PLACING A HOLD ON THREE NOMINEES TO THE METROPOLITAN WASHINGTON AIRPORTS AUTHORITY

● Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I am placing a ''hold'' on three nominees to the Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority, Robert Clarke Brown, John Paul Hammerschmidt, and Norman Y. Mineta. I am concerned about the lack of additional landing and take-off slots at Reagan National Airport. Additional slots are vital to the economic interests of Iowa. They are also necessary to treat Iowa air travelers more fairly.●

TERRY SANFORD

● Mr. DODD. Mr. President, earlier this year, this body mourned the passing of a former colleague and a political pioneer: Terry Sanford of North Carolina. Terry Sanford served honorably in the Senate from 1987 to 1993, but he is primarily remembered as the progressive Governor who guided the state of North Carolina from the days of segregation into the modern era of economic prosperity and racial tolerance.

Elected in 1960, four years before the Civil Rights Act, Terry Sanford aggressively pursued an agenda of racial equality, creating a biracial panel to work on solutions to end job discrimination against blacks. But as crucial as desegregation was to North Carolina's future, Terry Sanford realized that it would have a limited impact without investments in education.

As much as any figure in modern American politics, Terry Sanford recognized that education was the key to opportunity and economic growth in this country. He established North Carolina's community college system, invested heavily in the public schools, founded the North Carolina School for the Arts, and set up a school for the state's gifted students. He also promoted the use of the research facilities at the state's universities as the foundation of Research Triangle Park, which has become one of the nation's leading hubs of high-tech economic activity.

After leaving the Governor's office, he went on to serve as the President of Duke University for 16 years, and he led this university to national prominence.

Many people have expressed their admiration for Terry Sanford in this chamber and in publications across the country, and, in my opinion, one of the most eloquent pieces honoring this Southern statesman actually appeared in a newspaper in Connecticut. Keith C. Burris of The Journal-Inquirer did an excellent job of capturing the essence of this great man who forever changed the face of his state and our nation. His piece reminded me how fortunate I was to serve with Terry Sanford and to call him a friend.

I ask that an article by Mr. Burris be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

[From the Journal Inquirer, May 1, 1998]

TERRY SANFORD, SOWER AND BUILDER

(By Keith C. Burris)

Terry Sanford died last week at the age of 80. The New York Times and other august publications noted his extraordinary accomplishments: a Bronze Star and Purple Heart for paratrooping into the Battle of the Bulge during World War II; governor of North Carolina from 1961 to 1965; president of Duke University from 1969 to 1985; and U.S. senator from North Carolina from 1986 to 1992. But none of these facts or titles quite captures the greatness or the goodness of the man.

The greatness of the man was that, finding himself at odds with the folkways of his homeland, he rose above them and then changed them. It's a lot easier simply to be a rebel.

The goodness of Terry Sanford was that he found a way to contribute wherever he was. He accepted the setbacks of his life not only with grace but with valor. When one door shut, he opened another, walked in, and started to build something. It's a whole lot easier to sit on your resume and stew on your defeats.

Sanford was a proud man and he had a politician's memory. But his mind and his heart were as expansive as a Carolina mountain vista. No matter what life dealt him, he kept on trying to improve his state, region, and country.

As he fought his last battle—with cancer—Terry Sanford was the principal fund-raiser for a new center for the arts in the North Carolina ''research triangle,'' the North Carolina Performing Arts Institute. He spent his last days on his latest dream. His colleagues say they will need two healthy men to match the dying man's energy.

Terry Sanford's first dream was Martin Luther King's: equal opportunity, an end to Jim Crow, and an integrated society where everyone is judged by the ''content of his character.''

In 1960 Sanford ran for governor of North Carolina on a platform of racial progress and economic opportunity, making good schools the core of his message. In 1998, big deal. But in 1960, almost suicidal.

This was before the great crusades of King and the landmark civil rights legislation of 1964 and 1965. Just to make things a little more interesting, Sanford also endorsed John F. Kennedy for president in 1960. Many people, in many parts of America, knew one thing about Kennedy, and it wasn't that he was young or liberal or rich; it was that he was Roman Catholic. Endorsing Kennedy was not something that would help Sanford carry the mountain towns.

But he won. And good and bad came of it.

The good was that Sanford was a superb governor—judged one of the 10 best in the century by the people who vote on these things up at Harvard. Those who are brave, and smart, and prophetic in politics are seldom the ones who can keep the streets clean too. But Sanford was the exception. As governor he was efficient, effective, and innovative. He integrated the parks; he built a community college system; he founded the North Carolina School for the Arts in Winston-Salem and the Governor's School for Gifted Students; he started his own war on poverty before LBJ did. As Albert Hunt has written, Sanford preached states' responsibilities when other governors preached states' rights. And while George Wallace stood in the schoolhouse door, Terry Sanford built schoolhouses.

He also raised taxes. And for this, as well as his Southern liberalism, Sanford was hated by many North Carolinians for many years. Forced to leave office by a term limit in 1965, he was not elected to anything again in North Carolina for more than 20 years.

Sanford paid a huge price for his political courage. But in the long run he reaped a proud harvest. In many ways Sanford cut the path for the modern North Carolina: the great schools and universities, the research base, the medical schools, the educated and skilled work force, the social cohesion and tolerance.

CREATING THE NEW SOUTH

Someday someone will write the modern version of W.J. Cash's classic ''The Mind of the South'' and call it something like ''The Rise of the New South.'' The New South is not all sweetness and light. But it has provided economic opportunity and education for the many, which Connecticut cannot always say about itself, and it is the most racially integrated and harmonious region of the nation.

Sanford and a few other progressive Southern governors—like Leroy Collins of Florids—also paved the way for the New South governors who changed the face of American politics—governors like Jim Hunt, Lawton Chiles, Richard Riley, Douglas Wilder, and Zel Miller. And two others: Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton.

What a shame that Sanford did not make it to the White House—he tired in 1972 and 1976—instead of the president who was crippled by his sense of morality and the president who is crippled by his lack of morality. In 1972 Terry Sanford's fellow Democrats in North Carolina voted not for him but for George Wallace in their presidential primary.

The mark of the Southern progressive governor was and is trashing ideology to do what works; fiscal sanity; and emphasis on education. Two generations of these governors, starting with Sanford, have moved the center of the Democratic Party and saved it from national extinction. And they have pushed politics, especially Democratic politics, away from philosophy to nuts and bolts.

Not all of that has been good either. But when you project Sanford's programs and positions in the 1960s into the 1990s, you see that he was the prototype. His accomplishment as president of Duke was no less important.

Higher learning is the Southern liberal's core value. And just as Sanford was a precursor for others, Frank Porter Graham was Sanford before Sanford. Graham led a generation of Carolina progressives and had mixed success at the polls. But his base and great accomplishment was the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Graham made it first-rate.

Sanford, who was a Chapel Hill graduate, in turn made Duke first-rate. He did it through sheer energy and ambition: hiring the best he could find; raising the money to afford those hires; eliminating quotas; building new programs, departments, and facilities; and bringing gifted and controversial thinkers and writers to the campus for long and short visits. Sanford was a big dreamer, but a practical one. He wanted one of the state's best schools to be one of the nation's best. And the dream came true. Today Duke is rated one of the nation's top 10. Chapel Hill, only a few miles away, is too. Their rivalry has not been bad for North Carolina.

THE SOUTHERN HUMANIST

It is hard for Northerners and children of the 1990s to comprehend the Southern liberal of the 1930s, 40s and 50s. The Southern liberal had to have physical and moral courage. He had to stay focused. He did not have the luxury of class wars, race wars, rights talk that extends to trees and rocks, and ideological fratricide. Properly, he is not called a liberal

or a progressive at all but a humanist. Terry Sanford was the great Southern humanist of his generation in politics.

The Southern humanist never trivialized himself like the Northern liberal, for two reasons. First, he was always so much the underdog that he had to stay attuned to people who didn't think a bit like him. This kept the Southern humanist humble. Second, Southern humanism was based in gospel-inspired neighborliness, as opposed to fads, modernism, and, ultimately, rationalism.

It is also hard for the Northerner and the modern to understand a guy like Sanford. What made him go?

It wasn't sheer ambition, because he did so much that hurt his career and so much that was irrelevant to it. More than one political reporter remarked that Sanford lacked the ''killer instinct'' that Carter possessed and Clinton possesses in spades.

The answer is that Sanford was a citizen—a public man in the ancient Greek sense. Education and politics were one to him; public life was citizenship, and it came before and after office. It lasted all your life.

This sense of mission and duty is a much deeper thing than the vanity that seeks and clings to office—any office—like life's blood.

For a politician Sanford was wonderfully stoical. When he ran for the Senate I was working in Winston-Salem as an editorial writer. He came in for an endorsement interview with the editorial board (an endorsement he did not receive) and answered our questions for an hour or so. I thought him every inch a senator—in fact, a president. But I was also impressed by his lack of pretense.

Another writer asked him, as he was about to go: ''Governor, aren't you taking a big risk? If you lose, you go out as a loser and you'll be remembered as a loser.''

Sanford shrugged and smiled and skipped a beat as if considering self-censoring and dismissing it. And then he said: ''So what? Most folks don't remember you, win or lose. You're just an old politician. . . . People don't remember what little good I did. And that's fine. But I do, and I take my satisfaction there.''

THE INSTINCT TO SERVE

Sanford did go out with a loss. His disastrous reelection campaign for the Senate was sunk by a long hospital stay and a roguish opponent—a former Democrat and Sanford protege—who ran on the brave slogan that Sanford was too sick to campaign.

I wrote to Sanford after that loss—just a one-liner to say I was sorry. To my surprise he wrote back in his own hand. He said that his defeat might be for the best. For now he'd be home in North Carolina, he said, and could see his grandchildren, do some teaching, and maybe pursue some projects for the state—like the arts institute.

Yes, he did lack the killer instinct. Terry Sanford has the serving instinct. It helped him to change a state, a region, and a nation.●

TRIBUTE TO VINCENT D'ACUTI ''MR. SOUTH BURLINGTON''

● Mr. JEFFORDS. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a dear neighbor and lifetime friend. Vincent D'Acuti passed away on September 23th. However, his sense of humor and his devotion to his community will keep him in the hearts and minds of those who knew and loved him.

Often called ''Mr. South Burlington,'' Vincent served his community in a variety of ways. He was a selectman in South Burlington for 10 years during the transition from town to city in the 1970's. While he was on the board, the population doubled and numerous improvement projects were undertaken. He was on the Burlington International Airport Commission, helped form the Burlington Boys and Girls Club, and was an active member of the Kiwanis club for over fifty years. He was a fixture at the annual pancake breakfast and charity auction run by the Kiwanis, served as their lieutenant governor for New England, and received a national Kiwanis award for 50 years of service.

He also served his country in the army, including a stint in Normandy. While stationed at Fort Ethan Allen in Colchester, he met his future wife, Lillian Langlois of South Burlington. After he was discharged, he returned to the Burlington area to work and raise his family.

Vincent approached his service of both country and community with a sense of humor which endeared himself to everyone he met. As I read the article in the September 34th edition of The Burlington Free Press, I was struck at how many people mentioned this attribute. Frank Balch, a former employer of Vincent said, ''He loved his life and enjoyed it to the hilt. He was an unforgettable person.'' He loved to tell stories and most of them were about his wife and two daughters. The joy which Vincent shared with others grew from the joy he found with his wife their daughters, Donna and Diane.

My wife Liz recalled a time when she was babysitting for his children. There was a huge storm, and as is typical in rural Vermont, the power went out. Liz wasn't expecting Vince or Lillian to be home for hours, so when she heard someone at the back door, she grabbed a vacuum cleaner and positioned herself by the door, ready to defend herself and Vince's two daughters. However, the mysterious noise she heard was Vince returning home early from his work as owner of the local Dairy Queen. Luckily, he said hello before my wife wacked him over the head with the Hoover!

Through his commitment to his community, his friends, and his family, he showed us how one man can truly make a difference in the lives of others. Through his humor and charisma he showed us all how to live life to its fullest. Farewell Vincent. Your friendship meant a great deal to me, and to so many others whose lives you touched.●

USDA'S INSPECTOR GENERAL REPORT DOCUMENTING MISMANAGEMENT PRACTICES IN THE FLUID MILK PROMOTION PROGRAM

● Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, a report issued by the Inspector General of the U.S. Department of Agriculture raises very serious concerns about the International Dairy Foods Association (IDFA), the Milk Industry Foundation (MIF) and the National Fluid Milk Processor Promotion Board (Board) in terms of the fluid milk promotion program.

The Inspector General (IG) report identifies: unapproved expenditures in violation of law, potential conflicts of interest, possible cover-up activities, inaccurate financial statements, sole-source contracting, inadequate controls over contracting, excessive payments, failure to enforce contracts, property disputes over ownership of copyrights, and other serious violations by the Board or its agents IDFA and MIF.

The fluid milk promotion law contains penalties for violations including, on conviction, a fine of not more than $1,000 or imprisonment for not more than 1 year, or both. The law also provides that ''nothing . . . shall authorize the Secretary to withhold information from a duly authorized committee or subcommittee of Congress.'' I serve on three committees and I have a keen interest in this matter.

It is also a violation for funds collected under the law ''to be used in any manner for the purpose of influencing legislation or government action or policy.''

I will omit details, but as background note that the law allows the appointment of a Board which may enter into contracts, with the approval of the Secretary, to carry out milk promotion and research programs. Funds are generated by a 20-cent per hundredweight assessment on certain processors of milk. This assessment is imposed through an order which is binding on processors.

The Board is to ''keep minutes . . . and promptly report minutes of each Board meeting to the Secretary.'' The Board may pay for the advertising of fluid milk if authorized by the Secretary. Programs or projects can not become effective except ''on the approval of the Secretary.'' Also, the law provides that the Board is to ''administer the order.''

The law does not provide for the involvement of IDFA or MIF specifically. However, the Board is authorized, with approval of the Secretary, to enter into contracts or agreements and is authorized to employ such persons as the Board considers necessary.

As background for those not familiar with these organizations, note that IDFA's website says that ''IDFA serves as an umbrella organization for three constituent groups: the Milk Industry Foundation, the National Cheese Institute, and the International Ice Cream Association. . . .'' IDFA is an association for ''processors, manufacturers, marketers, distributors and suppliers of dairy foods, including milk, cheese, and ice cream and frozen desserts.'' More than 800 companies are in IDFA. MIF has 185 member companies, the National Cheese Institute has 95 member companies, and 150 companies are