

wholly new conception of the nature of political man to the design of American Government. They were keenly aware of this fact, for it was crucial to their claim that a republic might work, given, as "The Federalist" remarks at some point, "the fugitive existence" of the ancient republics of Greece, and that of Rome. That history was familiar to what we would call educated persons in the 18th century, and it made for skepticism at best; pessimism in the main. But harken, said the Framers, we have developed a "new science of politics," which radically changes the assumptions on which those ancient governments were founded. We would not depend on virtue in our rulers; virtue was too rare, too fleeting, too unforeseeable. To the contrary, we would take man as he is and use his defects to perfect a new system of government that would endure by virtue of its recognition of how little virtue may be depended upon. Instead, we would build into our Government a system of checks and balances whereby the clash of interests would offset one another and make up, in that wonderful phrase, for "the defect of better motives."

Well, the Republic has endured. In the world today there are two nations and two only which both existed in 1800 and have not had their form of government changed since then. That is to say, the United States and the United Kingdom. And, of course, the case can be made that the Government of the United Kingdom is radically different, then from now. Ours is the very same in structure, with changes that only reaffirm the original purpose; reaffirm and enhance. And surely time has confirmed the Framers in their judgment that interest, not virtue, would rule the polity. Not unbridled, demonic interest; but interest withal.

The more, then, may we note and ought we note the appearance from time to time of a political figure singular for disinterestedness and for virtue, as the ancients would have understood it, and which is as singular today as ever, and immediately recognizable. Such a person is MARK HATFIELD of Oregon, who would never dream of calling himself the conscience of the Senate, although he has been just that for an astounding 30 years.

I state that he would never dream of thinking himself such, much less encouraging others to do. For he is singularly of that great Anabaptist tradition which condemned government involvement in religion and which eventually led to the idea of the separation of church and state. MARK HATFIELD would fear that conscience might too readily decline into dogma. And so, he has spoke but little of such matters. He has merely and singularly embodied them.

He came of age in the Second World War, and served in the U.S. Navy from 1943 to 1946. At the Navy Memorial on Pennsylvania Avenue there is carved in granite a wonderful line of John F. Kennedy: "Any man who may be asked

in this century what he did to make his life worthwhile, can respond with a good deal of pride and satisfaction, 'I served in the United States Navy.'" I would simply say that this would surely be the case had he served with the like of MARK HATFIELD. A man of deep pacific conviction, serving his country in wartime withal.

He returned to become a professor of political science at his own Willamette University. There then began a political science lesson of dazzling deftness and direction. First, the Oregon House of Representatives. Next, the Oregon State Senate. Secretary of State; Governor. Thence to the U.S. Senate.

There is none of us in this body who does not treasure some aspect of his great, transcendent qualities. For my own part, may I record his dogged, affectionate, informed interest in the career of Herbert Hoover. Woodrow Wilson had two subcabinet members who would go on to the Presidency: Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Hoover was by far the more learned and experienced man, but fate was harsh. And it was a kind of fate, not so different from that of Wilson himself, as Hoover depicted it in a superb account, "The Ordeal of Woodrow Wilson." The book, first published in 1958, was reprinted in 1992. Naturally, a brilliant introduction was written by MARK HATFIELD.

And so he and his beloved Antoinette return to Oregon and to his chair at Willamette University. We must not say we will not see his like again. The Constitution does not call for such, but one doubts the Republic can be sustained without some such as he. One or two a generation: capable of gaining power not for power's sake, but for virtue's imperatives. In our time that man has been MARK HATFIELD.

#### COAST GUARD REAUTHORIZATION

Mr. LOTT. Mr. President, I rise today to commend Senator STEVENS for his hard work to reauthorize the U.S. Coast Guard [USCG]. This small but vital Federal agency has faithfully served our Nation since 1790. Considered by many to be a model agency, the USCG has been the guardian of safety and security for our Nation's maritime highways and sea links to the world. Under the joint leadership of Senator STEVENS and Representative BUD SHUSTER, a long-overdue reauthorization of this worthy agency has been completed. A difficult task. A real accomplishment.

Because almost all of our imports, exports and domestic freight are transported by water, the reauthorization of the USCG is of utmost importance. Approximately 90 percent of Americans live within 100 miles of the coast or a major waterway. Many Americans enjoy recreation near the water and many pursue their livelihoods using affordable products efficiently transported by water. Clearly, the Coast Guard protects these vital interests.

The Coast Guard has made great strides toward fostering our prosperity and safety. In my home State of Mississippi over the past 2 years, the USCG has conducted nearly 4,000 search and rescue missions, saving over 200 lives and \$9 million in property. Let me tell my colleagues about a few noteworthy accomplishments made in the State of Mississippi.

Last fall, an overturned propane truck in Kiln, MS, was righted and the road was promptly reopened. This was due to the direct and coordinated efforts of the Coast Guard and the local volunteer fire department.

Last winter, the Coast Guard coordinated a 1-month cleanup plan in response to a slurry oil discharge between the levees and the batture in Vicksburg. This required a cooperative effort between the authorities in two States, Mississippi and Louisiana, leading to the development of contingency plans for interstate and railroad bridges should another barge-rail accident occur.

In 1995, Hurricanes Erin and Opal hit Mississippi's coastal towns. The Coast Guard's proactive approach to this situation mitigated countless small oil spills caused by sinking pleasure crafts.

When a chemical release in the Port of Bienville caused a significant fish kill, the Coast Guard served as the first response agency, taking immediate steps to contain the spill.

With 2 percent of America's imported oil coming through the port of Pascagoula, there is great potential for accident. Thanks to the vigilance of the Coast Guard, this lightering operation has been effective and environmentally safe. In fact, their recent mapping of the environmentally sensitive areas along Mississippi's coast and waterways has permitted the Coast Guard to respond to potential pollutants in a more effective and focused manner.

Mr. President, on behalf of the State of Mississippi, I would like to personally commend the hard work of the men and women serving the Coast Guard at Point Estero and Point Monroe in Gulfport, Patoka in Greenville, Greenbrier in Natchez, Kickapoo in Vicksburg and Pascagoula, as well as those who work at Station Gulfport, Aids to Navigation Team Gulfport, and the National Data Buoy Center at Stennis Space Center.

The Coast Guard may be one of the most productive agencies in the Government today. In lives and property alone, the Coast Guard returns a value to America equal to nearly four times its total cost. On an average day, the Coast Guard seizes illegal shipments of narcotics with a street value of over \$7 million, interdicts 14 illegal migrants, responds to 38 oil or hazardous chemical spills, conducts 180 search and rescue cases, saves 12 lives and services 150 aids to navigation. The Coast Guard does this every day, all year round, for less than \$4 billion annually. I believe

that no other government investment can match the unique value of the Coast Guard.

Despite this heavy workload, however, the Coast Guard has aggressively sought to streamline its organization and reduce its overall budget. In the past 3 years, Adm. Robert E. Kramek, the Commandant of the Coast Guard, has reduced the service's work force by 4,000 positions and lowered its annual budget by \$400 million—all without reducing any services to the general public. While many agencies have failed to offer meaningful contributions to our efforts to balance the Federal budget, the Coast Guard has been a leader in fiscal responsibility.

Mr. President, I again commend Senator STEVENS and Representative SHUSTER for their dedication to reauthorizing the USCG. I would also like to recognize two staff members whose focused efforts were integral to the success of this reauthorization, Tom Melius of Senator STEVENS' staff and Rebecca Dye of Representative COBLE's staff. Their hard work has certainly paid off. This legislation will ensure that the Coast Guard will continue to do an excellent job of protecting our Nation's maritime highways for years to come.

#### THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business yesterday, Tuesday, October 1, the Federal debt stood at \$5,234,730,786,626.50.

Five years ago, October 1, 1991, the Federal debt stood at \$3,674,303,000,000.

Ten years ago, October 1, 1986, the Federal debt stood at \$2,125,302,000,000.

Fifteen years ago, October 1, 1981, the Federal debt stood at \$997,984,000,000.

Twenty-five years ago, October 1, 1971, the Federal debt stood at \$412,058,000,000 which reflects an increase of nearly \$5 trillion (\$4,822,672,786,626.50) during the past 25 years.

#### MAINTAINING OUR B-52 FLEET

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I rise to comment on important steps taken in this year's defense appropriations bill to maintain our full fleet of 94 B-52H bombers. Many North Dakotans, particularly those who live and work at Minot Air Force Base, are very interested in the future of these aircraft.

My colleagues will understand the importance of these bombers when they recall that it was B-52's that recently struck at Saddam Hussein in retaliation for his violation of the Kurdish safe haven in northern Iraq. Those bombers flew from Guam, were refueled by KC-135 tankers, and launched 13 AGM-86 cruise missiles at air defense, command and communications targets in southern Iraq. Press reports suggested that the B-52's long-range capability was needed because no Middle Eastern country would allow the United States to use its bases or airspace in order to launch this air strike.

#### AUTHORIZATION ACT

My colleagues will also recall that the Congress recognized the importance of these bombers in the defense authorization act by including language that prohibits "retiring or dismantling, or preparing to retire or dismantle" any B-52H bombers.

The authorization bill also included an amendment offered by Senator CONRAD and myself that requires that the current fleet of B-52 bombers be maintained in active status and that the Secretary of Defense treat all B-52's identically when carrying out upgrades.

Lastly, the Armed Services Committees of the House and Senate agreed to authorize additional funding for B-52 modernizations, operations and maintenance, and personnel.

#### DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS BILL

The fiscal year 1997 defense appropriations bill, which the Senate has just passed, fulfills the promise of the authorization act. The conference report includes \$4.4 million for military personnel, \$47.9 million for operations and maintenance and \$11.5 million for procurement. This additional funding is vital if we are to keep all 94 B-52's modernized and flying. This number is the full fleet of our only bomber that can deliver both conventional and nuclear payloads.

I am pleased that the Congress has again recognized the wisdom of not trying to prejudge force structure studies now underway at the Pentagon. It makes no sense to retire B-52 bombers when the Deep Attack Weapons Mix Study and the next Quadrennial Defense Review may recommend that we keep them in the air.

#### STUDY OF NEW ENGINES

Lastly, report language accompanying this bill requires the Air Force to report to the Congress by March 15, 1997 on a proposal to put new, commercially-available engines on the B-52's. Some projections suggest that the new engines would save the Air Force 40 percent of the B-52's current fuel costs, would increase the plane's range and loitering capability, and would improve engine reliability and ease of maintenance. Over the planes' projected remaining life (through 2036), the new engines could save the Air Force \$6.4 billion. These savings would likely be enough to pay for the costs of operating and maintaining the 28 B-52's that the Pentagon has sought to retire.

I applaud the defense appropriations conferees for recognizing the potential benefits of this innovative plan. And I look forward to reviewing the Air Force's analysis of this proposal.

Mr. President, in closing I would like to thank Senator STEVENS of Alaska and Senator INOUE of Hawaii, the distinguished chairman and ranking mem-

ber of the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, for their recognition of the value of our B-52 fleet. I look forward to working with them to keep 94 B-52's flying for many years to come.

#### IRS WORKERS AND THE OMNIBUS APPROPRIATIONS BILL

Mr. DORGAN. Mr. President, I rise to comment briefly on an aspect of the omnibus fiscal year 1997 appropriations bill that the Senate just passed.

My Senate colleagues will recall that the Internal Revenue Service has proposed a field office reorganization that would cut 2,490 employees, many of them from front-line taxpayer assistance jobs. These employees are now in field offices, where they provide needed services to taxpayers in North Dakota and other rural States. The IRS proposes to hire 1,500 new employees in its regional headquarters to do some of the same work now carried out at the field office level.

This IRS proposal puzzles me for a number of reasons.

First, we all know that taxpayers too often have trouble getting straight answers out of the IRS. The proposed reorganization would make it even more difficult for North Dakotans to have access to advice and assistance on how to comply with Federal tax law. I often hear from constituents who are frustrated at their inability to get sound tax advice from this agency. A 1-800 number, which may or may not be answered, is no substitute for the ability to walk into an IRS field office and receive advice in person.

Second, if the IRS is trying to save money, it could start by examining its personnel policies on the rotation of managers. My State staff tells me that no other Federal agency changes its management staff as constantly as does the IRS. Sometimes the North Dakota State director stays for only a year or so before moving on to the regional office in Saint Paul, or elsewhere. Besides harming institutional memory about tax matters in North Dakota, this rapid turnover means that the IRS must spend more on moving expenses. The IRS also has an arrangement with local real estate firms to buy managers' homes so that those leaving North Dakota do not suffer any loss as they leave. I am told that the IRS district that includes North and South Dakota and Minnesota has spent \$300,000 on managerial moves in the past few years. None of the front-line employees who may be fired will be eligible for this sort of moving assistance.

Third, by moving jobs from North Dakota to St. Paul, the IRS will actually be increasing its payroll costs. A salary of \$30,000 will go much further in a small city than in a large metropolitan area. The IRS is therefore likely to be able to attract more qualified people in my State than in the Twin Cities with the same salary level.

Given my concern with this IRS proposal, I am pleased that the omnibus