues in this long and endless strike. And the Eastern employees who have suffered so much for so long deserve no less. I urge the Senate to approve the substitute we are propos-

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask that I may proceed as if in morning business for 5 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

U.S. CHEMICAL WEAPONS ARMS CONTROL POLICY

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I have heard a couple of statements today on chemical weapons and arms control generally. I wanted to set the record straight. Last month President Bush announced several new initiatives in the area of chemical weapons arms control. As all of us here in the Senate know this is probably the toughest arms control problem we have. It is tough for two major reasons. Chemical weapons are easy to produce and easy to hide, so that means the verification task is extremely difficult. This administration has not run away from this task. Rather, it has tried to make progress, both bilaterally with the Soviets and multilaterally with the conference on disarmament, also known as the CD.

As part of this effort, the United States offered the Soviets a proposal for early pretreaty data exchanges and trial inspections. The President hoped this would not only help to answer difficult verification questions, but would also help to boost progress at the multilateral talks at the CD in Geneva.

In addition, last month at the United Nations the President announced that as part of a global treaty banning chemical weapons, the United States would reduce its chemical weapons stockpile by 98 percent over 8 years, and would eliminate the remaining 2 percent at the 10th year given worldwide participation.

The United States also challenged the Soviets to asymmetrical reductions to equal levels at 20 percent of the current United States stockpile.

All in all, these are major initiatives that I believe demonstrate the commitment this administration has made to finding a solution to the problem of chemical weapons arms control.

But, despite these efforts, some in this body have criticized the President for seeking to keep a deterrent—a modern and credible deterrent—until we are sure there is worldwide participation in a treaty banning chemical weapons.

It seems to me that this is a reasonable and responsible policy. We need some insurance in case we do not get worldwide participation. Keeping our chemical deterrent credible will provide us with that insurance.

As much as we may want to see arms control progress in the area of chemical weapons and elsewhere, the United States needs to look for action, not words, especially when U.S. national security is involved.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescind-

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

INVESTIGATION OF EASTERN AIRLINES DISPUTE

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I rise as a cosponsor and strong supporter of the Mitchell-Kennedy amendment to create a blue ribbon Commission to investigate the labor dispute at Eastern Airlines. Unless we take action soon to help resolve this bitter labor dispute, I believe we face the loss of what was once one of America's greatest airlines. One thing is clear, the administration will not lift a finger to help settle this dispute.

For 60 years, under the Railway Labor Act, Presidents have appointed emergency boards to resolve transportation labor disputes. The Reagan-Bush administration created 11 such emergency boards. President Bush could have and should have appointed an emergency board months ago. But he ignored 60 years of precedent. He ignored the recommendation of the National Mediation Board and the result has been a nightmare for workers and consumers as well.

The families of 30,000 Eastern workers continue to suffer. There has been major disruption of commerce and dramatically reduced air service for dozens of cities in this country. American consumers have had to juggle travel plans and must worry about flying on a "new" Eastern, with inexperienced flight and ground crews.

The President has been lavish in his praise for labor unions in Poland and I respect that and I think that is great. They are breaking down totalitarian barriers and I think they deserve our full support. But unfortunately this administration seems more supportive of the foreign unions in Poland than of the needs of American working men and women.

I am proud to say, Mr. President, I walked the picket line with the Eastern employees. These are family people. These are people who are looking for nothing more than a job with a decent wage and are willing to perform a full day's work for that wage.

These men and women have devoted their lives to Eastern. They went on strike rather than participate in the destruction of their airline. And on strike they remain. These workers—machinists, pilots, and flight attendants—want to work if they are treated fairly.

But fairness is not a part of the current Eastern management plan. Likewise, competence also has no place in the Eastern management operation. This once great airline-and it was a great airline in yesteryear—is now led by one of America's worst aviation buccaneers, Frank Lorenzo. Mr. Lorenzo is not interested in running a profitable airline. He is more interested in playing games in the corporate world, shifting one company's assets into his giant holding company and busting unions. According to the Wall Street Journal, Mr. Lorenzo has been transferring assets and cash from Eastern to Continental for years. In transaction after transaction, hundreds of millions of dollars in assets and cash, including a reservation system and airport gates, have been drained from Eastern for the benefit of some other unit in the Lorenzo corporate maze.

I remember the article in the Wall Street Journal. It was unbelievable how Mr. Lorenzo had moved these assets from one place to the other and played games. It was like his own game of monopoly. The only thing is it did not work very well.

The facts are telling. In 1982, Mr. Lorenzo bought Continental Airlines and, within a year, he had forced it into bankruptcy. Under protection of the bankruptcy court, he broke the union and hired low-wage, nonunion replacements. Six years later, Continental has the lowest wage structure in the industry, but it still lags far behind profitable unionized airlines like United, American, and USAir.

In 1986, Mr. Lorenzo bought People Express and Frontier Airlines. I remember People Express. I was going to that airline to get on it, and there was a mob of people, literally a mob, the kind of which I had never seen before, waiting to get on the airline, begging for seats. He should have had a profitable airline. But he bought People and he bought Frontier and he closed them both down and folded the assets into his giant holding company. He does not know how to run a good airline. Mr. Lorenzo is excellent at playing games with airlines, but he does not know how to run a good airline and never has run a good airline.

Unfortunately, history is repeating itself at Eastern. Mr. Lorenzo bought that airline in 1986. He piloted—the only thing he knows how to pilot—he piloted that airline into bankruptcy after he was unwilling to go to binding arbitration to end the dispute. The bankruptcy rules have been changed to prevent the abuses of the Continental bankruptcy. Mr. Lorenzo's high-priced lawyers are trying to manipulate those new rules to reach the same result: Bust the union and hire low-wage replacements.

The new Eastern is a shadow of its former self. Mr. Lorenzo will tell you how he is running so many flights and how they are up to so much capacity, but the fact is that the airline's creditors are unsure the new Eastern will ever really take off. Eastern already was carrying nearly \$2 billion in debt, and it is losing millions of dollars per day. Financial advisers for the creditors have predicted that the new Eastern will need to borrow more than a billion dollars in the next 3 years and can anticipate losses exceeding \$500 million during that period.

I have grave concerns that we may lose Eastern as a viable airline. That is the last thing we need in this deregulated industry. Mr. Lorenzo is the best example of what is wrong with the deregulated airline industry. Hardly a day goes by without a story about a merger, leveraged buyout, takeover attempt, or bankruptcy in the airline industry. This free-for-all is not good for the industry. It is not good for workers, and it sure as the devil is not good for the passengers of this country.

I was talking with one of my colleagues a few days ago about how much it costs to take a reasonably short flight into some of the communities of Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, and other places where you have to make connections, and how much more it costs than to fly from Washington to Los Angeles or New York to Los Angeles. Unfortunately, since deregulation, 78 airlines, including Braniff twice, have filed in bankruptcy court. Ten airlines now control 94 percent of the market, and passengers have never been so dissatisfied. They are worried about safety, and understandably so. They are fed up with poor service. You get a box handed to you when you get on an airplane when you travel a distance-that is your lunch or that is your dinner. They are tired of rising fares and inconvenient schedules.

That is why Congress must show some leadership. The first step is the creation of this blue ribbon Commission. The proposed Commission would be bipartisan and balanced, two members appointed by the House, two by the Senate. Both sides of the aisle will be equally represented. The Secretary of Transportation has indicated that he does not want to participate in the Commission. We have taken him at his word and limited the Commission to congressional appointees. Within 45 days, the Commission will report back recommendations on how to resolve the dispute and how to protect workers and the traveling public from disruptions in airline service. What is reported may be helpful and may bring the parties together. The bipartisan Commission is the least we can do to help workers and to protect the traveling public.

I urge my colleagues to show leadership on this issue by supporting the amendment. Nobody says that the Commission's decision or determination will be the final word. But we owe it to those who have participated and are involved in this strike. They are decent American people. They want nothing more than to have an opportunity to work at a decent wage and decent working conditions. The American people want nothing more than the opportunity to fly the planes of this country and to pay a fair rate, and they want to be able to do so on airlines that are safe.

The Eastern machinists, the Eastern pilots, the Eastern flight attendants are as fine a group of people as you can find anywhere in the country, and they deserve our support. They deserve our support not in saying they are right about this labor dispute or they are wrong, but they deserve our support in seeing to it that there be a bipartisan Commission that has an opportunity to examine the issues, to make the effort to bring the parties together, and, if not that, to make

their recommendations as to how the dispute can be settled.

Mr. President, I think we owe them and we owe the country nothing less. I hope we will see fit to adopt this legislative proposal. I yield the floor.

Mr. SASSER addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee is recognized.

EARTHQUAKE RELIEF

Mr. SASSER, Mr. President, in a few days, we will take up a new continuing resolution, and we will also be considering a substantial aid package for earthquake relief in California. We all know the magnitude of this terrible tragedy that occurred on the west coast. We have all seen the devastating film footage coming out of San Francisco and the San Francisco-Oakland area. I do not believe, Mr. President, there will be a single Senator on either side of the aisle who would oppose spending whatever it takes to assist the people of California, who, I might say parenthetically, have responded in their time of crisis with remarkable courage and integrity.

Certainly moments of crisis are exactly the wrong time for us to be bent over our balance sheet calculating the profit or loss of this particular matter. Even the chairman of the Budget Committee occasionally, I say to my friend from Ohio, has to take off the green eyeshade, for the truth of the matter is, I know of no expenditure this year that is more warranted or more necessary, more a direct consequence of what is Government's most fundamental function than what is occurring in California.

But I think, Mr. President, that raises the problem to which I would like to draw the attention of my colleagues.

We are, I think, refusing to respond to these fundamental demands of Government, and they are fundamental in the sense that Government is being asked to restore order out of chaos in the San Francisco-Oakland area, to be of assistance to those people who cannot help themselves.

But we need to respond to this fundamental demand in a responsible way. With the California earthquake relief, we are contemplating some \$3.5 billion in total aid.

I heard this morning the distinguished Senator from New York [Mr. Moynihan] indicating over national public radio that actually we were looking at a \$5 billion package, and I suspect Senator Moynihan may be close to accurate.

Superimposed on that is relief for Hurricane Hugo, an equally compelling natural disaster. We appropriated \$1.1 billion to aid the victims of Hurricane Hugo.

In terms of outlays, we are looking at an addition of \$2 billion to 1990 expenditures in cash dollars. Again, I want to say to my colleagues that is entirely justified. We should spend whatever it takes. But the question comes, are we standing up and acknowledging the most urgent responsibilities of this Government? Are we squarely confronting the very necessary demands that are being made on the Federal Treasury? I would say unequivocally, in this Senator's judgment, we are not.

Even in the case of expenditures that are supported by virtually every Member of both Houses of Congress, we play the old Gramm-Rudman "hide-the-spending" games and then we simply resort to larger deficits, increased borrowing, and setting the bill off to future generations, to our children and our grandchildren. It will be they who will pay the cost of Hurricane Hugo and the San Francisco earthquake that occurred in the year 1989, and they will be paying that cost for decades to come.

With Hugo relief, we did not want to fix responsibility for the spending on any particular committee or any particular jurisdiction because under the Gramm-Rudman law that would require some kind of offsetting cut in other programs. So we simply declared the relief aid "mandatory."

Now, simply because it is declared mandatory and circumvents the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets does not mean it does not contribute to the deficit. It does not mean that the Treasury has to go out on the open money markets and borrow the money, but it does so in an automatic way rather than a discretionary way, and it saves Congress and it saves the President from having to go to the American people and take the burden of deciding from where the resources are going to come.

With the earthquake relief, we are resorting to a simple method of rules of choice in this budget year. With the earthquake relief, we will waive Gramm-Rudman and declare the expenditure is not subject to the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings restraints. We raise the deficit once again, but still we come in within the overall targets and therefore we do not worry about from where the money is coming.

The President of the United States journeys to California and he tells the gallant people of the San Francisco-Oakland area: Do not worry, relief is on the way; the Federal Government will do its part; there will be no redtape; we will be there when you need us.

I wonder from where the President of the United States thinks this money is coming? Perhaps from the same place that the funds for his education programs are supposed to come; perhaps from the same place that his space money is going to come; perhaps

from the same place that his war on drugs funds are going to come; and the list goes on and on.

I would like to applaud my colleague, the senior Senator from New York, who simply said we have to be willing to stand up and say let us pay as we go.

I think the natural disasters of the past 2 months only reconfirm the fact that we have allowed ourselves to be strapped into a budgetary straitjacket. We cannot respond in a meaningful way even to the most pressing and dire needs of the American people without some gimmick to circumvent Gramm-Rudman. If we simply must have a new program, we also have to find a way to pay for it.

I say to you, Mr. President, I see no leadership coming from this administration or from the White House on how we are to deal with the most pressing social and economic needs of our people, and no leadership on how we deal with even the problem of a natural disaster.

After having seen a government operate for over 200 years that did deal with natural disasters, that did come up with the means for dealing with them, we see ourselves, some less than 11 years from the year 2000, promising all of these things but having no idea of how we are going to pay for them other than to go to the window and say, "Let us borrow the money and let us let the American people worry about paying for the San Francisco earthquake in the year 2020 perhaps. or pay for the disaster of Hurricane Hugo some 20 or 30 or 40 or 50 years down the line."

There has to be a more responsible way of dealing with the needs of our Government than that.

I yield the floor.

Mr. METZENBAUM. Mr. President, I heard the remarks of the distinguished chairman of the Budget Committee, and I want to commend him for zeroing in on the issue. I think he reflects the views of many of us that we will do what we have to do with respect to the victims of the earthquake in California, and we will do what we have to do with respect to the victims of the hurricane in South Carolina, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

But I think he also makes his point very well. It is time for us to start dealing with reality. The administration must face up to our needs with respect to education, our needs with respect to the homeless, and our needs with respect to the challenge of the drug problem in this country.

The administration keeps telling us about these problems but does not help us by providing any leadership in finding the answers to how to deal with them. We find the money for the earthquake, we find the money for the hurricane, but somehow we do not

find the money for some of the other tragedies that exist in this country. Those people who do not have a place to sleep tonight in other parts of the country beside San Francisco or South Carolina are living a tragedy, too.

Carolina are living a tragedy, too.

When we ask, "Where is the money going to come from?" Some of us have said before it ought to come from some of those European countries where we station our troops and spend millions. They ought to be carrying a fairer share of the burden of those

troops in Europe.

The other day some of us heard the President of Korea, when he came before the joint session of Congress, say, "Whatever you do, do not recall your troops. We need your assistance. We need the message it sends to the

North Koreans."

But what the President of Korea left unsaid was that "we in Korea now are doing very well financially and, as a matter of fact, we in Korea are having an impact upon your economic success here in this country, and jobs in this country. But we want your troops, and we in Korea are therefore prepared to come forth with our dollars to help pay for the cost of maintaining those troops in Korea. That is our share for

the responsibility."

I think on the whole issue of burden sharing, I say to my colleague, and I again want to say that I am proud to work with him, proud of his leadership in this area in the Budget Committee and so many other areas in this Congress, but if we can find the money for the earthquake and the hurricane, we can also find the money for some other needs that exist with respect to tragic problems existing in this country. But we cannot do that unless we have the administration joining with us to help develop a program to solve those problems, to meet those challenges, not based on politics, with a sense of responsibility for all of the people of this country.

Mr. President, I am pleased that the Budget Committee of the U.S. Senate is led by the distinguished Senator

from Tennessee, JIM SASSER.

Mr. SASSER, Mr. President, I want to thank my able and distinguished friend from Ohio for his very kind remarks. It has been my pleasure, I might say, to serve with my distinguished friend from Ohio now for almost 13 years. I came to the Senate the first time we were sworn in together; it was his second election to the Senate at that time. I have looked to him with great admiration since the first time I met him. I very much appreciate his leadership in so many areas here in the Senate.

If I can just follow on very briefly, because some of my colleagues are waiting to speak here in just a moment, what we are seeing now I think is virtually unprecedented in American history. That is a sense that

there is no tomorrow as far as fiscal affairs are concerned; do not worry, be happy. Tomorrow will take care of itself. There seems to be no sense of responsibility for the generations that are coming. It is just working toward the next election or meeting the next Gramm-Rudman-Hollings targets.

When I say that is virtually unprecedented in the history of this country, I know of no other President or no other administration save the one immediately preceding the present one in office that simply seems to take no responsibility with for what occurred with regard to the budget deficit or

fiscal planning.

I am sure my friend from Ohio will recall that the last budget surplus we had in this country was in 1969. Interestingly enough, that came at a time when this country was fighting the third largest war and the second most expensive war in our 200-year history. We had that budget surplus in 1969 simply because the President of the United States at that time, Lyndon Johnson, and the leadership of the Congress realized that if they were going to prosecute this year in Southeast Asia they needed to pay for it. They did pay for it and we had a budget surplus in fiscal year 1969. We have not had one since then.

So I thank my friend from Ohio for his very kind words, and I see our friend from Nevada standing there. I feel like I am impinging upon his time.

So I yield the floor.

Mr. REID addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Robb). The Chair recognizes the Sena-

tor from Nevada [Mr. REID].

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I also would like to comment on the statement made by the chairman of the Budget Committee. I certainly applaud the statement. It reminds me of when I first started practicing law. I had just gone to work. One morning I came to work early. The senior partner was there. He indicated he was a little down in the dumps. I said, "Bill, what is the matter?" He said, "Well, you know, my wife thinks I just come down here every day and shake the tree and the money falls out of it." That is about like the situation the chairman of the Budget Committee finds himself in. The President is making statements as if what we do is shake a tree and the money falls outstatements made about fighting the drug problem, not once, not twice, but three times, none of which had any money connected with it. It was up to the Senate and principally Senator Byrd, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, who said we can no longer talk about fighting the drug problem. We have to do something about it education, Hugo, the earthquake.

So I really commend and applaud the Budget Committee chairman for talking about a problem that actually exists, not one that does not exist. We do not have a money tree here that can be shaken at will and the money falls out.

EARTHQUAKES IN NEVADA

Mr. REID. Mr. President, the second worst earthquake in U.S. history hit the bay area in California on October 17. The University of California seismologists tell us that the earthquake. which registered 6.9 on the Richter scale, is approximately equal to the one that killed 25,000 people in Armenia last year. All in all, the densely populated bay area was fortunate; fortunate for a couple of reasons. One was there was not a greater loss of life. and we are all happy about that; two, that they had done such a good job, the people in California, of preparing for that earthquake.

Certainly, their being a neighbor of the State of Nevada, we recognize the hardships they are going through, and certainly want to offer our assistance in any way we can. It has been done by the Governor of the State saying in effect that California had a blank check, and Nevada will help in any

way they can.

Mr. President, a little-known fact, however, is the potential for an earth-quake of the same magnitude in Nevada. Nevada lies in one of the most active earthquake regions in the Nation. This area averages one major tremor measuring 6 on the Richter scale every 27 years, and it has done so since records were maintained in the mid 1800's.

In 1954 alone-1 year-four quakes measuring between 6.6 and 7.2 on the Richter scale caused significant damage in the Lahontan Valley, an area some 75 miles east of Reno. The worst earthquake in the State registered 7.6 on the Richter scale in 1915; fortunately, it occurred in a rural part of Nevada, in an area known as Winnemucca. The ground moved in some areas 10 to 20 feet. There were no deaths because of the remoteness of the area. An engineering geologist for the Nevada Bureau of Mines states "We should anticipate another major earthquake in western Nevada in the near future." The "big one," as it is called, could hit Nevada at any time. Little attention is focused on this fact because the larger earthquakes have occurred in less populated regions of the State, areas literally laced with thousands of fault lines. But where is the famous repository? Where are they attempting to place the nuclear waste repository? It is in a remote area of Nevada, but not as remote as people would think. The sad part about it, Mr. President, is that the proposed high-level nuclear waste repository sits right on one of these faults.

These are not fault lines that will have to be studied and names attached to them some time in the future.

These are actually faults that are in existence now and have been studied for years-faults with the name of Olinghouse, Carson, Walker Lane, Northern Death Valley, Fish Lake Valley, Sierra Nevada Frontal Fault Zone and, Mr. President, these are earthquakes in areas that we have already monitored 6.6 on the Richter scale, 6.7, 7.1, 6.3, 7.3 and on and on, in areas that are near the repository; one of them occurred below Hawthorn, 7.3. That is not far from the repository. You have Tonopah, and then you have Yucca Mountain, an area that you can judge by tens of miles, not hundreds of miles.

State of Nevada scientists have raised concerns in the past about the suitability of licensing the proposed high-level waste repository at Yucca Mountain, which is less than a hundred miles from Las Vegas. Even Department of Energy scientists have questioned the wisdom of the site.

In a report finalized in December of 1987, and made public more recent than that, a Department of Energy scientist by the name of Jerry Szymanski, stated that Yucca Mountain may be "approaching conditions that will result in major fault movement and a rapid rise in groundwater, perhaps to a level at or above that of DOE's repository horizon."

Here is that man that after making this courageous statement, was lucky not to lose his job. Szymanski speculates that the repository could become fractured and flooded during the next 10,000 years, leading to a loss of waste isolation. Future pressures beneath Yucca Mountain could force water into the storage caverns through cracks and rocks.

Future pressures beneath Yucca Mountain could force water into the storage caverns through cracks in rock. In other words, water can eat away at the cannisters allowing release of this deadly waste.

DOE officials tell us that in excess of five earthquakes a day have been recorded in the State of Nevada. Most of these quakes, of course, are relatively minor, but some register in the magnitude of four on the Richter scale.

Headlines across the country have diligently reported the loss of life, injuries and the billions of dollars in structural damage caused by the earthquake in California. Imagine what headlines would say about a similar occurrence at the Nation's repository where at least 70,000 metric tons of poisonous radioactive waste is contemplated to be stored.

Mr. President, in a Las Vegas newspaper on this day, there are some words written by an individual that I think deserve our attention:

What happened in San Francisco is important to Yucca Mountain and the nuclear repository program, because it showed graphically how vulnerable human engineering still is and the vagaries of nature and the discrepancies between design and concrete and steel reality.

Among other things in this Sunday article:

The attempt to put the country's nuclear waste in an old Nevada volcano within an earthquake-prone region is sheer political folly. Let us hope the San Francisco quake has managed to shake some sense into Congress and the Department of Energy.

For those commuters driving home from work on the Nimitz Freeway in Oakland on Tuesday, the chances of being hit and killed by a falling freeway, an engineered structure, at 5:04 p.m. on an otherwise normal and uneventual evening were infinitesimal. Next time DOE begins quoting probabilities and talking about acceptable risks at Yucca Mountain, think about those unsuspecting commuters; for them, those low probabilities became 100 percent certainty in a matter of seconds.

I vield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does any Senator seek recognition?

Mr. GRAHAM addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Florida [Mr. GRAHAM].

INVESTIGATION OF EASTERN AIRLINE DISPUTE

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, this week we will continue debate on the need of legislative action to assist in the resolution of the dispute at Eastern Airlines, and to utilize lessons of this dispute to reassess public policy applicable to all of this Nation's commercial aviation industry.

In the 7 months since Eastern Airlines filed for bankruptcy, there has been a flurry of activity in the airline industry; including the bankruptcy of another major airline, Braniff Airlines, a major stock market decline precipitated in large part by the inability of the suiters of the United Airlines to secure financing for a highly leveraged acquisition, and the upward pressure on airline tickets resulting from decreased competition.

In 1988, the average cost per mile flown was 24 cents. Thus far in 1989, the cost to airline passengers has soared to 30 cents per mile flown. The Eastern experience has raised a number of questions regarding the effects of deregulation on individual airlines and the industry as a whole.

This amendment proposes an avenue for finding answers to those questions. We know some answers; what we do know is that since deregulation in 1978, dozens of new airlines that originally opened shop have since gone bankrupt or have been taken over by larger airlines.

From 1983 to 1987, the market share of the top eight airlines in America increased from 74 to 91 percent. Fundamental changes in the airline industry have made it more difficult for new

airlines to compete with established airlines, and for existing airlines to expand their operation.

The Secretary of Transportation, Samuel Skinner, has acknowledged that "what we know as the airline industry today will be dramatically different 10 to 20 years from now."

Mr. President, we should not wait 10 or 20 years to see what becomes of the competitive airline industry in this Nation. By reviewing the questions raised in the Eastern Airlines situation, we can work now to make adjustments that may be necessary in our aviation policy to assure a competitive airline market tomorrow. This is not a partisan issue.

The amendment we propose would create a balanced board to conduct an independent review of the Eastern situation and the questions it has posed for policymakers. The circumstances of Eastern Airlines presents many of the fundamental issues facing the industry and its users, such as the consequences of exhorbitant debt on an airline's capability to function safely and with service which is convenient to the public, the effects of deregulation on effective supervision of airline operation, and airline labor practices in a deregulated environment.

Mr. President, this is not a rehash of past investigations. To quote from a statement which I entered into the RECORD on October 3:

To date, no entity has taken a comprehensive look at the Eastern situation or its implication for the overall health of the airline industry.

For more than a year, the National Mediation Board focused on labor and management disputes.

The bankruptcy court has focused for 6 months on the economic stability of the company and its responsibilities to its creditors.

The Department of Justice, and Department of Labor, the Department of Transportation, and even the Department of the Treasury have all dealt with the Eastern situation within the boundaries of their particular jurisdiction.

But this piecemeal approach is not efficient or effective for addressing the broader issues at stake.

This amendment proposes an avenue for taking that much-needed comprehensive look.

The amendment specifically limits the independent commission to making recommendations for the prompt and equitable settlement of the Eastern dispute, the powers of the Secretary of Transportation to maintain a competitive aviation industry, and the adequacy of protection of employee collective bargaining rights in airline bankruptcy proceedings.

What this is, Mr. President, is a responsible effort to take a comprehensive look at the structurally vulnerable airline market with the benefit of lessons learned in the Eastern Airlines situation.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does any Senator seek recognition?

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum has been suggested. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LIEBERMAN). Without objection, it is so

ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be a period for morning business, with Senators permitted to speak therein.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

HASTINGS IMPEACHMENT TRIAL DOCUMENT TO BE PRINTED

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, on behalf of Senator Bingaman, I ask unanimous consent that a Senate document relating to the Hastings impeachment trial be printed to include the material contained in the document I now send to the desk.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. With-

out objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESI-DENT RECEIVED DURING RECESS

Under the authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1989, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 20, 1989, during the recess of the Senate, received a message from the President of the United States transmitting sundry nominations; which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received on October 20, 1989, are printed in today's RECORD at the end of the Senate pro-

ceedings.)

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 3:18 p.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Ms. Goetz, one of its reading clerk's announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 3402. An act to promote political and economic democracy in Poland and Hungary as those countries develop and implement programs of comprehensive economic reform.

MEASURES PLACED ON THE CALENDAR

The following bill was read the first and second times by unanimous consent, and placed on the calendar: H.R. 3402. An act to promote political and economic democracy in Poland and Hungary as those countries develop and implement programs of comprehensive economic reform.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-1810. A communication from the Secretary of Agriculture, transmitting, pursuant to law, the first annual report on long-term agricultural trade strategy; to the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry.

EC-1811. A communication from the Secretary of Transportation transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the flight plan and transponder requirements in support of drug interdiction; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

EC-1812. A communication from the Acting Administrator of the General Services Administration, transmitting an informational copy of a building project survey report for Omaha, NE/Council Bluffs, IA; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-1813. A communication from the Assistant Secretary for Legislative Affairs, U.S. Department of State, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to implement the obligations of the United States under the Inter-American Convention on International Commercial Arbitration; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

EC-1814. A communication from the chairman of the Council of the District of Columbia, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of D.C. Act 8-91 adopted by the council on September 26, 1989; to the Committee on Governmental Affairs.

EC-1815. A communication from the Chairman of the National Advisory Council on Educational Research and Improvement, transmitting, pursuant to law their fiscal year 1988 report; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-1816. A communication from the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Advisory Council on Education, transmitting pursuant to law the annual report of the council for fiscal year 1988; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-1817. A communication from the Chairman of the National Council on Vocational Education, transmitting, pursuant to law, the annual report of the council for fiscal year 1988; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-1818. A communication from the designated Federal official of the National Board, Fund for the Improvement of Post-secondary Education, Department of Education transmitting pursuant to law the annual report of the board for fiscal year 1988; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-1819. A communication from the Presiding Officer of the Advisory Council on Education Statistics, Department of Education, transmitting, pursuant to law the 15th annual report of the council; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-1820. A communication from the Chairman of the Advisory Committee on Student Financial Assistance, transmitting pursuant to law, the first annual report of

the committee; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-1821. A communication from the Chairman of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education, transmitting pursuant to law, the 15th annual report for fiscal year 1988; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-1822. A communication from the Chairman of the National Advisory Board for International Education Programs, Department of Education, transmitting pursuant to law, the annual report of the board for fiscal year 1988; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-1823. A communication from the Chairman of the National Advisory Committee on Accreditation and Institutional Eligibility, Department of Education, transmitting pursuant to law, the annual report of the committee for fiscal year 1988; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-1824. A communication from the Secretary of Education, transmitting, pursuant to law, the fiscal year 1988 report of the National Advisory and Coordinating Council on Bilingual Education; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

EC-1825. A communication from the Secretary of Education, transmitting, pursuant to law, the fiscal year 1988 annual report of the National Advisory Council on Adult Education; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

INTRODUCTION OF BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

The following bills and joint resolutions were introduced, read the first and second time by unanimous consent, and referred as indicated:

By Mr. GRAHAM (for himself and Mr. Mack):

S. 1780. A bill to authorize issuance of a certificate of a documentation for employment in the coastwise trade of the United States for the vessel Camelot; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

By Mr. INOUYE (for himself, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. REID, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. MCCAIN, and Mr. BURDICK):

S. 1781. A bill to establish as the policy of the United States the preservation, protection, and promotion of the rights of native Americans to use, practice, and develop native American languages, to take steps to foster such use, practice and development, and for other purposes; to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

By Mr. KENNEDY (for himself, Mr. Hatch, Mr. Adams, Mr. Durenberger, Mr. Harkin, Mr. Jeffords, Mr. Pell, Mrs. Kassebaum, Mr. Simon, Mr. Matsunaga, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Metzenbaum, Ms. Mikulski, Mr. Bentsen, Mr. Packwood, Mr. Cranston, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Dole, Mr. Riegle, Mr. Chaffe, Mr. Moynihan, Mr. D'Amato, Mr. Bradley, Mr. Hatfield, Mr. Kohl, Mr. Specter, Mr. Sanford, Mr. Gorton, Mr. Glenn, Mr. Sarbanes, Mr. Leahy, Mr. Wirth, Mr. Levin, Mr. Kerry, Mr. Lautenberg, Mr. Biden, Mr. Lieberman, Mr. Gore, and Mr. Robb):

S. 1782. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for the establishment of an AIDS treatment assistance program for low-income individuals, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

STATEMENTS ON INTRODUCED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS

By Mr. GRAHAM (for himself and Mr. Mack):

S. 1780. A bill to authorize issuance of a certificate of documentation for employment in the coastwise trade of the United States for the vessel *Camelot*; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

CERTIFICATE OF DOCUMENTATION FOR VESSEL "CAMELOT"

• Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, the vessel Camelot is one of nine Mayflower 40 ketches, designed by the American team of Angelman and Davies and built by the United States company American Marine, Inc. in Hong Kong in the early 1960's.

The owners, Matt and Gail Taylor, purchased the Camelot in November 1988, with the hope of mounting an excursion vessel business. They were told by the previous owner that there would be no problem in receiving the necessary licenses because Camelot was built by an American company. They subsequently learned they were misinformed. There was no intent to defraud; the previous owner used the vessel strictly for personal use and had done some research but had not encountered the Jones Act restrictions that certificate of documentation be restricted to vessels actually built in the United States.

Although the vessel was built by an American company, it was done so in Hong Kong and therefore does not meet the United States-built requirement of the Merchant Marine Act of 1920. To use Camelot on a commercial basis in U.S. waters, a statutory waiver is needed.

Mr. President, I have reviewed the Taylor's request for a waiver of section 27 of the Merchant Marine Act of 1920. They have demonstrated their sincerity: since purchasing the vessel for \$70,000, they have spent an excess of \$90,000 in repairs at one of Jackson-ville, Florida's boat refurbishing facilities, Huckins Yacht Corp. Moreover, they have made it clear that they plan to mount a viable excursion service and at the same time allow Camelot to be used by civic, educational, and charitable groups.

For these reasons, I am introducing legislation authorizing issuance of a certification for employment in the coastwise trade of the United States for the vessel Camelot. I am pleased to be joined by my colleague Senator Mack in introducing this bill.

By Mr. INOUYE (for himself, Mr. DECONCINI, Mr. DASCHLE, Mr. REID, Mr. CONRAD, Mr. COCHRAN, Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. McCain, and Mr. Burdick):

S. 1781. A bill to establish as the policy of the United States the preservation, protection, and promotion of the rights of native Americans to use, practice, and develop native American languages, to take steps to foster such use, practice, and development, and for other purposes; to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGE ACT

 Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I am pleased to introduce legislation to establish that it is the policy of the United States to preserve, protect, and promote the rights of native Americans to use, practice, and develop native American languages.

Mr. President, as you know, traditional languages are an integral part of native American cultures, heritages, and identities. History, religion, literature, and traditional values are all transmitted through language. When a language is lost, the ability to express concepts in a certain way is also lost. For example, names for objects or events in nature reflect the way people understand those phenomena. When they no longer know the name for something in their own language, they no longer have the same relationship with it, and a part of their culture dies along with this communication loss.

As part of its termination policy, the U.S. Government sought to abolish native languages. Indigenous Americans, including American Indians, Alaska Natives and native Hawaiians were punished for speaking in their native tongues. The purpose of this policy was to mainstream native peoples so that they would no longer be different from nonnative Americans.

Fortunately, this policy has now been repudiated. The Federal Government's policy of self-determination has meant that native Americans can decide for themselves how to manage their own governmental affairs, educate their children, and live their lives. While some native languages had become virtually extinct before native people realized the magnitude of their loss, there are now strong efforts nationwide among native people to recover and perpetuate this part of their cultural heritage.

The bill I am introducing today is similar to the joint resolution which I introduced at the end of the 100th Congress and which passed Senate. Instead of a joint resolution I am introducing this initiative as a bill to make clear the serious intent that Federal policy supports the use, practice, and development of native languages. This proposal, is based on a resolution adopted by the Native American Languages Issues Institute. I believe that it is appropriate that native people and language practitioners participated in developing this proposal. It is consistent with my policy in dealing with native American issues to have the solutions come from native peoples. Clearly, the initiative for developing and implementing native language use will continue to come from the people who speak their native language. With the explicit support of the U.S. Government for these efforts, we will ensure that the self-determination policy of the Government is carried out and that we in Congress and the Federal Government are continuing to fulfill our responsibility to the native people of this country.

. Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, I rise in strong support of the Native American Language Act, a bill introduced this day by the chairman of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs my esteemed colleague from Hawaii Senator INOUVE This bill will establish as the policy of the United States the preservation, protection, and promotion of the rights of native Americans to speak, practice, and develop native American languages and to foster the use and practice of native American languages. This bill will provide a basis for the United States and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to begin to reverse the policies of the past which resulted in the erosion of native culture and language by forcibly preventing native American children from speaking their native languages in Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools. An entire generation of American Indian children were forcibly deprived of their native language, and in turn their culture, through the policies of the Federal Government.

It is now time for this Government to develop a uniform Federal policy that supports the use of native languages in schools. A policy that will ensure the continued survival of native American cultures, literatures, and histories through native American language. A policy that allows native American children to learn in their own language and a policy that encourages academic SHCCess and achievement among native American children. Mr. President, I would like to commend Senator Inouve for his initiative and fine work on this bill. I am pleased to be a cosponsor of this badly needed legislation.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 247

At the request of Mr. Metzenbaum, the names of the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Sarbanes] and the Senator from Florida [Mr. Graham] were added as cosponsors of S. 247, a bill to amend the Energy Policy and Conservation Act to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of State energy conservation programs carried out pursuant to such act, and for other purposes.

S. 511

At the request of Mr. INOUYE, the name of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. Warner] was added as cosponsor of S. 511, a bill to recognize the organization known as the National Academies of Practice.

S. 1384

At the request of Mr. Daschle, the name of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Simon] was added as cosponsor of S. 1384, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide direct reimbursement under part B of Medicare for nurse practitioner or clinical nurse specialist services that are provided in rural areas.

8. 1591

At the request of Mr. Moynihan, the names of the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Levin] and the Senator from Maine [Mr. Cohen] were added as cosponsors of S. 1591, a bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide coverage of clinical workers, psychiatric nurses, and marriage and family therapists when provided onsite at a community mental health center or offsite as part of a treatment plan.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 53

At the request of Mr. D'AMATO, the names of the Senator from California [Mr. Wilson], the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Kohl], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. Sarbanes], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Durenberger], and the Senator from Kansas [Mr. Dole] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 53, a joint resolution to designate May 25, 1989, as "National Tap Dance Day."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 205

At the request of Mr. Biden, the names of the Senator from Delaware [Mr. Roth] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Metzenbaum] were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 205, a joint resolution designating December 3 through 9, 1989, as "National Cities Fight Back Against Drugs Week."

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 216

At the request of Mr. DURENBERGER, the names of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Boschwitz], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Simon], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dopp], the Washington Senator from IMr. ADAMS], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. GLENN], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. LUGAR], the Senator from Ohio [Mr. METZENBAUM], the Senator from New York [Mr. D'Amato], the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Coats], the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. Burdick], and the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Bumpers1 were added as cosponsors of Senate Joint Resolution 216, a joint resolution designating November 12 through 18, 1989, as "Community Foundation Week."

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE EASTERN AIRLINES LABOR DISPUTE

MITCHELL (AND OTHERS) AMENDMENT NO. 1043

Mr. MITCHELL (for himself, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Graham, Mr. Ford, Mr. Byrd, Mr. Dixon, Mr. Adams, Mr. Lieberman, Mr. Metzenbaum, Mr. Kerry, and Mr. Bradley) proposed an amendment to the bill (H.R. 1231) to direct the President to establish an emergency board to investigate and report respecting the dispute between Eastern Airlines and its collective-bargaining units, as follows:

Strike all after the enacting clause and insert the following:

SECTION 1. ESTABLISHMENT.

There is established a commission (hereinafter in this Act referred to as "the Commission") to investigate the labor dispute involving Eastern Airlines and the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, the Airline Pilots Association, and the Transport Workers Union.

SEC. 2. MEMBERSHIP.

- (a) Composition.—The Commission shall consist of four members, of which not later than 10 days after the date of enactment of this Act—
- (1) one member of the Commission shall be appointed by the President Pro Tempore of the Senate:
- (2) one member of the Commission shall be appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives;
- (3) one member of the Commission shall be appointed by the Minority Leader of the Senate; and
- (4) one member of the Commission shall be appointed by the Minority Leader of the House of Representatives.
- (b) VACANCIES.—A vacancy in the Commission shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.
- (c) Chairperson.—The Commission shall elect a Chairperson from among the members of the Commission.
- (e) MEETINGS.—The Commission shall meet at the call of the Chairperson or a majority of the Commission.

 SEC. 3. DUTIES.

The Commission shall-

- (1) investigate and make findings of fact and recommendations regarding the prompt and equitable settlement of the dispute referred to in section 1;
- (2) consider issues arising out of the dispute; and
- (3) make policy recommendations to Congress and the Secretary of Transportation concerning—
- (A) the powers of the Secretary to intervene on behalf of the public interest to maintain competitiveness in the aviation industry in light of mergers, acquisitions, and bankruptcies of air carriers; and
- (B) the adequacy of protection of employee collective bargaining rights in bankruptcy proceedings involving air carriers. SEC. 4. REPORT.
- (A) In General.—Not later than 45 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall submit to Congress and

the Secretary of Transportation a written report containing its findings and recommendations.

(b) AVAILABILITY TO PUBLIC.—The Secretary of Transportation shall make the report available to the public.

SEC. 5. ADMINISTRATION.

- (a) Information.—The heads of executive agencies, the General Accounting Office, and the Congressional Budget Office, to the extent permitted by law, shall provide the Commission with such information as the Commission may require in carrying out the duties and functions of the Commission.
- (b) COMPENSATION.-
- (1) In general.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), members of the Commission shall serve without any additional compensation for work performed on the Commission.
- (2) Travel expenses.—Such members who are private citizens of the United States may be allowed travel expenses, including a per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by law for persons serving intermittently in the Government service under sections 5701 through 5707 of title 5, United States Code.
- (c) STAFF.—Subject to the approval of the Secretary of Transportation and without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service or the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title relating to classification and General Schedule pay rates; the Chairperson of the Commission may hire and fix the compensation of such staff personnel as the Commission determines are necessary to carry out duties and functions of the Commission.
 - (d) PERSONNEL AND SUPPORT SERVICES .-
- (1) DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION.—On request of the Commission, the Secretary of Transportation shall furnish the Commission with such personnel and support services as are necessary to assist the Commission in carrying out the duties and functions of the Commission.
- (2) OTHER AGENCIES.—On the request of the Commission, the heads of other executive agencies and the General Accounting Office may furnish the Commission with such personnel and support services as the head of the agency or Office and the Chairperson of the Commission agree are necessary to assist the Commission in carrying out the duties and functions of the Commission.
- (3) REIMBURSEMENT.—The Commission shall not be required to pay or reimburse an agency or the Office for personnel and support services provided under this section.
- (e) RECORDS.-
- (1) IN GENERAL.—In accordance with section 12 of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App. 2), the Secretary of Transportation shall maintain records of—
- (A) the disposition of any funds that may be at the disposal of the Commission; and
- (B) the nature and extent of activities of the Commission.
- (2) GAO ACCESS.—The Comptroller General of the United States shall have access to such records for the purpose of audit and examination.
- (e) EXEMPTION FROM CERTAIN PROVISIONS.—The Commission shall be exempt from sections 7(d), 10(e), 10(f), and 14 of the Federal Advisory Committee Act and sections 4301 through 4308 of title 5 of the United States Code.

SEC. 6. FUNDING.

This Act shall be carried out using funds otherwise available to the Secretary of Transportation for the expenses of advisory committees.

SEC. 7. TERMINATION.

This Act and the Commission shall terminate on the submission of the report required under section 4.

NOTICES OF HEARINGS

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I would like to announce that the Select Committee on Indian Affairs will be holding a hearing on Friday, November 3, 1989, beginning at 9:30 a.m., in 485 Russell Senate Office Building on Indian agriculture.

Those wishing additional information should contact the Select Committee on Indian Affairs at 224-2251.

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I would like to announce that the Select Committee on Indian Affairs will be holding an oversight hearing on Thursday, November 2, 1989, beginning at 2 p.m., in 485 Russell Senate Office Building on Indian health facilites.

Those wishing additional information should contract the Select Committee on Indian Affairs at 224-2251.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

ENERGY RESEARCH DIRECTOR ROBERT O. HUNTER

• Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I would like to take a few minutes to comment on the job that Dr. Robert O. Hunter has been doing as Director of the Office of Energy Research of the Department of Energy. Recently, Dr. Hunter has been subjected to criticism by a House committee for his decisions regarding the magnetic fusion program at the Department. I am concerned that this criticism may be leaving an incorrect impression of Members' opinion of Dr. Hunter's performance.

I have worked closely with Dr. Hunter ever since he was confirmed as Director of Energy Research in the previous administration. As chairman of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, which is the authorizing committee for the Office of Energy Research, and as chairman of the Subcommittee on Energy and Water Development of the Appropriations Committee, which provides funds for the Office, I have had several opportunities to talk directly with Dr. Hunter and to review his ideas for the programs of the Office in detail.

I must say that I have been very favorably impressed. I am impressed with Dr. Hunter's scientific expertise and with the direct, no-nonsense approach he brings to the direction of the complex fundamental research projects—such as magnetic fusion and

the superconducting super colliderfor which the Department has responsibility.

In a very real sense, the Department of Energy is the principal Federal agency for funding "big" science. DOE builds and operates most of our large scientific facilities outside the Space Program. In DOE, Dr. Hunter's Office is responsible for these facilities and programs.

These are programs that the Federal Government must fund. There is very little private sector money invested in basic science. There is no private profit to be made from investing in magnetic fusion today, but we need to invest in a research program in mag-

netic fusion.

There is no private profit to be made from investing in research at the frontier of high-energy physics, and there probably never will be. But we need a vigorous program in high-energy physics, and we probably always will need such a program.

We have to manage a Federal investment in these areas of research without the automatic cost-conscious discipline that private investors bring to research and development in technology that is about to be applied in the marketplace. We need a special breed of manager in the Federal establishment to oversee and direct the funding of this research with the dollars of Federal taxpayers. Without special oversight-oversight with insight into the physics—there is a tremendous potential to waste those dollars. There is no automatic market discipline to control expenditures for basic science.

It is my impression that Dr. Hunter is a Federal research manager who has excellent insight into the physics he is funding. It is my impression that he understands the critical questions that need to be asked. It is my impression that he works very hard to see that these questions are asked and answered before large Federal dollar

commitments are made.

As a member of the Appropriations Committee, I appreciate that. As a Senator, I appreciate that. As a taxpayer, I appreciate that. I want my colleagues and Dr. Hunter to know of this appreciation.

SIXTEEN OF ONE THOUSAND POINTS OF LIGHT

• Mr. DURENBERGER. Mr. President, I wish today to draw to your attention 16 very special points of light in Minnesota-volunteers who have dedicated themselves to the realization of a "kinder and gentler nation." They started their hours of voluntarism, though, long before the President's famous speech was offered at last year's Republican National Convention in New Orleans.

In all fields, from the arts, to education and health, to the more traditional charities, these individuals have assigned themselves a life-long job of serving our communities. For them, the question is never whether to volunteer, but rather how much of their previous time, can be offered. These exemplary figures bring to volunteering all the commitment and priority of professionals—professional care givers.

As ordinary, yet extraordinary citizens, these volunteers are actively involved in maintaining the foundations so vital to society as we know it. Working in those existing institutions and endowed with special insight, they have also observed gaps in services, and have expanded their reach to fill these needs in the most meaningful ways they know.

Minnesota is a better State because of these people, and the thousands of other volunteers they represent. From their individual efforts, we benefit with more cultural performances, greater high school graduation rates, and more care given to the homeless. And from them, even the cynics become neutralized, for these individuals practice and embody the golden rule in its most sincere form.

These selfless individuals of whom I speak often receive no credit and little thanks for their efforts. As a token of Minnesota's great appreciation for their work. I submit today to the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD profiles of these 16 Minnesotans, written by Bette Sack, as they appeared in the premier edition

of Twin Citian:

The profiles follow:

In calling the American people to action volunteers, President George speaks frequently of 1,000 points of light. A metaphor more appropriate for those of us who live along the Mississippi is that of a river. The spirit of caring here flows deep and strong and trickles out to nourish myriad programs and projects.

Selecting the first inductees into the Twin Citian Volunteer Hall of Fame turned out to be a daunting task. Those people chosen were unanimous in one desire: They insisted they not be called the "best" volunteers. Rather, they are representative of the tens of thousnads of others working to maintain the institutions and organizations that prop up and propel our community.

Who can place a value on these efforts? The spirit that moves the executive who spearheads a major United Way fund-raising drive also moves the women who do mending each week for frail residents in a

Minneapolis nursing home.

There is no typical volunteer. Judy Russell, volunteer coordinator for Children's Home Society of Minnesota, says the myth persists that the typical volunteer is a fulltime homemaker. In fact, two-thirds of all volunteers work outside the home. One out of three retired people volunteers, as does one out of every two teen-agers. Derek a seventeen-year-old student at Johnson, Highland High School in St. Paul, is a prime example of teenage involvement. At age fourteen he began donating his time at the University of Minnesota Hospital, spending six to twelve hours every week working with children confined to the pediatric wards.

Why do they volunteer? Most speak modestly of a wish to get involved, to make a difference. Some speak eloquently of a sense of responsibility, a need to give back to a community that has given them so much. All of them insist that they get back more than they give, that the enrichment to their lives far outweighs what they do for others.

The people we have selected are both unique and ordinary. Beside them and behind them are others—as gifted, dedicated, concerned and caring—who volunteer, often without recognition, because they be-

lieve they must.

It is a given that our schools, hospitals, shelters, arts orgnizations, churches, correction facilities, nursing homes, indeed our community, could not survive without them.

In honoring these sixteen, we honor them

all.

GEORGE SABLE

When process engineer, George Sable retired from Honeywell in 1974, a friend suggested that he volunteer at Courage Center. Sable has been there ever since, using his engineering and problem-solving skills to create and adapt devices for children and adults with disabilities.

Sable's first project at Courage Center was to equip a tricycle with hand pedals. Over the years he has helped design and modify many devices, primarily in the recreational area—special wheelchairs for athletes to use in marathons and basketball games and an adjustable bow stand so kids

can participate in archery.

Sometimes Sable's projects help people move into the working world. One such device is a screen that covers computer keys to allow a disabled person to input without making errors. He even finds ways to modify household devices for the disabled.

Sable has had to adapt to some difficulties himself. Three hip surgeries ("I've got three hips," he says, "two in me and one in a drawer") and a serious cancer operation sidelined him for a time, but at seventy-seven he is back at Courage Center.

Sable, a modest man, says simply, "It keeps me alive."

WALLACE C DA

WALLACE C. DAYTON

Long before the environment and wildlife became front-page topics, Wallace Dayton was working on them. The grandson of Dayton's founder George D. Dayton, Wallace Dayton took his expected place in the family business. He resigned in 1968 to devote his full attention to environmental issues.

A reserved man, Dayton, has worked passionately on behalf of his causes. He has served as a trustee, director and president of such organizations as the Conservation Fund, the Voyageurs National Park Association and the North American Wildlife Foundation. He was instrumental in forming the Minnesota chapter of the Nature Conservancy, an organization devoted to the preservation of natural diversity, whether it is a species or an ecological system.

Currently Dayton serves as president of the Special Projects Foundation of the Big Game Club, which provides funds for the study of large animals. The brilliant study of timber wolves by Minnesotan David Mech is one of the foundation's best-known

projects.

Dayton expresses a deep concern about world population, the stresses it makes upon the environment and the resulting pollution. "Yet," he says. "I am hopeful for the future, because more and more people are concerned."

SUE ZELICKSON

Sue Zelickson is one of the Twin Cities' great natural resources. She is perhaps best known for editing two very successful cookbooks for the Minnesota American Cancer Society. Heritage Cookbook and the subsequent Look Who's Cooking Now together have raised more than \$500,000 for the society.

Her talent for food and fund raising has kept her on the most-wanted list for every organization planning an event. When selected in 1989 to be the first woman to receive B'nai B'rith's International Humanitarian Award, Zelickson did not sit on the sidelines basking in glory. She jumped right in to help plan the event, creating a unique menu of Middle Eastern and kosher foods.

The list of volunteer organizations that have benefited from Zelickson's talent is long and impressive, from the Boys and Girls Clubs to the Governor's Residence of Minnesota, from WAMSO to the YWCA. Descriptions of her as warm, caring and a true friend may seem at odds with the other image of the human dynamo who dashes from meeting to meeting and event to event in a marathon twenty-one hour day. Yet it is true. After a big event Zelickson is likely to write everyone a personal note and deliver it with a basket of homemade cookies.

From now on those cookies no doubt will be "Lacey Susans," made from her new gourmet-cookie batter. Proceeds from this new venture will go to the Twin Cities Down

Syndrome Association.

KATIE HAMEL

Katie Hamel likes teen-agers, as evidenced by her nineteen years as a volunteer nurse at the Teen Age Medical Service of Minneapolis Children's Medical Center. TAM is a confidential, safe place for teen-agers to come for medical care and information on pregnancy, venereal diseases, contraception and drug-dependency problems.

A mother of six, Hamel began volunteering at TAM when her own children were infants. Sometimes she and other volunteers and staff scrubbed floors and painted walls as the center was getting established in an older home on Chicago Avenue. Now she comes every Monday to give care and treatment and to listen. "I got hooked on teenagers," Hamel says. "They are full of hope

and despair."

TAM does the physicals on children who end up at The Bridge for Runaway Youth in Minneapolis. Hamel, who pulls nursing duty at her physician-husband's office the rest of the week, hears many sad stories and more and more sees kids who have attempted suicides. Many tell Hamel, "I wish I could talk to my mother like I can talk to you." She laughs and says, "I tell them that if I was their mother, maybe they couldn't talk to me either."

She adds softly, seriously, "Sometimes I have to tell them, 'You can make it on your own,' because sometimes that's all they have—themselves."

PAT LUND

At age twelve, Pat Lund wrote a play, cast it, directed it and starred in it. That may not be unique for a creative young girl in a small town with few amusements, but Lund charged admission according to people's ability to pay and donated all the proceeds to her church league.

In retrospect, that may have been the beginning of Lund's volunteer and philanthropic career, one that has enriched many organizations and institutions in the Twin Cities. The Minnesota Opera, Minnesota Or-

chestra, Plymouth Music Series and Minneapolis College of Art and Design are among the organizations that have benefited from her enthusiastic involvement.

Pat and husband Russell Lund have supported the arts in many ways over the years. Turn to the back cover of most arts and music programs and publications and you will see an ad for Lunds, a policy that began while Pat was marketing director of the grocery stores.

But the Lunds' generosity extends beyond the arts. Their contribution to Gustavus Adolphus College has helped build the Lund Center, a new physical-education center on

Pat Lund remains active on several local boards, and she is on the national advisory board of Chileda, an organization for doubly handicapped children. She believes fervently in volunteering and has done it all her life. "If you don't do anything outside of your paid job and your family," she says, "something is horribly missing from your life."

MARVIN BORMAN

As senior partner in the law firm of Maslon, Edelman, Borman & Brand, Marvin Borman comes in early and stays late. The purpose, he says, is to organize his work so he can devote more time to charitable and cultural organizations.

The list is impressive—a full-page, singlespaced résumé of positions held and honors received from the United Way, the University of Minnesota, the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Temple Israel, the Boy Scouts and

many others.

campus.

"There is seldom anything worthwhile happening in this community in which Marvin Borman isn't involved," says friend and fellow volunteer Wheelock Whitney. "His capacity is endless, and he rarely gets publicity."

Borman is a disciple of quiet power. When he becomes involved in an organization, he likes to start at the bottom and work his way up. "By the time I get to the top position," he says, "I know the organization as well as the professionals, and I know what I'm doing and what we can do together.

"I am a strong supporter of the volunteer system. It is one of the rich and unique American experiences. In this country we permit and encourage people of all sectors to participate, whatever their income, age, gender, race, social status or abilities. Each in our own way has a responsibility to help others."

KATHY HARTLEY

Kathy Hartley may be asleep or visiting a friend's home, but when she gets a certain call or hears her beeper, she has twenty minutes to get to Hennepin County Medical Center.

Once she arrives, she works with battered women who have been brought to the hospital by the police, by ambulance or by neighbors or friends. They are afraid, hurt and, Hartley says, "they are embarrassed to be here. Often they won't even look at you. They look down and away."

Hartley helps these women file reports and arrange for child care, safe housing and counseling. She also holds their hands and listens. "These women come from a place where no one cares," she says, "and the one they care about is beating them up."

A secretary at Pillsbury, Harley volunteered nearly 1,200 hours in 1988 and was honored as Volunteer of the Year by the Harriet Tubman Women's Shelter. Calm, caring and nonjudgmental, she sometimes

wonders if she is really helping, especially when she sees the same woman return to the hospital the second or third time. "But," she says, "each time we are giving her something else to grab onto so that maybe next time she will have the strength to break away and permanently end the violence and abuse."

Hartley talks about an unexpected byproduct of her volunteer work: "I'm more assertive, self-confident," she says, "I've grown. These women have helped me do that."

MYRNA LUNDBERG

At seventy-three, Myrna Lundberg, a former educator, devotes two days a week to an area in which she is an expert: blindness. Her sight deteriorated over the years, and not long after her husband died several years ago, she completely lost the ability to see. "Within a short period," Lundberg says, "I lost the two loves of my life: my husband and reading."

Her condition led her to the Minneapolis Society for the Blind. After taking courses in homemaking and mobility skills, Lundberg volunteered as a peer counselor to people who are newly blind, helping them cope and become acclimated. She also works in the information and referral area.

Now Lundberg faces her greatest challenge as an educator: Once a week in St. Paul, she teaches English to five blind Hmong women. Most materials available for tutoring in English are printed, so Lundberg is helping to create simplified audio tapes for her newest students.

"We are bridging both a cultural and a language gap," she says. "We ask them to 'pretend' something, and the concept of pretending is totally foreign to them. All they knew in their rural mountain homes was to work in the fields and care for their families. It is our challenge to help them manage in their new land, so they are not just relegated by their families to sit in a corner and hold the babies."

PEARL MITCHELL JACKSON

Pearl Mitchell Jackson is a warm, exuberant woman whose volunteer activites have been national and international in scale. She sees herself as an agent for change, with a knack for identifying a problem and putting people together to solve it.

As administrator of volunteer services for Ramsey County Welfare, Jackson saw a need for a drop-in center at the welfare office so children would be cared for while their parents sought assistance. At the same time, she knew that certain college students need training with children. She put the two groups together.

Young Girl Scouts need grandmothers and vice versa. Jackson put them together at nursing homes and senior residences.

When there was no Big Brother/Big Sister program in St. Paul, Jackson went to work on it. She also helped develop a program for single young adults to "adopt" younger children and help them with reading, math and practical skills.

Jackson, vice-president of international services for Capiz Travel in St. Paul, uses the same people skills and broad community network to match visiting foreign dignitaries with the people and programs they wish to learn about. As the first woman president of the Council of the International Program for Social Workers and Youth Leaders, she has traveled abroad extensively, learning and sharing information and serving as a popular representative for Minnesota and the country.

"I love the idea of a rainbow of the world," Jackson says. "It takes all kinds of people in all colors to make the beauty of the world." To that we say, Amen.

JUDSON BEMIS

Slight traces of his Boston boyhood still can be heard in his voice, but Judson Bemis's commitment and leadership in Minnesota have earned him an unqualified designation as native son.

Now retired from the company that bears his name, "Sandy" Bemis continues his lifelong volunteer efforts. His work for arts organizations has been constant and dedicated: president of the Minnesota Opera Association, board member of the Minnesota Orchestral Association, major fund raiser for the building of the Ordway Music Theatre and member of the Citizens Advisory Committee for the University of Minnesota School of Music.

He also has served long and well with the United Way, starting back when it was the Community Chest. He is the first chairman of the Alpha Center for Public/Private Initiatives, an organization created to promote privatization—shifting some government social services to the private sector.

Bemis believes in service to the community as a responsibility and a privilege. "It brings a lot of satisfaction and sense of accomplishment," Bemis says. "It also gives people a second life beyond retirement, a way to be active and useful in the communi-

W. HARRY DAVIS

W. Harry Davis' career has been filled with accomplishments that could not have been predicted for a young black male raised in the 1930s in a tough north-Minneapolis neighborhood. He was the first black mayoral candidate endorsed by a major party, founder and chairman of the Urban Concerns Workshops, president of the Urban Coalition of Minneapolis, United Way board member, assistant vice-president at the Star Tribune, chairman of the Minnesota Board of Boxing and a Minneapolis school-board member for twenty-one years.

Davis says he left the school board this year so someone else could bring new energy and ideas to the task. He now will help fulfill the mission of the W. Harry Davis Foundation: to develop black leaders by pairing successful black professionals with ninth graders. He also is working to get major companies to adopt local high schools—as Twin City Federal has done with Henry High School—to provide job training, scholarships, volunteers and money to the schools.

Davis and Charlotte, his wife of forty-seven years, remain deeply spiritual and active in their church, Hennepin Avenue United Methodist. The Reverend David Tyler Scoates says, "Harry wouldn't be Harry without Charlotte. He's in the limelight because she's right beside him, as brilliant, spiritual and compassionate as Harry."

PEGGY PLUIMER

No matter what volunteer work she becomes involved in, Peggy Pluimer says she always ends up in the area of education. Good public schools are the passion of this Kenwood mother who lives in a neighborhood where many parents choose private education for their children.

"We have excellent schools in the city," Pluimer says. "The fears that many have are based upon myths. People have to be told and be shown the excellent teachers and programs that are here at every level."

Pluimer, a former teacher, should know. With three children widely spaced in age, she once served concurrently on the PTA boards of the high school, elementary and pre-school her children were attending. She has been a school volunteer at every level, from room mother to member of the committee that chose current Minneapolis public-schools superintendent Robert Ferrera.

Pluimer also has been active citywide, serving on dozens of committees—chairwoman of the League of Women voters education committee and an active member of People Advocating at the Legislature, which lobbies for greater awareness of the needs of education.

Jan Stevenson, a neighbor and a fellow volunteer, says of Pluimer: "She never says no. She always does what she says she will do, always on time and always very well."

KATHLEEN RIDDER

Kathleen Ridder came to volunteerism both from interest and from expectation. "Due to my position as the wife of a man in the communications business," she says, "it was assumed that I would be involved."

What might not have been expected is that she would become passionate about issues that extend into the area of basic rights. "I was very involved in the civiligits movement early on and served on the Urban League," Ridder says. "When the women's movement began, I saw many similarities between the struggles that both blacks and women were dealing with in a system controlled by the white establishment."

When the Title 9 amendments were passed in the mid-1970s, the University of Minnesota set up its Advisory Council for Women's Athletics. Ridder joined it and has seen—and tirelessly helped—affect changes in the programs, funding and facilities for women athletes.

In concentrating on what she calls "this critical mass of women," Ridder says, "we can help them reach their goals with support and scholarships. As they move on we are building a constituency, a network to which we can go in the future to help the next generation of women athletes."

To encourage women to enter fields long dominated by men, Kathleen and husband Robert Ridder have set up a U of M scholarship in their names to go to junior and senior women athletes majoring in the sciences.

Ridder says her greatest talent is as a catalyst, whether in her volunteer activities or in her career. She and partner Gladys Brooks are consultants in public affairs and public policy.

"We as women have to learn to make choices about what time means to our own development," she says, "not in relationship to our husbands and children but to ourselves as individuals." Kathleen Ridder has done just that.

IRENE KREIDBERG

All her life, Irene Kreidberg has maintained two career tracks: in corporate management and as a volunteer. She retired in 1973 from Sperry Univac (now Unisys Corporation) after forty-three years in administrative management. She has been a Symphony Ball volunteer in one leadership capacity or another for twenty-two years; she served on the board of the Sister Kenny Institute for ten years and was the dynamic and innovative chairwoman of the Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce Cultur-

al Activities Committee for a decade. And the list goes on.

Kreidberg grew up during an era when women were not expected to be leaders. But her dual careers have proved that someone else's ideas on gender limitations meant nothing to her. Among her many accomplishments she is most proud to be the first woman to be elected to the board of the Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce.

Today, Kreidberg is as active and busy as ever, spearheading a gala for the Sister Kenny Institute, working on the Twin City Opera Guild Candlelight Dinner and keeping her helpful hands in many other organizations.

Fortunately for us, she can't say no.

MEREDITH HART

Meredith Hart says that when she left Indiana for the Twin Cities, people already knew about her volunteer commitment and "met her at the border." She's been busy ever since, working with the aged, women and youth, and serving on committees and commissions ranging from the Governor's Crime Commission to the Ethics Committee of the Minnesota Bar Association.

Hart has served as president of the League of Women Voters, helped start the Edina Youth Action Project and was chairwoman of the Edina Human Relations Committee, which organized churches to deliver Meals on Wheels. She also has been chairwoman of the Minnesota Women's Political Caucus and helped create the Women's Resource Center at Normandale Community College. Suburban women, she says, represent "the last frontier in women's issues."

Currently associate director of the Minnesota Alliance for Health Care Consumers, Hart directs its Consumer Council Program, which encourages nursing-home residents to have a say about the environments in which they live.

"Priorities in this country are all wrong," she says. "We need serious dialogue about issues and we are not doing it. I think it's a selfish time."

DAVID A. KOCH

David Koch, chairman and chief executive officer of Graco, is a firm believer in the American free-enterprise system. But Koch believes just as firmly that companies should not exist solely to make a profit.

As one of the founders of the nationally renowned 5 Percent Club, Koch has become a dedicated missionary for corporate giving, exhorting local firms to donate 5 percent or 2 percent of their pre-tax earnings to community projects of their own choosing. The 5 Percent Club and the 2 Percent Club now are known as the Minnesota Keystone Program and are cosponsored by the chambers of commerce of Greater Minneapolis, St. Paul Area and Minnesota.

In 1976, when Koch was president of the Minneapolis chamber, twenty-three charter members were inducted into the nation's first 5 Percent Club. In 1988, 140 companies from twenty-eight communities made contributions at the 2- to 5-percent level or more; nineteen of them contributed 10 percent or more.

Koch still is not satisfied. "Companies in the Twin Cities have been aggressive and generous," he says. "The companies that were started here have a real commitment to the community. Their families are here. They care. But more and more the expansion of these companies is taking place outside of the state, not in Minnesota."

In addition, Koch says corporations face more stress each year. "The focus is often short term—this quarter's earnings, this year's earnings—so in spite of seeing a community project that needs their help, they don't take up the challenge and he responsibility," he says. Koch believes corporate takeovers are another serious threat to the Keystone program.

Still, he is positive and hopeful. The Minnesota Keystone Program has served as a model in other cities and states, and Koch is its leading advocate, traveling the country to preach its gospel.

IN RECOGNITION OF JOSEF GINGOLD

• Mr. BOSCHWITZ. Mr. President, I rise today to bring to the attention of my colleagues a great American, teacher and musician, Josef Gingold. Professor Gingold will celebrate his 80th birthday on October 29, 1989.

A distinguished professor emeritus of music at Indiana University, Professor Gingold emigrated to the United States, with his family, after the First World War, beginning his formal musicial education at the Third Street Settlement School in New York. Not only is he a world-renowned violinist and concertmaster, but Professor Gingold has influenced and guided several hundred professional violinists and string players who fill our great American orchestras and concert stages. In fact, the Minnesota Orchestra and the St. Paul Chamber Orchestra boast 18 Gingold students who attended his weekly master classes.

Truly an American treasure, Josef Gingold's influence on music in America as both performer and pedagogque is equaled by few. Year after year, young violinists from as far away as Australia, Asia, Europe, South America, and even from behind the Iron Curtain, travel to Bloomington, IN, for an opportunity to work with the great master. As a guest professor, he has brought the American School of Violin to the Paris Conservatory, the Toho School in Tokyo, and the Britten-Pears School in England. Professor Gingold's three-volume set of orchestral excerpts is the standard text used by students and professional orchestra players the world over.

Concertgoers and music lovers everywhere have been touched by Josef Gingold and his relentless dedication to teaching. He is revered and loved by all who have had the good fortune to know him or hear his music. On behalf of his students and those who love classical music, I thank him for all that he has contributed to the advancement of his art, and wish him the very best in his 81st year.

S. 1405, DISPLACED HOMEMAK-ERS AND SINGLE PARENTS HOMEOWNERSHIP ASSISTANCE ACT

• Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I am pleased to support the legislation introduced by Senator Kassebaum, S.

1405, the Displaced Homemakers and Single Parents Homeownership Assistance Act. With the rapidly rising cost of housing throughout the Nation, there is a growing need to assist Americans in the pursuit of home ownership. This legislation addresses one group that desperately needs public assistance to find a decent place to live but is too often overlooked—that of single parents and displaced homemakers.

The Displaced Homemakers and Single Parents Homeownership Assistance Act is designed to protect parents who jointly own a home with their spouses, but are unable to finance this home if they become widowed or divorced. Former joint ownership can become a barrier to such individual's ability to receive Federal assistance as first-time homebuyers. This legislation allows displaced homemakers single parents to qualify as first-time homebuyers when purchasing a home. This is particularly relevant as Congress and the administration assess ways to expand home ownership opportunities for first-time homebuyers.

This legislation defines a displaced homemaker as an adult who has not worked full-time in the labor force for a number of years but has worked primarily to care for the family without remuneration. For such reasons a homemaker's marketable skills will frequently be diminished. A displaced homemaker is also an adult who has been dependent on public assistance or on the income of a spouse but is no longer supported by such income. Someone who has experienced such losses needs to rapidly become self-sufficient, and it is essential that public assistance for obtaining a decent place to live be available if needed.

The inability for many single parents and displaced homemakers to afford first-time home ownership is a problem that affects a vast sector of the Nation's population. The Women and Housing Task Force reports that as many as one third of all single women who maintain a household actually own their homes. Close to onefourth of these women who own homes are poor; this figure is more than three times the figure of homeowner families with children existing at the poverty level.

The Displaced Homeownership and Assistance Act provides single parents, especially women, with the opportunity to maintain a degree of domestic stability following the loss of someone upon whom they were dependent. During times of emotional crisis and turmoil, these parents desperately need to provide a secure and healthy home environment for their children. I believe this legislation serves this purpose. I am pleased to join my colleague, Senator Kassebaum, to address

the special needs of so many single parents around the Nation.

NOMINATION OF MICHAEL D. McKAY

• Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, the Senate has recently received the nomination of Michael D. McKay for U.S. attorney for the western district of Washington. I rise today in wholehearted support; I unreservedly believe that Mr. McKay is the best candidate for this position. Moreover, I strongly suspect that the creativity and the keen intellect of Mike McKay will in addition to benefiting Washington State, greatly contribute to the work of U.S. attorney's across the Nation.

In my State, Mike McKay is known for his sound legal judgment and unquestioned integrity. Due to his leadership on issues of local, State, and Federal concern, Mr. McKay has overwhelming public and professional support in Washington State for confir-

mation of his nomination. Mr. KcKay has served as senior deputy prosecuting attorney of King County. He has met many legal and administrative challenges with great skill, creativity, and dedication. For example, he led the first case to review the constitutionality of a juvenile's right to a jury trial; he represented the Government in the first major litigation involving the Seattle Mariners major league baseball team; he successfully led the investigation and prosecution of a large criminal prostitution ring; and he developed a procedure for pretrial preparation of sexually assaulted children that has received national acclaim.

Mr. President, the recent rise of gang violence and drug-related crime concern me greatly, as I know it does this body. In Mr. McKay, we have a leader who is well-prepared to tackle these problems which now challenge all of the resources of the Federal criminal justice system.

Mr. Michael D. McKay is an outstanding nominee for U.S. attorney, who has shown his deep commitment to public service. I fully endorse him for this post and respectfully urge the Senate to confirm his nomination.

THE 1988-89 DROUGHT DEVASTATION

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, many farmers have had a tough year. The drought of 1988 and 1989 brought devastation across the country, especially to the Wheat Belt.

Congress responded to its call for help with the passage of a disaster relief bill which the President signed into law.

Unfortunately, that legislation created problems for some producers—problems for those who moved quickly

to plant a new crop on their disaster acres.

As usual, the biggest problem appears to be Congress: Farmers still trying to receive fair compensation on their drought induced second crop are now facing another disaster, this time a political freeze.

This Senator has made repeated efforts to clear new legislation sponsored by the Senators from Kansas, as well as Senators Boren, Bentsen, Domenici, others, that will deal with the so-called second crop and ghost acre problems, but each time we have been rejected. We can't get clearance even though the demand for action is urgent in Kansas, South Dakota, Texas, and New Mexico.

The Senator from Kansas has been pushing the administration and my Senate colleagues to settle the second crop issue ever since it became clear farmers who planted a new crop on disaster acreage would be unfairly penalized on the relief front.

Senator Kassabaum and I, without colleagues, have proposed a package that would not reduce disaster payments to second crop producers if their replacement crops failed to produce more than 50 percent of the average yield of their county—crop yield above that threshold would be subject to a 75 percent reduction of the gross value of the second crop.

Our package will also include a socalled equal acre offset—that means the deduction on the replanted acreage would only count against disaster payments from the same acreage, not gross disaster payments.

Farmers have waited long enough. They only want fairness.

Mr. President, I underscore that it is a little complicated, but primarily what has happened in many cases is that farmers lost all their wheat crops. Let us say they had 100 acres. Then they went out and planted 50 acres as a second crop.

But under present law they cannot get paid for their wheat disaster payments, even though they are eligible and have been for weeks and weeks and weeks, until they harvest the second crop, which is not going to happen for a while.

One thing our bill does is to let them

go in and get part of their money now. Certainly, this is not a disaster of the magnitude of the ones we have talked about in Hugo and the earthquake in California, but if you are a farmer in Texas or Kansas or Oklahoma or South Dakota and you are virtually wiped out, it is a disaster. We have been trying to get action for 3 weeks. It is being held up because they want to put a lot of baggage on this vehicle

been trying to get action for 3 weeks. It is being held up because they want to put a lot of baggage on this vehicle that is not related to the disaster. If they are disaster amendments, that is fine, but they are not related to the disaster at all. If we are going to be urging our colleagues not to load up

the continuing resolution with amendments unless they are disaster amendments, I hope I can make the same plea to my colleagues on this very small \$9 million bill that has been held for 3 weeks. It has meant pain and anguish to a lot of farmers in the States I mentioned. I hope we can have some action on this bill no later than tomorrow evening.

SCHEDULE

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I have discussed with the distinguished Republican leader the proposed Senate schedule for tomorrow and the following day.

We will at 10:30 be resuming debate on the Eastern Airlines measure. It is my hope that the continuing debate on that tomorrow morning will be for a very brief period of time; that we will then be able to proceed to consideration of six mutual legal assistance treaties between the United States and other countries. We are awaiting clearance on that. It is my hope that we can take that up.

I had previously discussed with the Republican leader my desire to take up the legislation to provide assistance to Poland and Hungary tomorrow, or at the earliest time thereafter. I understand the distinguished Republican leader and a group of Senators on that side are preparing a package with regard to that.

I inquire of the Republican leader, consistent with our prior discussion, at what time we might be in a position to proceed to the legislation regarding aid to Poland, which I would like to do as soon as possible?

Mr. DOLE. It is my understanding that the legislation has been drafted. I think there was a meeting of staff members—in fact, I know there was—this afternoon between 4 p.m. and whenever it ended on that issue.

It is my hope to take it up tomorrow at the policy luncheon to see how many Members on this side have an interest in that legislation and then introduce it. I assume we can also introduce it as a separate bill, but it can also be prepared in the nature of a substitute.

I hope we would be able to go to work on that by Wednesday, but I will let the majority leader know right after our luncheon.

Mr. MITCHELL. I thank the distinguished Republican leader.

ORDER OF PROCEDURE

Mr. MITCHELL. For the benefit of Senators in preparing their schedules, if possible, we will proceed to the Poland-Hungary legislation on Wednesday and also on Wednesday, assuming we will by then have received the continuing resolution from

the House, which I anticipate will include disaster relief for the California earthquake victims, it is my hope and expectation that we will take that legislation up on Wednesday, as well.

That, of course, will be vital in two respects, both with respect to the continuing resolution, which expires midnight, Wednesday, and with respect to the California earthquake relief.

Thereafter, we will be considering, I anticipate, four Appropriations Committee conference reports which we hope to have ready by then, one of which is now ready, and three of which we believe will be ready during this week.

Then, Mr. President, I have made a commitment to Senator Specter to take up his death penalty legislation, which we hope will occur sometime on Thursday. That has a 4-hour time limitation. So it is going to be a very busy week for us.

I thank the distinguished Republican leader for his cooperation.

ORDERS FOR TOMORROW

RECESS UNTIL 10 A.M.; MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in recess until 10 a.m. tomorrow, Tuesday, October 24, 1989, and that following the time for the two leaders there be a period for morning business until 10:30 a.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for up to 5 minutes each.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS TOMORROW FROM 12:30 P.M. UNTIL 2:15

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess from 12:30 p.m. to 2:15 p.m. on tomorrow in order to accommodate the party conferences.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

RECESS UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, if the distinguished Republican leader has no further business and if no other Senator is seeking recognition. I now ask unanimous consent that the Senate stand in recess, under the previous order, until 10 a.m. on Tuesday morning.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 6:11 p.m., recessed until Tuesday, October 24, 1989, at 10 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Secretary of the Senate October 20, 1989, under authority of the order of the Senate of January 3, 1989:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

EDWARD S. WALKER, JR., OF MARYLAND, A CAREER MEMBER OF THE SENIOR FOREIGN SERVICE, CLASS OF MINISTER-COUNSELOR, TO BE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY AND PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE UNITED ARAB

THE JUDICIARY

EDWARD W. NOTTINGHAM, OF COLORADO, TO BE UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLORADO VICE A NEW POSITION CREATED BY P.L. 98-353, APPROVED JULY 10, 1984.

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

DONALD E. KIRKENDALL, OF MARYLAND, TO BE IN-SPECTOR GENERAL, DEPARTMENT OF THE TREAS-URY. (NEW POSITION)

IN THE ARMY

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINT-MENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED, UNDER THE PRO-VISIONS OF TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION VISIONS OF TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601(A), IN CONJUNCTION WITH ASSIGNMENT TO A PO-SITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY DES-IGNATED BY THE PRESIDENT UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601(A):

To be lieutenant general

T. GEN. JOHNNIE H. CORNS XXX-XX-XXXX UNITED STATES ARMY.

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINT-MENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED UNDER THE PROVI-SIONS OF TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601(A), IN CONJUNCTION WITH ASSIGNMENT TO A POSITION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY DES-IGNATED BY THE PRESIDENT UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601(A):

To be lieutenant general

T. GEN. CLAUDE M. KICKLIGHTER XXX-XX-XXXX .
UNITED STATES ARMY.

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINT-THE FOLLOWING-NAMED OFFICER FOR APPOINT-MENT TO THE GRADE INDICATED, UNDER THE PRO-VISIONS OF TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601(A), IN CONJUNCTION WITH ASSIGNMENT TO A PROVISION OF IMPORTANCE AND RESPONSIBILITY DESIGNATED BY THE PRESIDENT UNDER TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 601(A):

To be lieutenant general

IAJ. GEN. JACK D. WOODALL, XXX-XX-XXXX UNITED STATES ARMY. MAJ GEN

THE UNITED STATES ARMY RESERVE OFFICERS NAMED HEREIN FOR APPOINTMENT AS A RESERVE COMMISSIONED OFFICER OF THE ARMY, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SEC-TIONS 593(A), 3371 AND 3384

To be major general

BRIG. GEN. FRENCIS T. DONOHUE, XXX-XX-XXXX

To be brigadier general

COL. FRANCIS D. TERRELL, XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. JOHN E. MCALLISTER, XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. PETER W. CLEGG, XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. FRANCIS R. JORDAN, JR., XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. HOWARD T. MOONEY, XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. GEORGE G. KUNDAHL, XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. DONALD F. CAMPBELL, XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. DONALD F. CAMPBELL, XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. LINDSAY M. FREEMAN, XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. DAVID L. STABENOW, XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. DAVID L. STABENOW, XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. GEORGE G. XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. GEORGE G. XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. GEORGE G. XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. JOHN COMPERE, XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. RICHARD J. DIRGINS, XXX-XX-XXXX
COL. RICHARD J. DIRGINS, XXX-XX-XXXX

IN THE MARINE CORPS

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

To be lieutenant general

MAJ. GEN. JOHN R. DAILEY, XXX-XX-XXXX /9903 USMC.

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED OFFICERS FOR PERMA-NENT PROMOTION IN THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTION 628, TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, AS AMENDED, WITH DATES OF RANK TO BE DETERMINED BY THE SECRE-TARY OF THE AIR FORCE.

MEDICAL CORPS

To be colonel

ROBERT P. BELIHAR, XXX-XX-XXXX DJALMA A. BRAGA, XXX-XX-XXXX

To be lieutenant colonel

KENNETH P. HART, XXX-XX-XXXX

To be major

WILLIAM E. COLLIER, XXX-XX-XXXX

JOSEPH D. DYE, XXX-XX-XXXX

KENNETH R. KILIAN, XXX-XX-XXXX

MICHAEL B. MONTE, XXX-XX-XXXX

MICHAEL B. MONTE, XXX-XX-XXXX

RACHEL C. PEREZ, XXX-XX-XXXX

RACHEL C. PEREZ, XXX-XX-XXXX

RENDETH C. SANFORD, XXX-XX-XXXX

FREDERICK E. STAFFORD, XXX-XX-XXXX

RICHARD O. WRIGHT XXX-XX-XXXX

DENTAL CORPS

To be major

CHARLES R. GLOSSON, XXX-XX-XXXX

IN THE NAVY

THE FOLLOWING NAMED FORMER U. S. NAVY OFFI-CERS TO BE APPOINTED PERMANENT COMMANDER IN THE MEDICAL CORPS OF THE U. S. NAVAL RESERVE, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 593.

JOHN A. BALACKI RAYMOND J. BETSON RONAL G. CONNOLY

MICHAEL J. GIACALONE, JR.

THE FOLLOWING NAMED FORMER U. S. ARMY OFFI-CER TO BE APPOINTED PERMANENT COMMANDER IN THE MEDICAL CORPS OF THE U. S. NAVAL RESERVE, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SEC-TION 593.

ROBERT M. LYSE

THE FOLLOWING NAMED FORMER U. S. AIR FORCE OFFICER TO BE APPOINTED PERMANENT COMMANDER IN THE MEDICAL CORPS OF THE U. S. NAVAL RESERVE, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 593.

STEPHEN M. BLUM

THE FOLLOWING NAMED MEDICAL COLLEGE GRAD-UATES TO BE APPOINTED PERMANENT COMMANDER IN THE MEDICAL CORPS OF THE U. S. NAVAL RESERVE, PURSUANT TO TITLE 10, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 593.

PRABHAKAR C. GHOSH ELEANOR TRAVERS SILLOO KAPADIA

IN THE AIR FORCE

IN THE AIR FORCE

THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS FOR PROMOTION AS
RESERVE OF THE AIR FORCE, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF SECTIONS 593, 8366 AND 8372, OF TITLE 10,
UNITED STATES CODE. PROMOTIONS MADE UNDER
SECTION 8372 AND CONFIRMED BY THE SENATE
UNDER SECTION 593 SHALL BEAR AN EFFECTIVE
DATE OF 16 JUNE 1989, AND PROMOTIONS MADE
UNDER SECTION 8366 SHALL BE EFFECTIVE UPON
COMPLETION OF SEVEN YEARS OF PROMOTION
SERVICE AND TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF TOTAL SERVICE, UNLESS A LATER PROMOTION EFFECTIVE DATE
IS REQUIRED BY SECTION 8372(C), OR THE PROMOTION EFFECTIVE DATE IS DELAYED IN ACCORDANCE
WITH SECTION 83808 OF FITLE 10. WITH SECTION 8380(B) OF TITLE 10.

LINE OF THE AIR FORCE

Major to lieutenant colonel

AARDEMA, ROBERT J., XXXXXXXXXX ABBEND, DAVID A., XXXXXXXXXX ABNER, CHARLES A., XXXXXXXXXX ACCURSO, JOSEPH L., XXXXXXXXXX ADAMS, JONATHAN E., XXXXXXXXXX ADAMS, MARSHALL V., XXXXXXXXX

BARRY, LYMAN W., JR., XXX-XX-XXXX

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XXX-XX-XXXX

XXX-XX-XXXX

H., XXX-XX-XXXX
BERKEBILE, TAD S., xxx-xx-
BERLIN, DONALD L., xxx-xx-
BERTINO, ELLEN B., xxx-xx-
BETTS, JOHN E., xxx-xx-xxxx
BIELENBERG, ROBERT P., XXX-XX-XXXX
BORSKI, DAVID A., XXX-XX-XXXX
BOUGHNER, LEE R., XXX-XX-XXXX
BOWCOCK, STEPHEN W., XXX-X
BOWERS, JOHN L., XXX-XX-XXXX
BYRUM, JERRY W., XXX-XX-XXXX
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GALICIA, HERMAN, M., JR., XXXXXXXX
GALIUP, JERE R., XXXXXXXXX
GAMBRILL, KENNETH M., XXXXXXXX
GAMBRILL, KENNETH M., XXXXXXXX
GAMBRILL, KENNETH M., XXXXXXXX
GARDINGR, ROBERT L., XXXXXXXX
GARRISON, DAVID M., XXXXXXXX
GARRISON, DAVID M., XXXXXXXX
GARRISON, RAYMOND B., XXXXXXXX
GARRISON, RAYMOND B., XXXXXXXX
GARRISON, RAYMOND B., XXXXXXXX
GARRISON, BAYXXXXXX
GATER RANDALL J., XXXXXXXX
GAZ, JOHN E., XXXXXXXX
GAZ, JOHN E., XXXXXXXX
GERING, GEORGE W., III. XXXXXXXX
GERING, JAMES M., XXXXXXXXX
GIBBONS, JAMES M., XXXXXXXXX
GIBBONS, JAMES M., XXXXXXXXX
GIBBONS, JAMES M., XXXXXXXXX
GIDLEN, DAN F., XXXXXXXXX
GILL, CARTER T., XXXXXXXXX
GILL, CARTER T., XXXXXXXXX
GILL, CARTER T., XXXXXXXXX
GILSSING, EUGENE L., XXXXXXXXX
GLESSING, EUGENE L., XXXXXXXXX
GLOODE, TOM D., XXXXXXXXX
GODOLD, TOM D., XXXXXXXXX
GONZALES, DENNIS M., XXXXXXXXX
GOLOGECAE, SAMUEL, XXXXXXXX
GONZALES, DENNIS M., XXXXXXXXX
GOLOGECHA, SAMUEL, XXXXXXXX
GONZALES, DENNIS M., XXXXXXXXX
GRENHAM, TOMAS J., XXXXXXXXX
GREBH, MICHAEL D., XXXXXXXXX
GREBH, MONNY E., XXXXXXXXX
GREBH, MONNY E., XXXXXXXXX
GREBH, AND C., MANDOLPH L., JR., XXXXXXXX
GREBH, XANIT AJ., XXXXXXXXX
GROBONON, PHILLIP S., XXXXXXXXX
GRUBS, VANIT AJ., XXXXXXXXX
GROBONON, PHILLIP B., XXXXXXXXX
GRUBS, VANIT AJ., XXXXXXXXX
GROBONON, PHILLIP B., XXXXXXXXX
GRUBS, VANIT AJ., XXXXXXXXXX
GRUBS, VANIT AJ., XXXXXXXXX
GRUBS, VANIT AJ.

HERRINGTON, NORMAN L., XXX-XX-XXXX
HERVATINE, FRANK R., XXX-XX-XXXX
HEWITT, GARY R. XXX-XX-XXXX
HILL, DAVID N., XXX-XX-XXXX
HILL, JACK L., XXX-XX-XXXX
HILL, LUCIUS G., III., XXX-XX-XXXX
HINTON, WILLIAM R., XXX-XX-XXXX
HITCHINGS, BARRY P., XXX-XX-XXXX
HOLDERNESS, CHARLES W., XXX-XX-XXXX
HOLIBAUGH, ROBERT R., XXX-XX-XXXX
HOLIBAUGH, ROBERT R., XXX-XX-XXXX
HOLIBAUGH, ROBERT IR., XXX-XX-XXXX

IFFERT, FREDRICK V., XXX-XX-XXXX INGRAM, GLENN W., XXX-XX-XXXX INOUYE, WINFRED T., XXX-XX-XXXX IRISH, STEVEN P., XXX-XX-XXXX

JACKSON, GARY L., XXXXXXXX

JACKSON, JOHN G. H., XXXXXXXX

JAKEMAN, ROBERT J., JYXXXXXXX

JANUZZI, ROBERT F., JR., XXXXXXXX

JEMESON, DIMITRI, XXXXXXXXX

JEROSLOW, STEVEN L., XXXXXXXX

JEROSLOW, STEVEN L., XXXXXXXX

JEROSLOW, STEVEN L., XXXXXXXX

JOHNOSN, MICHAEL A., XXXXXXXX

JOHNSON, ANDREW T., XXXXXXXXX

JOHNSON, CHRIS A., XXXXXXXXX

JOHNSON, DAVID A., XXXXXXXXX

JOHNSON, DAVID A., XXXXXXXXX

JOHNSON, HERBERT L., XXXXXXXXX

JOHNSON, PATRICLA E., XXXXXXXXX

JONES, CHARLES D., XXXXXXXXX

JONES, CRABER B., XXXXXXXXX

JONES, CRABER B., XXXXXXXXXX

JONES, CRABER B., XXXXXXXXXX

JONES, CRABER B., XXXXXXXXXX

JONES, CUGENE E., XXXXXXXXXX

JONES, GUGENE E., XXXXXXXXXX

JOYCE, MARTIN V., JR., XXXXXXXXX

JOYCE, MARTIN V., JR., XXXXXXXXX

JUDAY, LARRY E., XXXXXXXXXX

LACAGNIN, LEONARD J., JR., XXXXXXXXX LACHAPELLE, ROBERT L., XXX-XXXXXX LACKLEN, JAY F., XXX-XXXXXX LAHOVSKI, THOMAS J., XXX-XX-XXXX LAHOVSKI, THOMAS J., XXX-XX-XXXX LAMBERT, KERRICK B., XXX-XX-XXXX LAMBERT, KERRICK B., XXX-XX-XXXX LAMMLEIN, DENNIS R., XXX-XX-XXXX LANDIS, DANIEL J., XXX-XX-XXXX LANDIS, DANIEL J., XXX-XX-XXXX LANG, CHARLES P., JR., XXX-XX-XXXX

PABST, RICHARD W., XXX-XX-XXXX

PROFOZICH, ALAN E., XXX-XX-XXXX PROKUSKI, LEON M., XXX-XX-XXXX PURYEAR, POLK E., XXX-XX-XXXX

TAGGART, KEITH A., XXX-XX-XXXX

TANNER, HOWARD N., III, XXX-XX-XXXX

TATUM, JOHN R., IXX-XX-XXXX

TATUM, DEMITRIOS O., XXX-XX-XXX

TAYLOR, JAMES W., XXX-XX-XXX

TAYLOR, JOHN H., JR., XXX-XX-XXX

TAYLOR, WILLIAM W., JR., XXX-XX-XXX

TEDESCO, RICHARD P., XXX-XX-XXX

TEDESCO, RICHARD P., XXX-XX-XXX

TEGEL, EDWARD M., JR., XXX-XX-XXX

TEGHUNE, JAMES A., XXX-XX-XXX

THOMPSON, DONNIE R., XXX-XX-XXX

THOMPSON, DONNIE R., XXX-XX-XXX

THOMPSON, RICHARD C., XXX-XX-XXX

THOMPSON, RICHARD C., XXX-XX-XXX

THOMIROV, DIMTRY L., XXX-XX-XXX

THUSTEVEN W., XXX-XX-XXX

TILLER, MICHAEL D., XXX-XX-XXX

TILLER, MICHAEL D., XXX-XX-XXX

TONTHAS, JOHN C., XXX-XX-XXX

TOWT, HOWARD C., XXX-XX-XXX

TRAVIS, WILLIAM C., XXX-XX-XXX

TRENT, TERRENCE N., XXX-XX-XXX

TURNER, WALLEY A., XXX-XX-XXXX

TURNER, WALLEY A., XXX-XX-XXXX

TURNER, WALLEY A., XXX-XX-XXXX

TURNER, WALLEY A., XXX-XX-XXXX

UNDERWOOD, CHARLES, D, JR., XXX-XX-XXXX URBANEK, GARY L., XXX-XX-XXXX UYEMATSU, CLINTON T., XXX-XX-XXXX

VANDENBROEK, KENNETH W., XXX-XX-XXXX VANDENDORPEL, RONALD D., XXX-XX-XXXX VARGO, DAVID A., XXX-XX-XXXX VASSER, RICHARD E., XXX-XX-XXXX VENABLE, EUGENE G., XXX-XX-XXXX VOLLMER, CHARLES D., XXX-XX-XXXX VONLOEWENFELDT, CARL G., XXX-XXXXX

YACHECHAK, GLENN M., XXX-XXXXX YORKE, RICHARD W., XXX-XXXXX YOUNG, CHARLES I., IXX-XX-XXXX YOUNG, GREGORY B., XXX-XX-XXXX YOUNG, RANDALL W., XXX-XXXXX YOUNGS, RALPH A., JR., XXX-XXXXX

ZACHARY, KEETON D., XXX-XXXXX ZENS, CLARE P., XXX-XXXXXX ZIEGLER, DAVID L., XXX-XXXXXX ZIELINSKI, VICTOR, A., II, XXX-XXXXX ZUBER, JOHN D., XXX-XXXXXX

IN THE ARMY NATIONAL GUARD

THE FOLLOWING-NAMED ARMY NATIONAL GUARD OF THE UNITED STATES OFFICERS FOR PROMOTION IN THE RESERVE OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, UNDER THE PROVISIONS OF TITLE 10, U.S.C., SECTIONS 593(A) AND 3385:

ARMY PROMOTION LIST

To be colonel

ARMY NURSE CORPS

To be colonel

LORETTA A. DASH, XXX-XX-XXXX

DENTAL CORPS To be colonel

CHARLES P. BRADSHAW, XXX-XX-XXXX JERRY P. CARTMEL, XXX-XX-XXXX

MEDICAL CORPS To be colonel

JOSEPH J. DOBNER, XXX-XX-XXXX WILFRED GILL, XXX-XX-XXXX PAULA M. MAIONCHI, XXX-XX-XXXX

MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS

To be colonel

ARIEL E. PLATT, XXX-XX-XXXX

ARMY PROMOTION LIST

To be lieutenant colonel

JAMES O. ASHENHURST, XXXXXXXX EDWARD P. BANDY, XXXXXXXXX YAME SELLAR, XXXXXXXXX ROBERT W. BERKLEY, XXXXXXXX ROBERT W. BERKLEY, XXXXXXXX HARRY L. BRYAN, JR, XXXXXXXX JAMES P. COMBS, XXXXXXXXX GARY Q. CVACH, XXXXXXXX BART O. DAVIS, XXXXXXXX ROGER P. DECATO, XXXXXXXXX ROGER P. DECATO, XXXXXXXXX XXXXX JAMES G. DICKOVICK, XXXXXXXXX XXXXXX AND Y. DOUGHERTY, JR, XXXXXXXXX WAYNE H. ESTVOLD, XXXXXXXXXX CRIL M. FORTE, XXXXXXXXX REIL M. FORTE, XXXXXXXXXX RICHARD E. HALEY, XXXXXXXXXX RICHARD E. HALEY, XXXXXXXXXXXXX HARLAN E. JUDD, JR, XXXXXXXXX MICHAEL C. KESSLER, XXXXXXXXX MICHAEL C. KESSLER, XXXXXXXXX JAMES O. ASHENHURST, XXX-XX-XXXX

CHAPLAIN

To be lieutenant colonel

DAVID R. CHANCE, XXX-XX-XXXX GERALD H. PRYOR, XXX-XX-XXXX

ARMY NURSE CORPS To be lieutenant colonel

BONNIE J. HEMMING, XXX-XX-XXXX ALBERT J. KROLL, XXX-XX-XXXX

CAROLYN L. MCCARTNEY, XXX-XXXXX ROSEMARY A. SEDLACEK, XXX-XX-XXXX EVELYN P. STRACENER, XXX-XX-XXXX

DENTAL CORPS

To be lieutenant colonel

DAVID N. REMINGTON, XXX-XX-XXXX

MEDICAL CORPS

To be lieutenant colonel

WILLIAM G. HAAS, XXX-XX-XXXX ROBERT B. PETTYJOHN, XXX-XX-XXXX EDWARD W. ZEFF, XXX-XX-XXXX

MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS To be lieutenant colonel

LEE E. BURROWS, XXX-XX-XXXX DANIEL P. COFFEY, XXX-XX-XXXX