

putting welfare recipients to work and enabling them to become self-sufficient.

We support that. Able-bodied welfare recipients ought to work. As some have said, they need to get out of the cart and help pull it. But, babies and toddlers shouldn't be thrown out of the cart. That kind of extremism aims at the mother and hits the child.

We believe the Senate can enact a welfare reform plan that is not extreme, but that is fair and requires work and personal responsibility. Rhetoric is fine, but the reality is that a small minority support the extreme approach and are using their power to block real reform.

If the rest of us join together, we can have a pragmatic, sensible, realistic plan to reform welfare.

#### RECENT ACHIEVEMENTS OF STUDENTS FROM THE SOUTH DAKOTA SCHOOL OF MINES AND TECHNOLOGY

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, today, I would like to commend the recent accomplishments of the innovative students at the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, SDSM&T, in Rapid City, SD. On Thursday, June 29, the SDSM&T solar motion team placed 16th in Sunrayce '95, a solar-powered car race from Indianapolis, IN to Golden, CO. Then, on July 1, SDSM&T engineering students captured the national title at the eighth annual National Concrete Canoe Competition here in Washington, DC.

Sunrayce '95 was a 10-day, 1,150-mile cross-country race. Despite the cloudy and rainy conditions they experienced, the SDSM&T team still managed to better all other rookie teams with their solar-powered car, the Solar Rolar. On the last day of the meet, the team finished the 53-mile race in seventh place, passing several top-ranked rivals. The teamwork and endurance demonstrated by this first-year team is admirable. They are sure to be contenders in the years to come.

Last month, I had the privilege to visit with the SDSM&T concrete canoe team before their competition. The school was represented by a group of hard-working and dedicated individuals. After last year's fourth-place finish in the competition, these engineering students devoted much time to training and fine-tuning their 92 pound canoe, the Predator. Their efforts paid off as they competed in various divisions against 21 other colleges from across the country.

Taking the first-place trophy was not all fun and games for the South Dakota team. The recent flooding which took place in Virginia sent debris floating down the Potomac River. The Predator was struck by a log and sustained minor damage, but repairs were made and the canoe remained in the competition.

Muscle and boat design were not the only factors that determined the final

outcome of the competition. A majority of team points were captured in verbal and written presentations about the canoe. When all was said and done, the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology team accumulated the most team points, receiving a \$5,000 scholarship for their efforts.

Mr. President, I am extremely proud of the students from the School of Mines and Technology. They have proven that South Dakota students can compete—and be front-runners—in the field of civil engineering. A July 5, 1995, Rapid City Journal editorial praised the teams for their accomplishments and I ask that a copy of the editorial be printed at the end of my remarks.

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

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. PRESSLER. Mr. President, again I congratulate the administrators, teachers, and students of the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology for their great work. They have given added meaning to the South Dakota work ethic. I wish them continued success in the future.

#### EXHIBIT 1

[From the Rapid City Journal, July 5, 1995]  
A BANNER WEEK FOR TECH

Teams from the South Dakota School of Mines & Technology displayed the quality of the schools' technical expertise and people.

Last week, people across America, particularly those in circles of higher education, were finding out something that people in our community already know but sometimes take for granted:

South Dakota School of Mines & Technology is an outstanding institution of higher learning that attracts quality students and faculty.

On Saturday, Tech won the 8th annual National Concrete Canoe Race put on in Washington, D.C., by the American Society of Civil Engineers. Among the 22 competing schools, Tech was the champion.

On Thursday, Tech's Solar Motion team finished 16th in the grueling Sunrayce '95, a solar-powered vehicle race from Indianapolis, Ind., to Golden, Colo.

On Friday, Tech's effort in Sunrayce '95 was rewarded with a pair of honors that typify the best of Tech.

The quality of the school's engineering expertise was recognized in the awarding of a plaque and a \$1,000 cash prize for the best overall use of technology in its Sunrayce vehicle.

The quality of the school's people was recognized in a humanitarian award to Ragnar Toennessen, race manager for Solar Motion, for going above and beyond the call of duty. On the race's final leg, Toennessen and communications specialist Zach Spencer left Tech's chase vehicle to help Iowa State team members after their car blew a tire and wrecked. Toennessen was still directing traffic around the wrecked vehicle when Tech's entry crossed the finish line almost an hour later.

Tech's efforts in both the concrete canoe race and Sunrayce '95 showed that the school is achieving its mission to prepare students to meet the demands of the coming century—demands that will require not only a high level of technical expertise but also a sensitivity for human needs.

Thanks to the work of these two teams, more people across America now know what people here have known for a long time: Tech is an outstanding school.

#### CHINA AND VIETNAM

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, last month, William Ketter, vice president and editor of the Patriot Ledger of Quincy, MA, traveled to China and Vietnam to observe first hand the rapid economic and social changes taking place in those countries. At this crucial juncture in our relations with both nations, Mr. Ketter's articles provide interesting insights into China and Vietnam. I ask unanimous consent that his articles may be printed in the RECORD, along with his editorial on the importance of normalizing relations with Vietnam.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Patriot Ledger, June 19, 1995]

YOUNG WANT A BETTER LIFE

(By William B. Ketter)

Buoyed by the opportunity to practice his English, the Beijing University graduate student reeled in his year-of-the-pig kite from high above Tiananmen Square and motioned for me to step closer.

"The most important thing to young people in China today is a better economic future—for themselves, for their family, for their friends," he whispered. "Politics is politics. . . . We don't try to influence it."

Our conversation occurred a few days before the sixth anniversary of the anti-government uprising of workers and students in this very square, a convulsive episode in the 46-year history of communist China.

Yet this young man, who identifies himself as Li Zeng, a 23-year-old master of science student, appeared uninspired by the significance of that defining event. What's more, he seemed to represent the prevailing mood in today's China: a changed attitude that places the pursuit of material well-being over the fight for democracy.

"How can I put it? Li Zeng continued, "Protesting in the streets, yelling slogans, causing rebellion doesn't work. We are more interested in buying a car and getting ahead. There's no future in worrying about what happens after Deng Xiaoping or what Premier Li Peng and President Jiang Zeming might think."

His predication that few people would gather in Tiananmen Square of June 4 to mourn the massacre of 500 demonstrators on that fateful day in 1989 proves correct. The cry for political reform in China has been muted by the heavy hand of the government (a dozen dissidents were detained in advance of the anniversary) and by the sprouting riches of a market economy.

Marxism is still central to the political process, but it is fading fast from the economic scene as farmers and city dwellers are encouraged to improve their individual lot and not to rely entirely on the state. Free market offer everything from antique furniture to bicycles to exquisitely carved Buddha statues to fresh turnips.

Furthermore, there is evidence this strange mix of political communism and market capitalism is working, at least to some degree. Gone are the drab-looking Mao suits nearly everybody wore eight years ago when I was last in China. Designer jeans, Western suits, formfitting skirts, and Italian shoes are the dress of the day.

Gone too, is the sight of boulevards filed only with bicycles.

Motorscooters and motorcycles are quickly becoming the Great Wheels in China. There are also many more cars on the road, especially taxicabs. The consequence: crammed streets and rush-hour gridlock.

High-rise apartments, office buildings and hotels are multiplying as fast as you can say Mao Tse-tung, creating dazzling towers of steel, glass and chrome over the dusty plains of Beijing.

"Does all this surprise you?" asked Li Jianping, deputy director of the U.S. Division of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. He was host to the group of American newspaper editors I joined for a week in China as part of an Asia tour.

"It shouldn't," he continued. "We even have a McDonald's and a Hard Rock Cafe not far from Tiananmen Square."

#### A BUCK FOR A BIG MAC

A visit to both confirms that the Chinese are no different than Americans when it comes to Big Macs and ear-numbing music. Only the prices are lower: 25 cents for a plain hamburger, \$1 for the Big Mac, and Beijing beer goes for 75 cents a glass at the Hard Rock. Save The Planet T-shirts sell for \$6.

The disco in the China World Hotel features American songs, strobe lights and hip-hop dancers. So, too, the hottest nightspot in Beijing, The NASA. It features a helicopter jutting from the wall and prostitutes that slink after businessmen on expense accounts. The hookers make more in a week (\$500) than the average person takes home in a year. But if they get caught, the penalty is an automatic year in jail for first-time offenders, longer for repeaters.

One club-hopping beauty, who identified herself only as "Winnie," said the risk is worth it. "I can buy what I want: clothes, makeup, CD-player, color TV," she said. "I live the good life."

And if the long arm of the law should tap her bare shoulder, she has cash reserves to pay off the police. "They like money, too," Winnie laughed.

Indeed they do. Corruption and nepotism are widespread in China despite efforts to curtail them. The daughter and son of Deng Xiaoping, the ailing paramount leader, who is 90, hold high government jobs, as so the children of most other senior officials.

It is nearly impossible, government leaders admit, to keep track of the multitude of underpaid bureaucrats who approve licenses and the cadres that enforce loose laws in the overpopulated cities and provinces. They consider gifts and payoffs part of their compensation. So do some high government officials because of the system of low pay. The premier and president of China make only \$125 per month in salary. The perks are generous, however. Free food, housing, transportation, medical services and vacations.

Taxi drivers aren't as fortunate, and so they regularly overcharge unsuspecting foreigners by speeding up their meters or driving around in circles. A 10-mile ride from my hotel in Central Beijing to visit a friend on the northern edge of the capital cost \$3 out, \$7 back. Complaining to the Beijing Taxi Control Bureau brings a shrug and the excuse that there aren't enough inspectors to control the 60,000 licensed cabs on the streets of Beijing.

And while China has eliminated the two-currency system—one for foreigners, another for natives—that encouraged black market money dealers, outsiders still pay inflated prices for many goods and services.

#### ETHICS RULES FOR OFFICIALS

Vice Premier Lo Lanqing, a dour hardliner, stiffened at the suggestion that China's move to a market economy has created greater corruption and brought Western vices to the land known as the Middle Kingdom.

"Oh, yes, we have (corruption) problems with some people," he said during an interview in the Great Hall of the People over-

looking Tiananmen Square. "Our problems, though, are no greater than others, and we are dealing with them through reform. Certainly your country has this problem."

Among the reforms are new rules requiring government and party officials to disclose their sources of income and banning gifts and favors that might influence their decisions. The regulations even apply to the children of senior party leaders.

Disclosing sources of income and prohibiting conflict-of-interest gift-giving "will keep clean and honest organizations of the Communist Party and government bodies and strengthen their ties with the people," the official New China News Agency declared.

The unanswered question is whether the government will ever enforce the new ethics rules. Similar crackdowns in years' past were never fully implemented.

Vice Premier Lanqing was more forthcoming when the conversation turned to Chinese-American relations. He said China needs U.S. technical know-how and access to our markets to develop into a world economic power.

"We have a long way to go to catch up to the United States, and we may not even be able to do so by the end of the next century," he said. "You are our most important international trading partner. We only wish you would see us that way."

U.S.-China trade currently amounts to \$50 billion per year, with imports from China accounting for 65 percent of the total. China's major exports to the United States are electrical machinery, footwear, clothing, toys and sports equipment. The fastest growing U.S. exports to China are aircraft, cotton, fertilizer and wood pulp.

One thing Lanqing does not want from America is "your violent and pornographic culture of movies and music. This is bad for our people, and we won't allow it."

The reality is that what Lanqing fears is already there. Hollywood movies and music are pirated by unscrupulous businesses and sold on the black market throughout China. So, too, computer software, textbooks, sneakers and watches. They're called knockoffs, and they are a major concern of corporate America.

Lanqing admitted that piracy of American goods occurs, but he said U.S. business interests in southern China, not Chinese nationals, are primarily responsible for the illegal activity.

"We have courts to deal with this," he said, pointing out that China recently established a copyright law designed to punish knockoff manufacturers and distributors.

And, in fact, during our visit a Beijing court issued a verdict under the new law against three Chinese publishing houses that had published a series of Disney-character children's books without permission from the Walt Disney Company.

The court fined the defendants \$26,100, ordered them to stop selling the books, and required them to issue an apology to Disney through the news media.

Mickey Mouse punishment for years of profit at the expense of the Disney Company, but an American official in Beijing said it was an important step toward establishing some semblance of legal protection against trademark counterfeiters.

"We would like to see greater punishment of these knockoff artists," the U.S. official said. "But something is better than nothing, and it does appear the Chinese government is trying to stop the piracy."

#### CURBING THE BIRTHRATE

It is also trying to stop the runaway birthrate—without great success. China is now home to 1.2 billion or one-fifth of the world's people. And the population is growing at the

rate of 15 million a year. That's more than twice the population of Massachusetts.

Thus there's enormous pressure on the women of China to have just one child, and abort subsequent pregnancies, even up to the eighth month. But the Confucian tradition of "the more sons, the more blessings" dies hard in the countryside, where 80 percent of China's population lives. There the government allows two children; many families have five or more.

There are substantial economic incentives to restrict family size. One-child families get priority in new housing, medical care for children, and education. Mothers who sign a pledge to have only one baby get generous maternity leave.

But first you must apply to the government for permission to have a child. If approved, you are given 12 months to get pregnant or go to the back of the line. Permission is denied to anyone who is not married. Or if you are under 25 years old.

Divorce is legal in China, but not an easy option out of an unhappy marriage. Chinese culture frowns on divorce and less than 1 percent of the marriages are dissolved. Yet our guide, Li Jianping, conceded that more than half the couples would probably call it quits if Chinese attitudes on marriage were similar to those in the United States.

"I would guess that one-third of the families are happy, one-third want a divorce now, and one-third have at least thought about divorce," he said. "It is not a simple social question now. Maybe it will change in time."

#### CREDIT CARDS UNWANTED

Like the use of credit cards. They were unknown in China until recently. Now, ordinary folk can apply for one from the Bank of China. All you need is proof of employment, an above-average income, and a person of means to vouch for your trustworthiness.

"Image the potential for the credit card companies," smiled Jianping. "More than a billion prospective card holders. But they shouldn't hold their breath waiting or they'll turn blue. This is not something we want or need."

The reason: Save and pay-as-you-go remain valued economic traits among the Chinese masses, a holdover tradition from the days of a managed economy and central control of their lives.

And the millions of unemployed, unskilled peasants who roam the big cities are obviously not candidates for credit cards. They are desperate for work. But the Chinese economy struggles to keep up with the crush of population growth and the ranks of the jobless grow ever more crowded. Some experts estimate that 200 million Chinese will be unemployed within the next 5 years.

In an effort to create more jobs, the government recently changed the work week from 60 hours over six days to 40 hours in five days. The change applies to everyone but doctors, nurses and other medical personnel; they still work six and sometimes seven days per week.

"We don't have enough medical people to handle the country's medical needs," Jianping explained. "Training more doctors and nurses has become a priority."

#### COLLEGES NEED CASH

But huge obstacles lie between that goal and the desired result. Only 5 percent of China's high school graduates are allowed to go on to college because of limited classroom capacity. The elite are chosen through a rigorous series of tests. Those who don't pass are sent to vocational schools or left to fend for themselves.

If the University of International Business and Economics in Beijing is typical, the colleges of China need an infusion of cash. A visit to the campus turned up outdated

equipment, tattered textbooks, sweltering classrooms, and too few faculty members. Even university President Sun Weiyan is required to teach four hours a week. He doesn't complain. Nor do the students. They're just happy to be in school.

Small wonder. During China's Cultural Revolution of 1966-76, the university was closed down. Millions of Chinese scholars, including President Weiyan, were exiled from their life's work. Many had to work on farms and in factories. He was relegated to teaching English to Vietnamese students in a rural high school and tending to a flock of ducks after classes.

Now, he speaks optimistic of the future. "The leaders of the country are very much aware that education is critical to progress," he said. "They are planning to broaden the higher education system. This can and will happen as we move toward a socialist market economy."

Just who are the leaders of China now that Deng Xiaoping, the resilient compatriot of the late Chairman Mao, has been incapacitated by advanced Parkinson's disease and no longer holds sway?

No one knows for sure. Chinese political experts look for a generational change in leadership over the next several years and the shifting of more authority to the National People's Congress, or national legislature. The Communist Party, while gradually losing membership, will continue to set the agenda, including any political reform that might occur.

President Jiang Zemin, at 69, has been consolidating his power since Deng's illness forced him to curtail his role two years ago. He was Deng's choice as his successor. But there has been growing criticism of Deng's reform movement lately, and Zemin, who is also general secretary of the party, has been among the principal detractors.

"He's trying to assert himself as his own leader," an American official in Beijing said. "If he gets the support of the army, he will be the next Deng Xiaoping."

Prime Minister Li Peng, 66, is perhaps the best known senior Chinese official to the outside world. His future was clouded by his role in the Tiananmen massacre, and China experts say he does not enjoy the support of economic reformers.

Such is political life in today's China. Even Chairman Mao, who overthrew Chiang Kai-shek in 1949 and made China a communist nation, is falling from favor. His massive statue at the entry to Beijing University has been removed. The only prominent image left of the once ubiquitous Great Helmsman, who died in 1976, hangs in Tiananmen Square. Only foreigners bother to photograph it.

"Mao represents the past," said the Beijing University graduate student in Tiananmen Square. "We're more interested in the future—and with making money—than the teachings of Mao."

In these and other ways, China is undergoing transformation from a command-and-control government to a land of economic opportunity. That, one can hope, will also eventually result in a Western-style political system.

[From the Patriot Ledger, June 20, 1995]

IN VIETNAM, ONLY THE FUTURE MATTERS

(By William B. Ketter)

The story of Miss Saigon, that popular musical about doomed romance between a Vietnamese bar girl and an American soldier, has taken a new and happy twist on Vietnam's real-life stage.

Miss Saigon of 1995, Nguyen My Hanh, dances for tips in a karaoke bar by night, scoots to college and modeling gigs on her

Honda Dream motorcycle by day, and cheerfully flips pizza dough at her family's hole-in-the-wall eatery "Manhattan" on week-ends.

She doesn't have time to pine for anyone—and certainly not a GI lover. At 19, she wasn't even born when American troops fought in Vietnam. Nor does she ask her mother and father about that sorry era.

"Why bother?" she asks. "That's the past. I have other, more important things to do. These are exciting times."

Welcome to today's Vietnam, where more than half the population is under 30 and too young to know or care about the war that still haunts the American psyche. Economic success through individual ingenuity is Vietnam's top priority—and no wonder. The average income is only \$450 a year in this ancient land of mythical dragons.

"Oh, yes, our history courses cover the American war, and all the other wars against Vietnam, from the perspective of our long struggle for liberation," Hanh says.

"I've seen the American war movies. You know, 'Deer Hunter,' 'Platoon,' 'Born on the Fourth of July.' But that's about it. No big deal. OK?"

And so it goes during a week of talking with government leaders, military heroes, journalists, businessmen and ordinary people. Twenty years after their civil war ended, the Vietnamese give the impression they are not bitter; they just want to get on with improving their lot.

"Well, we like Americans," smiled Nguyen The Quynh, vice director of the official Vietnam News Agency. "You come from a rich and successful country. You won't find hard feelings. You will find people who want to get ahead . . . to be successful—like you."

With that goal in mind, communist Vietnam has initiated a radical economic development program called doi moi, or renewal. It is designed to breathe life into this enfeebled socialist society by loosening restrictions on free enterprise and introducing the profit principle to state-owned industries.

Slowly, a tradition-bound culture is acceding to modern ways. On city streets you see hip, fashion-conscious young people bustling by old women in conical hats sweeping sidewalks with twig-bundle brooms. At night the streets come alive with heavy-metal music and T-shirted rogues peddling fake American dog tags. At dawn aging war veterans practice tai chi and play badminton in the parks. In the cities motorcycles rule the road; in the country the water buffalo is still king.

Will a new age of prosperity for Vietnam emerge from this paradoxical blend of the old and the new?

Perhaps.

Office buildings, hotels and restaurants are sprouting like rice grass in Hanoi, the national capital and home to 3 million people. Even the notorious Hoa Lo prison, known to American prisoners of war as the Hanoi Hilton, is changing into an office building-hotel complex. A small section will be preserved for a monument to the most famous prisoner, U.S. Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz. He spent 5½ years there after parachuting into Hanoi's West Lake from his disabled Navy fighter jet on Oct. 26, 1967.

Construction cranes also loom over Saigon, which is officially called Ho Chi Minh City but which everybody refers to by its old name. Rooms at the Floating Hotel on the Saigon River go for \$200 a night. Small merchants do a brisk business, selling their wares at free markets and in street stalls. Whole blocks boast tinselled stores displaying TV sets, stereos, VCRs.

But beggars and pickpockets also roam the streets, and malnutrition afflicts 40 percent of the nation's children, many of whom wander about hawking stamps, gum, postcards. Anything they can get their hands on.

And boat people still set sail for refugee camps in Hong Kong and Malaysia, fleeing not from political oppression but rather from starvation, even though Vietnam is the world's third-largest producer of rice.

FRENCH, U.S. MOVIES POPULAR

Economic liberalization is fast changing the colonial character of Hanoi, the drab citadel of communism. Movie theaters feature French and American fare, including "True Lies" and "The Fugitive." A national TV channel plays pop music videos a la MTV. Karaoke clubs thrive, as do the attractive young ladies who gladly dance and sing with the patrons for \$5 an hour and tips. Prostitution has become a national worry because of a dramatic increase in AID—20,000 cases reported last year alone. Breweries work overtime to keep up with the consumption of Tiger and "333" beer.

Much of this buzz is old hat to Saigon, a larger, more colorful and livelier city. It experienced free-wheeling commercialism during the American presence in Vietnam and obviously hasn't forgotten how to enjoy it. Successful enterprises from the war years are back in business, sharing their expertise and helping to stimulate economic growth.

But the centerpiece of national reverence is not the American dollar or the Vietnamese dong. It is Ho Chi Minh's waxen body, lying in serene attentiveness in a neo-Stalinist marble mausoleum in the heart of Hanoi. Lines of people file into the tomb, paying respects to the wispy-bearded man who brought communism to Vietnam. His remains are mechanically raised from a freezer for viewing in a glass-enclosed casket, the lowered again at night. Once a year the body is shipped to Moscow for touching up. Russia, home to Lenin's tomb in Red Square, is apparently the expert on embalmed patriots.

A Sunday visitor to Ho's tomb allowed that he would surely roll over in his grave—If he were in one—at the thought of the government touting his body and modest nearby home as prime tourist shrines. Yet every cent counts in a cash-poor Third World country.

More than anything, the doi moi policy is aimed at enticing foreign investors and tourists to Vietnam. And the primary target in America.

"Vietnam needs many things from the United States—technology, machinery, medicine, consumer goods," acknowledged Luu Van Dat, a government trade expert. "We are a poor, backward country. You are the most advanced nation in the world."

And what can Vietnam offer in return?

"The short answer is cheap labor," Dat said. "We also have rice, seafood, leather goods. And we do have some of the best beaches in the world."

So good that an American company, BBI Investment Group of Chevy Chase, Md., plans to build a \$250 million resort and golf complex on China Beach along the South China Sea near the spot where the U.S. Marines first landed in 1965. And Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola fight for the soft drink market. The Boston-based Gillette Company sees gold in the faces and legs of 75 million Vietnamese.

"There are encouraging signs of real progress," reports Nguyen Xuan Oanh, the Harvard-educated Saigon businessman, who was the chief architect of doi moi.

"Inflation is under control. And the reform policy has transformed Vietnam into a market mechanism that's allowed to operate freely and efficiently. The growth rate, which has been some 3 percent for several decades, has jumped to 9 and 10 percent per year. What's more, the best is yet to come."

U.S. COMPANIES CAUTIOUS

Oanh's optimism springs from his personal experience. Twice the acting prime minister

of South Vietnam, he was placed under house arrest for "re-education" when the communist North captured Saigon in 1975. But later he emerged as the principal economic adviser to the unified government, was allowed to set up an international management and finance company, and eventually became a millionaire again.

"I gambled (by not fleeing Vietnam), and I won," he said. "My message to American business is you can also win."

Still, most U.S. companies are cautious about investing in Vietnam right now. For one thing, we do not have full diplomatic ties with the government. The 19-year American embargo was lifted 15 months ago, and this has led to the opening of diplomatic liaison offices in Hanoi and Washington. But further thawing of relations could be delayed by the American presidential campaign.

There are other concerns, too—trademark and patent protections, an uncertain legal environment, inadequate infrastructure, and rampant corruption among government officials. Bribery is the best way to fast-track an application to do business in Vietnam. But American companies are prohibited by U.S. law from offering money or gifts in return for regulatory favors.

U.S. business interests, with an aggregate outlay of \$525 million per year, rank eighth among Vietnam's foreign investors. Taiwan is No. 1 at \$2.5 billion. Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, Japan, Australia and Malaysia rank ahead of us.

All of which frustrates the Vietnamese leaders to no end.

"We want to close the past with America, and build cooperatively with you for a better future," said Communist Party General Secretary Do Muoi during an interview of his Hanoi headquarters, a lifesize bust of Ho Chi Minh casting a shadow in the background.

"Why can't you do that? Why does your government put up roadblocks? This is not helpful to you or to us—and we both know we need each other for economic opportunity."

#### ATTITUDE CALLED WRONG-HEADED

Muoi, considered Vietnam's shrewdest senior official, noted that the United States has been reluctant to normalize ties with Vietnam until more progress is made on accounting for the 1,648 American military listed as missing in action in Vietnam.

To him, and other Vietnamese leaders, this is wrong-headed.

But the question persists: Are there any still any American MIAs living in Vietnam? "No," replied retired Gen. Nguyen Giap. "If there were, we would have turned them over to your government long ago. The war is over. We have no reason to hold anyone against their will."

Furthermore, Muoi said, Vietnam has "co-operated completely" with U.S. officials in searching for the remains of the MIAs, including turning over military records and digging up grave sites.

Vietnam, he said, long ago gave up looking for its 300,000 missing soldiers.

"This is not entirely a humanitarian issue with the United States," the 78-year-old Muoi said. "This is linked to politics—and we are very sad about that."

To underscore his point, he mentions that the United States had thousands of MIAs in Korea and World War II and "no similar conditions were placed on diplomatic relations with Germany and Japan."

Because of the MIA issue, Vietnam has been deliberately downplaying the military side of the war of late. That includes renaming the House of American War Crimes in Saigon to simply the War Museum.

But the reminders of horror have not been toned down. An oversized Life magazine pho-

tograph of the March 16, 1968, My Lai massacre that shocked the conscience of America adorns one wall. Other photos show the deforming effects of U.S. bombs and the defoliant Agent Orange on the women and children of Vietnam.

There are, of course, no similar photos of the hurt and sorrow caused by the North Vietnamese military. To the victor goes the privilege of selecting which images of war's hell go on public display.

American planes, tanks, bombs and other war materials captured or abandoned prominently occupy the museum grounds and viewing rooms.

#### WHY WE LOST THE WAR

Such an impressive collection of modern-day weaponry begs the question of how we could lose a war against a lesser-armed enemy. The answer comes into focus the next day during a trip to the famous Cu Chi tunnels. Communist North Vietnam used narrow passageways—just 3 feet high and across—to wage a relentless guerrilla war that baffled, enraged and ultimately defeated the U.S.-backed South Vietnamese government.

More than 100 miles of the underground network stretch from northwest to Saigon to the Cambodian border and functioned as subterranean Viet Cong villages—with kitchens, dormitories, hospitals and command posts.

They were cleverly defended: Americans small enough to descend into them were often trap-doored to death over pits of razor-sharp poles.

Burrowed three stories deep into rock-like soil, the tunnels were the most bombed, gassed and defoliated section of Vietnam. Yet they withstood the heavy assault and serve as a monument to man over machine.

Gen Giap, the mastermind of the communist victories over the French and the Americans, said it was far more than tunnel soldiers that resulted in America's defeat in the only war it has ever lost. Resiliency, a history of nationalism and the will to win at any cost were the real keys to victory, he said.

"Our weapons were not as good as yours," the 84-year-old general said in an interview. "But your human factor was not as good as ours. We had a popular patriotic cause; you had confusion over why you were in Vietnam. We had patience; you wanted instant victory."

Now Vietnam is counting on that same purposeful spirit and unswerving focus to win its economic struggle. But no one really expects significant progress until the government invests billions of dollars in highways, bridges, railroads, commercial port facilities—and public education.

Five decades of war have left Vietnam with a large unskilled labor force and growing illiteracy. The population is exploding and the school system is ill-equipped to respond. Even health care is a touch-and-go matter.

As the deputy minister of education, Tran Xuan Nhi, put it: "We are learning the lessons of the free market, and one of those is the need to train and educate our people so we can build our country into an industrialized society. The future will belong to the educated."

Like Miss Saigon 1995, who is driven by a passion "to study and learn so I can make more money and buy the things I want. OK?"

#### TIES THAT BIND US TO VIETNAM

Fifteen months ago, President Clinton lifted the trade embargo against Vietnam. Now he should establish full diplomatic relations with this important Southeast Asia country.

Twenty years have passed since the Vietnam war ended. It is time to replace bitterness and recrimination with peace and reconciliation.

Private visits and business relationships are pushing the process along. Just this week, a Massachusetts trade delegation led by Lt. Gov. Paul Cellucci is talking business in Vietnam—business that can create local jobs. And the U.S. already has opened a diplomatic liaison office in Hanoi.

The next logical step is to exchange ambassadors, and there's little to be gained by waiting. The sooner we open an embassy, the better we'll be positioned to expand trade, investment and influence in this vibrant nation of 75 million.

Vietnam is a young, eager and changing society which harbors no grudge against the United States despite our decade-long involvement in their civil war. That's over, as far as most Vietnamese are concerned. And that's the word from the top: "We want to close the past with America, and build cooperatively with you for a better future," Communist Party General Secretary Do Muoi recently told a group of visiting American editors.

The welcome mat is out and the timing is fortuitous. Vietnam has launched a radical economic development program that relaxes restrictions on free enterprise and encourages state industries to be profitable. Political change will surely follow.

Vietnam, moreover, wants and needs American know-how and investment in order to modernize and raise living standards. This is a process in which the United States, with its sizable Vietnamese population and experience in the region, should want to participate. But we need to get going to make the most of the opportunity. American business ranks only eighth among foreign investors there. Establishing full diplomatic ties would give U.S. companies greater support and confidence in doing business with Vietnam. It also would put us in a better position to influence Vietnam's policies.

Normalizing relations does not mean abandoning our efforts to get as full an accounting as possible from Vietnam about Americans still listed as missing from the war years. And, in fact, the Vietnamese are trying to help us do that. They have no real reason to detain Americans against their will or withhold information about MIAs.

Congressman Bill Richardson, D-N.M., for one, is convinced that's the case. He recently returned from Vietnam with more than 100 pages of material relating to American MIAs, and found no traces of alleged underground prisons or other places of detainment. He thinks it's time to normalize relations. So does U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

So President Clinton should act now—and avoid the risk of making recognition a political football in next year's election campaign. Hesitating can only work against our interests in the region, leaving other countries to gain from Vietnam's budding economy at our expense.

#### GEORGE SELDES

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, George Seldes, who died Sunday in Vermont at the age of 104, was literally, a Witness to a Century—the title of his autobiography.

A true investigative reporter who refused to accept the subtle pressures imposed upon journalists by publishers, editors, and advertisers—he was uncompromising in reporting what he saw and heard, and printed those observations in his own independent publication—In Fact.

Izzy Stone called Seldes the "granddaddy" of investigative reporters—high