

But teams of Russian inspectors have come into our country, into our poultry processing facilities—including plants such as Manor Farms and Allen's Foods in my own State of Delaware—and have failed each and every operation. Literally a 100 percent failure rate.

I find this simply unbelievable. This tells me that their real agenda is not health and safety. We demand the same standards for the poultry we ship to Russia as we do for poultry which shows up in American supermarkets and on our kitchen tables every day.

That's why in recent years, Russia's consumers, particularly in the great urban centers such as Moscow and St. Petersburg, have bought more and more poultry products from America. They recognize a good value when they see it. We can produce better tasting, more nutritious, less expensive poultry in America, and ship it to Russia, for a lower price than the current Russian poultry industry can. They are still struggling to get out from under the inefficiencies of the old economic system.

If this ban goes into effect, Mr. President, the Russian people will lose a major high-quality supplier for a popular staple of their diet, and their food bills will go up.

The last thing that the Russian economy needs now is an increase in the price of an important food commodity. It is largely because of inflation that the ruble, and with it the Russian economy, is in so much trouble already.

And if this ban goes into effect, Mr. President, American poultry growers and processors, in Delaware and in the rest of the country, will be denied access to an important market. They have earned their place on the shelves of Russian stores through their hard work, know-how, and efficiency. They should not be shut out by some bureaucrats' arbitrary ruling.

Now, Mr. President, I understand that there are a lot of things going on behind the decision to ban American poultry exports. There is the still powerful pull of the old bureaucratic ways—old habits are hard to break, especially when it comes to protecting domestic industries from the new experience of foreign competition.

Here is a good example of how our domestic industry, which has grown up in a highly competitive environment, can do well in international markets. It's no wonder the Russian domestic poultry industry wants some protection, even if it means higher costs and lower quality for Russian consumers.

Mr. President, here in the United States, arguably the freest market in the world, we are in the midst of a heated national debate on international trade and competition. Just imagine what they are going through in the states of the former Soviet Union, where competition on the basis of quality and price is a new concept.

And this is a Presidential election year over there, too. I know that I

don't have to explain how the elimination of a major foreign competitor could fit into an election year agricultural policy.

But that is no excuse for the Russian Government's action against American poultry producers. We cannot allow this decision to stand.

I have spoken to Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman directly, and I applaud the effort he and his negotiating team have made to resolve this dispute.

The Russian Government must be made to understand that these steps against the United States poultry industry are steps away from the international economic community they tell us they are eager to join.

The IMF has just announced another loan to Russia, worth \$10.2 billion. This money is intended to smooth the transition from the old Communist command economy to a more efficient, open, market economy. The terms of the loan include requirements that the Russians continue to reform their economy.

And as the Russians are well aware, the terms of the loan provide for monthly installments over those 3 years. Evidence of backsliding, of renegeing on commitments to open the Russian economy, could be grounds for terminating the loan at any point.

Russia tells us that they want to join the World Trade Organization and America has supported their application to join the WTO. As a matter of fact, right now the United States has a representative on the WTO working group that must approve Russia's trade practices.

Our representative must make crystal clear to the Russians that actions like the bogus ban on American poultry imports violates the spirit and the letter of international agreements, such as the WTO.

I can't imagine they would want this stain on their record when they come to argue that they are ready to undertake the responsibilities of full participation in the international trading system.

But, because this review process could take up to a year, I am asking President Clinton to appoint an inter-agency working group to investigate immediate retaliatory trade actions against the Russians.

I sincerely hope that before any such retaliation becomes necessary, we can convince the Russian Government to turn back from the course that they have announced.●

TELL THE TRUTH ON THE BUDGET

● Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I would like to draw everyone's attention to a column written about 2 weeks ago by Washington Post writer William Raspberry. In "The Awful Truth About a Tax Cut," he outlines chapter and verse on how America simply cannot afford a tax cut at a time that a fiscal cancer is eating away the country.

While pollster politicians are talking about a tax cut, the debt grows and interest payments on that debt are spiraling out of control.

We have to wake up and take responsible action to kill this fiscal cancer. Otherwise, the America we know will cease to exist.

Mr. President, I ask that Mr. Raspberry's February 12 column be printed in the RECORD.

The column follows:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 12, 1996]

THE AWFUL TRUTH ABOUT A TAX CUT

(By William Raspberry)

If telling unpalatable truth is political suicide, Sen. Ernest F. Hollings must have a death wish. He's not just figuratively shouting from the rooftop the politically unspeakable—that there can be no balanced federal budget without a tax increase; he's threatened to throw himself from the rooftop if anybody proves him wrong.

"If anybody comes up with a seven-year balanced budget without a tax increase," he said again the other day, "I'll jump off the Capitol dome."

But surely that's an empty threat. Aren't the White House and congressional Republicans both claiming to have achieved what Hollings says is impossible? Isn't the only substantial difference between them the size of the tax cut? So why isn't Hollings jumping?

"None of the plans they're talking about balances the budget—or comes near it," the South Carolina Democrat told me. "Just the service on the debt is growing so fast it's just not going to be possible without a tax increase."

What masks this painful truth, he says, is a ruse practiced by Democrats and Republicans alike: counting the Social Security trust fund as an asset that reduces the apparent size of the budget shortfall.

With the huge "baby boom" cohort now paying more in Social Security taxes than current retirees take out, the system is running a theoretical surplus. But this surplus is being spent along with the general revenues for current government expenses. The trust fund gets an IOU that must eventually be redeemed by—guess who?—taxpayers.

The point Hollings wants to make, though, is not just that this amounts to dishonest bookkeeping. It is, he insists, also illegal.

He ought to know. It was legislation he wrote (along with the late John Heinz "who did the work on this") that made it illegal. Nearly six years ago, Congress passed—and President Bush signed into law—Section 13301 of the Budget Enforcement Act that includes this language:

"The concurrent resolution shall not include the outlays and revenue totals of the old-age, survivors and disability insurance programs established under title II of the Social Security Act or the related provisions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 in the surplus or deficit totals required by this subsection..."

"That says in plain language they can't use the trust fund to cut the deficit," Hollings observes. "And yet they keep doing it. The president and the Congress like to spend the Social Security money because it makes the budget look like it's moving toward balance. Wall Street likes it because if we don't come scurrying in to borrow from Wall Street, interest rates don't go up.

"But it's illegal, and they know it. I complain, they shrug their shoulders; they call it a 'unified budget,' as though that changes something. If they don't like the law, why don't they change it? The truth is they're

afraid to repeal it, and they're afraid to obey it."

Hollings insists it's not wounded pride of authorship that has him shouting into the wind. The important issue is not the technical violation but the disaster it hides. Says Hollings:

"Everybody is wringing their hands about what will happen on Social Security seven years from now, or in the year 2025, or whatever. The problem is here and now. We are broke right now. Not Social Security. Social Security is paid for. Medicare is paid for. It's the general government—defense and the rest of it—that's not paid for. And because it's not, interest on the debt is running about a billion dollars a day. And here's the point: There's just no amount of spending cuts and loophole closings and freezes that is going to produce a savings of a billion dollars a day.

"Unless we raise taxes, we are just 'fiddling while Rome burns.'"

He says it, knowing that a call for a tax increase (while his colleagues debate the size of the tax cut) is, if not suicidal, at least politically dangerous.

"Look, we all have to run for reelection, and we all take polls," he said. "To do what I'm doing is sheer stupidity—unless you can get a movement going to face up to what has to be done."

Unfortunately, no such movement seems in the offing. The people are in a mood to punish any politician who tells them the truth as they know the truth to be about our fiscal disorder. It's time to pay the piper. And that's the truth.●

PEACEMAKERS ARE UP AGAINST AN UNDETERRED CHINA

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, our policy toward China is, in the words of our colleague from California, Senator FEINSTEIN, one of zigzagging.

I want to have a good relationship with China, but I do not want it at expense of a free Taiwan that has a free press and a multiparty system.

Recently, I read an excellent column by Georgie Anne Geyer, who has had a great deal of experience in the field of international relations.

Her comments on the China situation should be of interest to all of my colleagues, as well as their staffs, and I ask that they be printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

The column follows:

PEACEMAKERS ARE UP AGAINST AN UNDETERRED CHINA

WASHINGTON.—Now, let's see if I understand this:

Last summer, the more-or-less communist government in Beijing (population China: 1.2 billion) set its People's Liberation Army loose to make Taiwan (population: 21 million) sit up and take notice. First, Beijing stirred things up a bit by conducting ballistic missile tests off the Taiwanese coast—not exactly a neighborly act.

Then, the Chinese leaders provided Ambassador Charles Freeman, a specialist on China who was visiting Beijing this winter, with the astonishing news that they were seriously considering launching missile strikes on Taiwan this spring every day for a month. Freeman, who was for many years in our Beijing Embassy, took their warnings most seriously, and in a recent speech at The Heritage Foundation, went so far as to say:

"These exercises are not an empty show of force. They are a campaign of military in-

timidation that could, and may well as the coming year unfolds, extend into the actual outbreak of combat in the Taiwan Strait and even strikes against Taiwan targets."

So what do our doughty leaders here do? Well, these warlike growls from Beijing did not seem very nice at all (wasn't China supposed to become capitalist now, anyway?). At first, our responses were just the kind the frontal-assault Chinese like to evoke in barbarians: ambiguous. The new American ambassador to Beijing, former Sen. James Sasser of Tennessee, went so far as to suggest, when asked at a press conference in Beijing what the United States would do if the Chinese did attack Taiwan, that, aster all, we had long recognized that Taiwan was a part of China . . .

And how the Chinese smiled behind their missiles.

Then, for once in the past three years of China-bungling, the administration actually did the right thing. On Dec. 19, it quietly sent the USS Nimitz to the Taiwan Straits, the politically treacherous waterway between Taiwan and China. This was important: It marked the first time American ships had patrolled the straits since the Nixon/Kissinger "peace" with China in 1976.

It is hard to ignore the Nimitz, if only because the nuclear-powered U.S. carrier comes with five escort ships equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles. But the master chess-playing Chinese also understood perfectly: This was exactly the way they had always played the "Great Game" in Asia.

Ah, but then the White House got cold feet over having done such an awful thing. "No, no, not us," they said—in effect. "We didn't send that big bad Nimitz. (Would we do such a thing? Nobody here but us peacemakers.)" No, the decision to sail in waters that, for political reasons, we had not entered for 17 years had been made by the ship's commander alone—and that was because of bad weather in alternate waters.

Now, unfortunately or fortunately, Hong Kong has an active weather bureau, and those officious fellows there immediately took on what was clearly none of their business and said the weather had been just fine in those days. And so the Chinese, who don't know much about us either, wrote the whole thing off as just "more American lying."

In the end, the threat was dispensed with, the Chinese remained undeterred, and American policy toward China was and is as imprecise and lacking in consensus as ever (Secretary of State Warren Christopher did not even mention the word "China" in a recent major foreign-policy address at Harvard).

Let us try to make some sense of all this: China and, indeed, all of Asia are at a turning point whose outcome will assuredly shape the form of Asia, and our interests in it, for the next 20 years. In China, as Deng Xiaoping comes to the end of his life. President Jiang Zemin is becoming more and more hard-line (he has even been wearing the once-hated Mao suits). Increasingly he has been placating the hard-line People's Liberation Army.

Gerrit Gong, director of Asian Studies for the Center for Strategic and International Studies here, recently met with the military command in Beijing, and told me that he sees the military pressures on the government as becoming intense. "The older military feel that the revolution is not over," he said, "and that their comrades' blood must still be vindicated. They want to send a message to Taiwan and Japan that they're still strong."

The Taiwan elections in March, plus Beijing's fear of American recognition of a potentially "independent" Taiwan, are what drives the Chinese. With their studied ob-

streperousness, blended with the constantly reinforced belief that they can bluff this administration, they are playing two games: (1) to threaten and contain the United States, and (2) to diminish the international standing or independent dreams of little, but rich Taiwan.

Emboldened by no real American policy—and now assured by the White House that the Nimitz was just "off course"—Beijing this last week took the first steps toward setting an actual timetable for the "reunification" of Taiwan with the mainland—after Hong Kong in 1997 and Macao in 1999. This is serious business.

Our former ambassador to Beijing, James Lilley, who understands these games, shakes his head at the seeming "mystery" that so many here see in how to deal with them. "The Nimitz was exactly the right signal to China," he told me. "The sea is our battleground. Actually we are in the catbird's seat—but we are letting ourselves be jerked around."●

THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF SPARROW HOSPITAL

● Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I rise today to congratulate Sparrow Hospital in Lansing, MI, on its 100th anniversary. Sparrow Hospital has a long and activist history of serving the people of mid-Michigan.

In 1896, a group of dedicated young women met at Lansing's Downey Hotel to discuss the growing need for a community hospital. Armed with sheer determination, the 114 charter members of the Women's Hospital Association opened an 11-bed hospital. The women's dream of hospital ownership was realized with the purchase of the James Mead House on North Cedar Street in 1899.

Realizing that a larger health care facility was needed to meet the demands of the growing Lansing area, Edward W. Sparrow, one of Lansing's pioneer developers, whose wife was a member of the Women's Hospital Association, donated the \$100,000 and land at 1215 E. Michigan Avenue to build a new hospital. Two years later, on November 6, 1912, the 44-bed Edward W. Sparrow Hospital opened its doors. At the dedication ceremonies, it was avowed that the purpose of the new hospital was "receiving, caring for and healing the sick and injured, without regard to race, creed or color."

Sparrow Hospital has continued to live up to its avowed purpose. Sparrow is a not-for-profit organization, guided by volunteer boards, comprised of people who represent a wide spectrum of the community. Since 1896, Sparrow has provided care to mid-Michigan residents regardless of their ability to pay.

Through the efforts of its founders and many others, Lansing's first health service has grown to become today's Sparrow Hospital. Sparrow Hospital currently has over 600 physicians, nearly 3,000 associates and 1,400 volunteers in a comprehensive health system for an eight-county population of nearly 1 million people. Each year, Sparrow Hospital treats over 120,000 people.