

Mr. Tepper says that feeling drew him close to the blacks he met while attending Rutgers University on a football scholarship. His determination to bridge racial gaps, fed in part by his active Christianity, grew during the 24 years he spent as an assistant coach at a half-dozen schools before Illinois promoted him to head coach from defensive coordinator in late 1991. "My wife, Karen, and I told ourselves that if I ever got a top job, we'd make it reflect our views about how people should be treated," he says.

Those views are contained in a "mission statement" that's sent to everyone Illinois recruits for football. One of its provisions is a "family concept" that asks team members to treat each other with "love and discipline." In case anyone misses the point, Mr. Tepper tells them it especially applies white-to-black and vice versa, and requires the lads to pledge to do that before they sign scholarship papers. The school has lost several recruits as a result. "I've had whites balk [at the pledge], but never a black," the coach notes.

Players quickly get the chance to prove their words. Seats at all team meetings are assigned on a black-white-black-white basis. Room assignments for summer practice before classes start, and for team road trips, are made the same way. The process is facilitated by the fact that the team is almost 50-50 white and black.

Thursday team dinners in season are designated as "Unity Nights," and players are encouraged to eat next to ones they don't know well. Players joke that this can mean that defensive players sit next to members of the offense, but the dinners also are occasions for interracial fraternizing.

Some of the ties fostered in those ways have flowered in others: Several whites and blacks on the team now are full-time roomies, and interracial team parties, the exception in pre-Tepper days, have become the rule.

Team members admit their white-black relationships are, mostly, no more than skin deep; "serious" racial issues, such as the O.J. Simpson trial, go undiscussed. "We like to keep things light," says Chris Koerwitz, an offensive lineman from Oshkosh, Wis. But while most of the Fighting Illini continue to take their ease with others of their race, it's with the knowledge that it could be otherwise.

"You might say I was prejudiced before. I knew very few black people, and accepted the negative things white people say about them," says Paul Marshall, a defensive lineman from almost-all-white Naperville, Ill. "Here, I've seen that the negatives aren't true, and that, given the chance, guys want to be friendly."

"Yeah, I signed coach's pledge, but I thought it was just recruiting stuff. Then I got here and, right away, I had this white guy for a roommate," says David James, a linebacker from almost-all-black East St. Louis, Ill. "It wasn't so bad," he smiles. "I played some rap for him and he played some Van Halen for me. We still do it sometimes."

AID FOR THE WORLD'S POOREST

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, one of the most shortsighted things we can do is to cut back on our foreign assistance, which is already far behind what other Western nations do in terms of the percentage of our budget and in terms of the percentage of our national income.

The New York Times had an excellent editorial titled, "Aid for the World's Poorest."

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

AID FOR THE WORLD'S POOREST

The new Republican majority in Congress wants to eliminate government services that private markets could also provide. Yet it has aimed its budget knife at a valuable program—economic aid to the world's poorest countries—that could not possibly survive without Federal funds. Drastic cuts approved by the House and Senate threaten to grind dreadfully poor people into deeper poverty.

Under President Bush's leadership, the United States committed itself to contributing about \$1.3 billion next year to the International Development Association, an affiliate of the World Bank that provides very-low-interest loans to poor countries. As part of its deficit reduction program, the House and Senate want to renege on that commitment and reduce the contribution to between \$577 million, the House figure, and \$775 million, the Senate's figure.

Neither figure makes fiscal or ethical sense. The I.D.A. loan program is cost-effective. Every dollar in American contributions leads to \$4 or \$5 more in contributions from other industrialized countries. To save a few hundred million out of a \$10 billion-plus foreign aid budget, Congress would trigger a \$3 billion reduction in I.D.A. loans.

The loan program is also politically effective. By inviting poor countries to open their economies to trade and adopt market reforms, I.D.A. loans are a cheap way for Congress to spread capitalism. The program's multilateral nature insulates recipient countries from pressures to warp their economic programs to suit the narrow export interests of individual donors. I.D.A. programs worked well in Korea, Thailand, Turkey and Indonesia. They are working well in Ghana and Bolivia.

Critics of the I.D.A. say that third-world countries would become more prosperous more rapidly if they relied more on private capital and far less on World Bank handouts. This criticism applied, at least until recently, to World Bank loans for dams and other infrastructure projects. As the new president of the World Bank concedes, private capital markets are willing and able to extend such loans. But private investors will not bail out sub-Saharan Africa and other economic disasters. Over 70 percent of private lending to developing nations goes to fewer than a dozen countries. Sub-Saharan Africa claims only 2 percent.

The I.D.A., not private capital, fights the spread of AIDS. The I.D.A. helps pay for schools. The I.D.A. finances women's health and childhood nutrition programs. The World Bank has shifted its priorities from investing in concrete to investing in people. No one else can take on this role. Do American taxpayers really prefer to save themselves about \$2 a year rather than leading the world to help those eking out an existence on less than \$2 a day?•

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IS AS "AMERICAN AS THE CONSTITUTION"

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, as my colleagues know, I believe that affirmative action is a very good thing for our country; even though, like any good thing, it can be abused.

Prof. Steven Lubet of Northwestern University had an interesting article that points out that affirmative action is part of the U.S. Constitution.

My colleagues, who may be startled at that bit of information, will find the Steven Lubet article of interest.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

The article follows:

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IS AS "AMERICAN AS THE CONSTITUTION"

(By Steven Lubet)

Opponents of affirmative action say the idea is contrary to basic American principles because it unfairly disadvantages blameless individuals, needlessly emphasizes group rights and enshrines an ethic of victimization. Affirmative action, they say, is a failed experiment from the despised '60s.

The real truth, however, is that affirmative action originated in the '80s. Not the 1980s, but the 1780s—1789, to be exact. Here is what the United States Constitution (Article I, Section 3) says about affirmative action: "The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state." That's affirmative action—in fact, a quota system—for small states. There is no denying that the framers designed the Senate to protect group rights, notwithstanding any disadvantage to blameless individuals, and all on a theory of possible victimization. While any specific instance of affirmative action may be unnecessary or ill-advised, the concept has been with us from the beginning.

The size of a state's delegation in the House of Representatives is determined on the basis of population, in keeping with the democratic principles articulated in the Declaration of Independence. In the Senate, however, small states are given special treatment. They are afforded representation far out of proportion to population, to ensure that they will not be victimized, oppressed or subjected to discrimination by the majority.

There is no clearer example in our history of institutionalized group rights. Based upon accidents of birth and geography, the citizens of small states, such as Delaware and Maine, enjoyed the benefits of a quota system that made their political influence comparable to that of New York and Virginia, the giants of the time. In the 1990s, the same quota operates to the advantage of Alaska (one senator per 300,000 citizens) and to the detriment of California (one senator per 15,000,000 citizens). Is it unfair to count the vote of an Alaskan at 50 times the vote of an Californian? Sure it is, but we have become so inured to the Senate that it just seems natural.

That's our system. That's the way it works. And so it is; but it is also group-based affirmative action.

We are all familiar with the original arguments in favor of the Senate. One concern was that the interests of small states would not be respected in a Congress constituted strictly on the basis of population. Another consideration was the need to protect minorities (primarily meaning political minorities) from the temporary passions of transient majorities. And after more than 200 years, there is far-reaching agreement that the Senate has well served its intended functions. State-based affirmative action has worked according to plan.

So let's compare the establishment of the Senate to current programs of race-based affirmative action. To be sure, the parallel is inexact, but certain principles do overlap. In 1789, the small states feared the possibility of future discrimination under the newly-proposed Constitution. They were not willing to accept promises of benevolence or paternalism, but insisted on structural protection even at the cost of proportional democracy.

Today, racial minorities and women fear not only the hypothetical possibility of discrimination, but the persistence of a proven historical fact. They, too, decline to trust benign intentions and demand a structural

remedy. A requirement of special treatment or attention to women and minorities similarly assures that they will be protected from the "passions" of today's majority, which, in the case of upper-level decision-makers, still consists overwhelmingly of white males.

It is true that the non-proportional Senate came about as the result of a political compromise. The small states extracted it as the price of their acceptance of the new national government. They had the right to withhold ratification of any constitution that did not satisfy their perceived needs.

Today's minorities, African-Americans in particular, do not have that power. Their ancestors were brought here involuntarily, without the ability to agree or disagree with the political or economic system. Certainly, though, there must be something about democracy that prevents us from saying that affirmative action was a one-time-only phenomenon, imposed only at the insistence of certain framers and never to be repeated for the benefit of future minorities. To accept that argument would transform constitutionalism from an enduring philosophy into little more than an 18th Century version of "Let's Make a Deal."

I do not want to make too much of this analogy. Many recent efforts at affirmative action have been ineffective or counter-productive. The wisdom or appropriateness of any particular program ought to be subject to continuous review. But when Sens. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) or Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.) inveigh against affirmative action, they ought to do so with some sense of humility, if not irony. After all, they owe their Senate seats to affirmative action's first appearance in our national life.

It is simply wrong to say that affirmative action—as a tool for achieving political equity—is out of place in the American system. To the contrary, it is as American as the Constitution. ●

SYMPOSIUM: UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD IRAN: FROM CONTAINMENT TO RELENTLESS PURSUIT?

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I am sure I know less about what is taking place in Iran than some members of the Senate. I have followed the news, but I have not tried to become as knowledgeable about Iran as I am some areas of Africa and other areas of the world. I read about a symposium in the publication *Middle East Policy* in which Ellen Laipson, Director of Near East and South East Affairs from the National Security Council, discusses the Iran situation with Prof. Gary Sick of Columbia University, and Prof. Richard Cottam of the University of Pittsburgh.

Ms. Laipson gives an administrative line on what is taking place in Iran. But coming from a base of limited understanding, it appears to me that Gary Sick and Richard Cottam make a great deal of sense. What I kept thinking, as I read the discussion, was that our attitude toward Iran is very similar to our attitude toward Cuba. There is no question that our Cuban policy has been counterproductive, appealing to the national passion rather than the national interest. I have the uneasy feeling that our policy toward Iran is the same.

I ask unanimous consent that their discussion be printed in the RECORD at this point and urge my colleagues to particularly read the discussion by Professor Sick and Professor Cottam.

The material follows:

SYMPOSIUM: U.S. POLICY TOWARD IRAN: FROM CONTAINMENT TO RELENTLESS PURSUIT?

(By Ellen Laipson, Gary Sick, Richard Cottam)

ELLEN LAIPSON, DIRECTOR OF NEAR EAST AND SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS FOR THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

It will come as no surprise that Iran has been a major challenge for the Clinton administration's foreign policy. Today's forum is well-timed, because it gives us a chance to review the recent debate over the policy and the changes that the president announced just about a month ago. I welcome the chance to discuss this important issue and hear your views as well, and to be able to bring those ideas back to the debate that we have within the government.

We all recognize the importance of Iran in the Middle East region—the complexity of its society, the richness of its cultural traditions, and the very troubled history of U.S.-Iran relations in recent years. I think no one would disagree with the proposition that the last decade and a half has been a difficult time in the relationship between Iran and the United States. But it is our view that the situation we're in today does derive from the conditions in the region and from our efforts to protect our critical interests there.

I will divide my remarks into three simple questions. First, what is the policy? Second, why did the president make the changes that were announced on April 30? And, lastly, where do we go from here?

To give you the current state of play in the policy, it's important to note that our approach focuses on Iran's actions—not the nature of the regime, not what they call themselves, not the Islamic character of the regime, but the specific actions that we have observed the Iranian government get involved in. These include, first and foremost, their involvement in terrorism, particularly that which undermines the peace process in the Middle East—and their pursuit of weapons of mass destruction. In addition, we focus a lot of our concern on their efforts to subvert friendly governments in the region, their unfortunate human-rights record, and their conventional arms buildup which could, if realized, pose real threats to small Persian Gulf states that are friends of the United States.

At the same time, we also have to focus on the long-term challenge from Iran—not just the actions of today, but the potential, the capability that Iran could have, if it were to fulfill its ambitions, particularly in the weapons area. We are not trying to argue that today Iran poses a major military threat to the United States, but we are working to prevent it from doing so. We are looking at Iran's ambitions and intentions, not just its current military capabilities.

The policy is trying to capture, on the one hand, our efforts to address Iran's behavior today and, on the other hand, to develop a strategy that tries to anticipate a future Iran that would be a stronger and more formidable player in the region. Our approach combines pressure with other measures. We are trying to give Iran's leadership a chance to make a strategic choice. They could change their policies in order to serve Iran's interests, which we believe are fundamentally, among other things, economic growth and political stability. We think that Iran's government has the chance to adapt its behavior in ways that would make it conform more with international norms.

There has been no change in our policy on the question of a dialogue. We are still willing to engage in a dialogue with authoritative representatives of the Iranian government. We believe that pressure and dialogue can go together. This would be normal. By the rules of diplomacy, it would be possible to have both.

Let me give you a little more detail on what the pressure tactics involve, since they have recently changed. The policy of containment, which was declared when the Clinton administration first came to office, involves a comprehensive series of unilateral measures and a series of multilateral efforts as well. Until recently, the dimensions of our economic policy towards Iran consisted of an arms ban, a ban on dual-use technologies, a total import ban on Iranian products coming into this country, controls on certain items for export to Iran, and a diplomatic position of blocking all lending to Iran from international financial institutions.

After four to five months of internal debate, the president announced on April 30, and signed on May 6, an executive order that is an important reinforcement or strengthening of our policy towards Iran. He announced that, from now on, we will prohibit all trade, financing, loans and financial services to Iran. We will ban U.S. companies from purchasing Iranian oil overseas, even if it is for resale overseas. And new investment by American companies in Iran is prohibited. The president's executive order also bans their re-export to Iran from third countries of those goods or technologies that are on controlled lists for direct export from the United States to Iran. In addition, it prohibits U.S. persons and companies from approving or facilitating transactions with Iran by their affiliates.

The executive order does not have extraterritorial application to foreign subsidiaries of U.S. companies. It does not ban the import of informational materials from Iran. And it does not block Iranian assets or ban private remittances to and from Iran by private Iranian nationals.

As you can see, these are very strong, but not total, economic measures. They form part, but not all, of our policy effort *vis-à-vis* Iran. The economic pressure, in a way, has to be seen in both the political and diplomatic context that is our overall policy. We are working and will continue to work hard multilaterally to make sure that the arms ban, the limits on credit and aid, the ban on support for Iran from international financial institutions, and cooperation with Iran in nuclear matters continue. We have enjoyed, up until now, what we consider to be good support from most of the advanced Western countries in these areas, and we would like to see more.

We initially worked within the G-7 context. But as you know, in the past year, we have expanded our diplomatic efforts to include Russia, China and all other potential suppliers to Iran of these high-technology and weapons-related items.

President Clinton and President Yeltsin last summer announced an agreement that would involve the future ban of all Russian arms sales to Iran. I think you will see more of these kinds of agreements with others of Iran's would-be suppliers.

We also have political talks with our major allies, both in the West and in the Middle East, about Iran. These political talks, in and of themselves, form a kind of pressure because Iran is very aware of these discussions, and that we are sharing information about our concerns over Iranian behavior in these discussions. We hold the talks with the European Union, with Canada, with Japan, with Russia, with most of our Middle Eastern allies.