

are shortchanging the next generation of Americans. There is, of course, no guarantee that our investment will pay dividends, but it is as good a bet as most mutual funds. Moreover, the cost of not acting could overwhelm our treasury, and, I fear, our consciences.

Those who say we have no strategic interest in Africa should understand that if African nations fail to make progress, if they descend into chaos and decay, the tragedy will not take place in a vacuum. Chaos there will affect our interests here. As long as we remain true to our values—and there is a strong bipartisan consensus that suggests we will (even Pat Buchanan supports disaster relief)—the costs of humanitarian operations will continue to be borne in part by the United States. If more African nations fail, we will share the costs of caring for the millions of refugees. We will shoulder the burdens of dealing with endless famine. And we will have to confront the spreading political disorder, the environmental damage, and the consequent loss of markets for our goods.

Parts of Africa are living on the edge. Many African nations face adverse climatic and soil conditions. Each day, people in these countries face problems of poor health and malnutrition and illiteracy that few other people confront.

Yet lost in the apocalyptic descriptions of an Africa seemingly falling apart is genuine reason for encouragement. The headlines rarely report the many positive developments and success stories in Africa. Yet in a number of African nations, democratically-elected, enlightened leaders, committed to broadening participation and undertaking reforms necessary for development, are creating an environment for success. This, too, is the reality of Africa:

USAID today is working in 35 African nations that, in our judgment, are in various phases of consolidating their democracies, creating free markets, and implementing serious economic reforms. Conversely, we have ended our involvement in several nations where the governments refuse to commit themselves to reform or to a development partnership with their own citizens.

A new generation of African leaders is pursuing extensive economic restructuring programs, including privatization of state-owned enterprises, reducing government functions and budgets, stabilizing the economy, and implementing policy changes that help the private sector expand.

New crops and market liberalization are expanding food production, raising farmer income and reducing food prices for consumers.

More children, especially girls, are attending school so that they can become more productive members of society. And we know from our own experience that more than any other factor, improving the education of girls and the status of women enhances the economy, the environment, and the prospects of democracy.

Programs to expand immunization and use of oral rehydration therapy are saving an estimated 800,000 African children each year.

Fertility is starting to fall as more and more parents use family planning services.

I am proud that USAID has played a role in every one of these achievements.

For every Rwanda there is a Ghana—a nation that has begun revitalizing its economy and is intent on being part of the worldwide economic expansion.

For every Somalia, there is a South Africa or a Namibia—nations that have successfully implemented democracy and peaceful change.

For every Angola, there is a Mozambique, emerging now from civil conflict.

For every tragedy, there are a half dozen islands of hope. Progress is still tentative, often fragile. Which is precisely why we must not hesitate now. But this continent is no write-off. It is a good investment.

We have learned from the mistakes we made during the Cold War. We now are concentrating our aid in countries that are implementing sound economic policies, promoting an open and democratic society, and investing their own resources in broad-based development. That is exactly what the Congress wanted to accomplish with the Development Fund for Africa. And that is why this Administration strongly supports the Development Fund for Africa. Under this fund, we have taken a longer-term approach to Africa's development, systematically addressing the root causes—economic, social, and political—of underdevelopment.

In those countries stricken with disaster or famine, we are treating emergency relief as more than an end in itself. Rather, we are structuring it to help nations make the difficult transition from crisis to the path of sustainable development.

President Clinton's Initiative for the Greater Horn of Africa is designed to apply the lessons we learned in the Sahel and Southern Africa is a troubled region that now consumes nearly half of all African relief. By emphasizing regional cooperation and planning, by helping nations acquire the ability to respond to food crises early on, we can prevent droughts from becoming famines. This Initiative, we believe, will save lives and resources. The partnerships it builds will enable the donor community to save billions of dollars in relief assistance over the next fifteen years and focus resources instead on recovery efforts and long-term development.

To prevent more failed nations, the United States must strengthen our efforts to prevent crisis and to encourage others to do so as well. While we only provide five percent of the development assistance that Africa receives, we provide 30 percent of the relief assistance directed at the continent's emergencies. It is a lot less expensive to lead the way on prevention than it is to pay the costs of failure.

I am able to make the case for assistance to Africa today because USAID has reorganized itself to be an effective instrument of development. Many of our reforms were pioneered by the Development Fund for Africa. The DEA forced us to measure results and now we are going to do this everywhere. Our work in Africa has been an essential part of our identity, and must remain so.

So, now we have a fight on our hands. We welcome it. If the revolution has indeed begun, then each of us must do everything we can to ensure that the well-being of our children—and the children of Africa—is advanced by the vision today's revolution produces. We cannot be silent. We cannot wring our hands. The case for Africa gives us the opportunity to be the champions of common sense. This is a battle well worth waging. Not for African Americans, not for historical reasons, not even for our humanitarian values, though we must never forget them. This is a battle worth waging for America's national interests and the future of *our* children. We *will* wage it. And I am confident that, in the end, common sense will prevail.

RETIREMENT OF C. WAYNE HAWKINS

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I appreciate the opportunity to take a few brief moments of the Senate's time to acknowledge the recent retirement, on

January 31, 1995, of Mr. C. Wayne Hawkins from Federal service.

Mr. Hawkins most recently served as the Department of Veterans Affairs' Deputy Under Secretary for Health for Administration and Operations, capping a distinguished Federal career that spanned 37 years. As one of VA's two Deputy Under Secretaries for Health, Mr. Hawkins was the senior non-physician official in the VA's Veterans Health Administration [VHA], the VA organization of 171 hospitals, 353 outpatient clinics, 128 nursing home care units, and 37 domiciliaries. In this capacity, he served as Chief Operating Officer of VHA—an organization which provides health care services to over two million veterans per year, and which is the largest "chain" of health care facilities in the United States.

Mr. Hawkins began his VA career in 1957 as a rehabilitation specialist at the Mountain Home VA Medical Center in Johnson City, TN. From that assignment, he progressed up the VA career ladder, becoming a personnel manager, then an Associate Director at a number of VA hospitals. Ultimately, he was appointed Director of the VA Medical Center in Dallas, TX, a post in which he served for 15 years before coming to Washington to serve as VHA's Deputy Under secretary. Under his steady leadership, the Dallas VA Medical Center became one of VA's flagship hospitals.

Through it all, Mr. Hawkins also served in the military's active and reserve ranks, retiring as an Army colonel in 1987 after 33 years service. He also served in major leadership capacities in the Texas Hospital Association, the American Hospital Association, and the VA Chapter of the Senior Executive Association. In 1991, he was inducted as a fellow, American College of Health Care Executives.

Mr. Hawkins received a B.S. degree in 1957 from East Tennessee State University, and an M.S. degree in 1971 in health care administration from the University of Minnesota. He completed graduate work in health systems management at Harvard University, and is a graduate of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College. Among other honors, Mr. Hawkins is a recipient of VA's Distinguished Career Award, Presidential Rank Awards for Distinguished Executives and Meritorious Executives, the Ray E. Brown Award for Outstanding Accomplishment in Health Care Management, and numerous other Government, military and civilian awards for excellence in health care management.

Mr. President, VA will truly miss this distinguished and visionary health care executive. We who care about veterans regret that he is retiring from a role of day to day management of VA's health care system. Gladly, Wayne Hawkins is not withdrawing completely from participation in veterans affairs and health care management, so we expect to reap the benefit of his experience, intelligence and integrity for many years to come.

WAS CONGRESS IRRESPONSIBLE? THE VOTERS HAVE SAID YES!

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, as of the close of business on Thursday, February 9, the Federal debt stood at \$4,803,442,790,295.83 meaning that on a per capita basis, every man, woman, and child in America owes \$18,233.95 as his or her share of that debt.

SENATOR FULBRIGHT

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, all of us who knew and/or served with Senator J. William Fulbright were saddened at the news of his passing. I had the privilege of serving my first 2 years in the Senate with this distinguished gentleman. He was an able U.S. Senator.

Senator Fulbright presided over the Senate Foreign Relations Committee with dignity and distinction. I join the American people in extending my deepest sympathies to his family.

TRIBUTE TO BEN R. RICH

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, I would like for my colleagues in the Senate and my fellow citizens throughout the country to note the passing of Ben R. Rich. Ben was a long-time employee at the famed Lockheed "Skunk Works" in California.

Ben had just recently published a book, "Skunk Works: A Personal Memoir of My Years at Lockheed," with Leo Janos. This book provided us an insight into what was an outstanding career of service and dedication to having our country maintain its technological edge over any potential adversary. During his tenure at the Skunk Works from the mid-1950's until his retirement in 1991, Ben worked on a number of very important aircraft programs, such as the SR-71, the U-2, and the F-104. Perhaps his greatest contribution was to the so-called Stealth fighter program, the F-117. Ben headed the Skunk Works during the development and production of the F-117. We saw the fruits of his leadership on F-117 in the Persian Gulf war, where, more than any other system, the F-117 and its stealth gave our forces the capability to attack any of the Iraqi's highest value targets with impunity. This system is revolutionary, and Ben Rich's leadership was critical to making it a success.

Mr. President, this country will be a poorer place with his loss. We will all sorely miss Ben and his dedication to excellence. Ben Rich made a difference.

WILLIAM MC. COCHRANE: HISTORICAL CONSULTANT

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I am very pleased to note that William McWhorter Cochrane, who until this year was one of the Senate's most venerable staff members, is continuing his service to the legislative branch in a new capacity at the Library of Congress.

Bill Cochrane began his Senate service in 1954, thus predating all sitting Members of this body today. Over the years, he has truly become an institution in his own right.

Always faithful to his home State of North Carolina, Mr. Cochrane began his Senate career as counsel to Senator Kerr Scott, and 4 years later became administrative assistant to Senator B. Everett Jordan. In 1972, he joined the staff of the Committee on Rules and Administration, serving as staff director until 1980, a period which included my own tenure as chairman of the committee in the 95th and 96th Congresses.

One of Mr. Cochrane's special areas of interest has always been the Library of Congress, and his knowledge of that institution is encyclopedic. So it is altogether fitting that he has been named Honorary Historical Consultant to the Library, especially at this time when the Library is preparing to observe its 200th anniversary in the year 2000.

I congratulate Bill Cochrane on this occasion and I also congratulate the Librarian of Congress, Dr. James Billington, for making this appointment. I ask unanimous consent that a news release from the Library of Congress on Mr. Cochrane's appointment be printed in the RECORD at this point.

[From the Library of Congress News,
Washington, DC]

WILLIAM MCW. COCHRANE NAMED HONORARY HISTORICAL CONSULTANT TO LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Librarian of Congress James H. Billington announced today the appointment of William McW. Cochrane as the Honorary Historical Consultant to the Library of Congress. Mr. Cochrane's career in the U.S. Senate spanned 40 years.

In making the announcement, Dr. Billington said, "As the Library of Congress approaches its 200th anniversary in the year 2000, we are fortunate to be able to draw on the knowledge and wisdom of this distinguished public servant. Bill's respect for and knowledge of the Congress, and of its Library, will bring a unique historical perspective to our bicentennial planning."

Following service in World War II and administrative and teaching positions at the University of North Carolina, Cochrane came to the Senate in 1954 as counsel to Senator Kerr Scott (D-N.C.). From 1958 to 1972, he served as administrative assistant to Sen. B. Everett Jordan (D-N.C.). From 1972 through the 103rd Congress, he worked for the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration as staff director from 1972-1980, as Democratic staff director from 1981-1986, and as senior advisor from 1987. In addition, he held several senior positions with the Joint Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies. His work with the Joint Committee on the Library of Congress, the oldest continuous joint committee of Congress, totaled more than 30 years.

Among his numerous honors, he has received the Distinguished Alumnus Award for Public Service from the University of North Carolina and the 20th Annual Roll Call Congressional Staff Award. In 1992, he was one of six recipients of the State of North Carolina Award for Public Service.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Morning business is closed.

BALANCED BUDGET AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now resume consideration of House Joint Resolution 1, which the clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A joint resolution (H.J. Res. 1) proposing a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The Senate resumed consideration of the joint resolution.

Pending:

Reid amendment No. 236, to protect the Social Security system by excluding the receipts and outlays of Social Security from balanced budget calculations.

Dole motion to refer H.J. Res. 1, Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment, to the Committee on the Budget, with instructions.

Dole amendment No. 237, as a substitute to the instructions (to instructions on the motion to refer H.J. Res. 1 to the Committee on the Budget).

Dole amendment No. 238 (to amendment No. 237), of a perfecting nature.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senator from Oregon [Mr. PACKWOOD] is recognized to speak for up to 60 minutes.

Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, I had prepared over several days a speech for this morning. But because of a news article this morning on the death of Senator Fulbright the day before yesterday, I decided to change my approach and have thrown away all of the comments I was going to make. I will try to put this debate in a different light.

The Washington Post article on Senator Fulbright is well worth reading, because he was a figure of great consequence here. As we are debating this, another matter of great consequence, I look back at some of the other events that have taken place in my career on this Senate floor. I will not use Yogi Berra's famous expression, "It's déjà vu all over again," because I think a more apt expression might be Justice Holmes' comment about the law, but it really relates to all of us. He said, "The life of the law has not been logic. It has been experience."

I think, as we look at this balanced budget amendment, we are better off to look at it in the light of experience rather than the light of logic.

I mentioned Senator Fulbright because I recall in this Chamber the most extraordinary event—certainly the most extraordinary debate, but extraordinary event—that I have ever witnessed in my life.

It was an unusual situation. It was a closed session of the Senate on the debate—this was in 1969—on the anti-ballistic missile system. There were two extraordinary Senators who were