

of looking back in anger. I'm a better man for the experience.

I think that as David approached the closing of his life he could look back with pride, and with gratitude, that his life was not distinguished by its brevity, but by its richness, by the love of his beautiful family, and by the tender regard in which he was held by so many people who knew a good man when they saw him. We are all better people for having been blessed by David Ifshin's friendship.

Gail, Jake, Ben and Chloe, Mr. and Mrs. Ifshin, thank you for so generously sharing David with the rest of us. Please know that the day will arrive when your deep hurt subsides, when the memory of David, and the bright and gentle moments you shared with him lifts your hearts again. He will be with you always.●

COMMERCE SECRETARY RONALD H. BROWN

● Mr. LIEBERMAN. Mr. President, as we return to session today it is spring in Washington. The blossoms are out. It is a beautiful time, and yet I am sure the experience I had in flying back with my family yesterday was similar to what others returning yesterday experienced: It brought home the terrible tragedy that occurred while we were away—the plane that went down in Croatia carrying Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown and so many others. It filled me with a sense of loss again yesterday and today.

I am proud that I had the chance to work with Ron Brown during his all too short tenure at the Commerce Department. I enjoyed working with Ron Brown at various stages of his career—as an attorney, as a leading Democratic activist, as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and most closely and, I think, most creatively in these last 3 years as Secretary of Commerce. I am honored that I can call him a friend. We are all going to miss him—it's painful to think that my staff and I won't have the sheer fun of working with him again—and the country will miss him even more. I have the greatest respect for him, as have so many others, as a wonderful, warm human being and as a leader who had a clear-eyed vision of how to make our people and our country better.

You never think of a man in the prime of life not being here. In a way, it is death that forces you to appreciate even more the great skills and the service that Ron Brown, displayed for our benefit.

Ron Brown truly loved the job he had at Commerce. He always managed to fit himself well to the tasks he undertook, wherever he was, but this job really did fit him like a glove, from the moment he took it. He understood as soon as he started the job that the mission of the Department of Commerce is to promote economic growth, that it is job creation. He understood from his own experience the wide-open nature of our market system and that the market and its upward mobility was the unique way America had for creating opportunity for its citizens.

Ron Brown never saw the business community as an enemy, he saw it as an ally in expanding opportunity, and he threw himself into this job with a single-mindedness and joyous commitment to moving the system, the economic system, so that it would deliver for all Americans.

Against this background, I want to talk about two efforts he spent his time on at Commerce that I think were critical. I believe that they were truly extraordinary, and set a new performance standard for our Government's relationship with the private sector.

EXPORTS

The first has been written about extensively in the days since his death, and even over the preceding 3 years: The incredible export promotion operation he put together at Commerce. But I do not think that enough has been said about why it was so important.

Until the mid-1970's, the United States economy was on top of the world, dominating it. While our economic rivals, led particularly by Japan, were figuring out that selling advanced manufactured goods for export was the key to economic growth and raising the living standards of people back home, our Government was coasting on our success. We were not paying attention to the emerging economic message.

Other countries built export promotion machines—and they were machines—through the most intimate and comprehensive alliances between business and government, the private sector and the public sector. But our Government paid too little attention to the need to build these alliances. American businesses—and I heard this repeatedly from business executives in Connecticut—would go abroad to compete, and they would see what the business-government alliances of our competitors were doing for export promotion.

I remember being told a story by the executive of one of the companies in Connecticut; his firm was competing against two other companies, one from Asia and one from Europe, for a very large order in a foreign country. He went over there to participate in simultaneous bidding among the three business competitors. This company from Connecticut, a big company, had its executives and lawyers in one room. But in the other two rooms, the executives and representatives of the Asian company and of the European company were teamed up with a representative of the Asian government and of the European government, respectively. The government representatives were combining with their companies to enhance their firms' offers. It made the contest unequal. The Connecticut company did not get the contract. We lost an opportunity and jobs.

The State Department, I am afraid, continued to treat American business as if it had to be held at arm's length. Too many administrations went along

with that distant attitude. Preoccupied with the end of the cold war and retaining the political alliances required for it, the State Department embraced a traditional and outmoded notion of what foreign policy was all about, of what mattered to people here at home. It missed what was happening in both the world economy and the American economy, which has been a grave error. It made export promotion a low priority, while our rivals made it the top priority. The State Department treated U.S. business like pariahs, it was "Upstairs-Downstairs"—trade was beneath our diplomatic priorities.

This hasn't ended. A Business Week editorial this week notes that, "The U.S. foreign policy and security elite believe security should be divorced from economic issues. Some go so far as to suggest that providing security is a perk of global power." It concludes, "We don't. American workers can't be expected to suffer economically to protect [other nations] from one another." Ron Brown shared this view, and he was the new momentum for bringing our economy into foreign relations. The President was his staunch ally on this effort, and helped him force change in this area.

Ron Brown, working with President Clinton, understood that we had to create a central position in our foreign policy for our economic policy. Export promotion had to be at the core of our international outreach. It was not a bad thing, but, in fact, it was a very good thing, if the President visited a foreign country with the Secretary of Commerce and the issues they discussed with the leadership of that foreign country included buying American goods.

I come from a very export-oriented State. In fact, it has the highest level of exports per capita of any State in the country. We know that exports create jobs, high-paying manufacturing jobs, and that each manufacturing job has an economic multiplier effect, creating a chain of goods and services behind it, longer by far than other types of jobs.

The sad fact is that we have been disinvesting in manufacturing since the mid-1970s, even though we need these kinds of jobs more than ever to develop a strong economy and a better standard of living for our people which will continue America as the land of opportunity. Ron Brown, as Secretary of Commerce, understood this from the beginning of his service.

When he began his export promotion effort, within days of arriving at the Commerce Department, the leaders of the American business community that I spoke to—and I particularly heard this from heads of firms in Connecticut—were in disbelief. Someone was finally paying attention to their priorities. Somebody was finally trying to help them pull together an American governmental countermovement to the vast efforts rival countries and their businesses had been mounting for decades, to take jobs and exports away

from us. Finally, someone with real power, the Secretary of Commerce, understood the problem. At the same time, in the beginning, many in the business community were skeptical whether Ron Brown could make all this happen.

But he proved them wrong, to their delight. He was great at this. Trained as a lawyer and always a superb advocate, he used those skills on behalf of American businesses throughout the world. He knew how to run campaigns, and he ran this export operation like a campaign, which is exactly what it is. Nobody had ever done this before in the way that Secretary Brown did, and our country has never benefited as much before as we did from his service.

He even set up, in the Commerce Department, something like a campaign war room, where he would get reports on economic opportunities opening up around the world to sell American products and create American jobs—an early warning system. Then the letters and the phone calls would start flying—Ron Brown was a phone wizard, it was a technology invented for him, he was forever reaching out to touch some business leader or a head of State abroad. He followed those calls with visits, such as the one he was on when his life ended. He was so enormously skilled, he was so hard working, he so absolutely and irresistibly likable, he had such a great smiling charm, such sharp intelligence, he was such fun, he had such energy.

The customers loved his performance. They all knew he spoke directly to and for the President of the United States, and that he would relay their messages back to the White House. Even our friends in Japan, who have systematically been denying entry for too many United States products for too long, liked him, as he worked very hard at breaking down their barriers.

U.S. business strongly appreciated his commitment to them, his accomplishments. He was a terrific political operator in the very best sense of this phrase—he was mobilizing the political system to serve the public's needs. The business community understood this and respected it deeply—I've heard this again and again from U.S. companies. Ron Brown was a new kind of life force to them and they had great affection for him.

Ron Brown and his team's export success was only beginning when he left us, because the historic changes he was starting are a long-term project. But this new direction was a very important accomplishment for America. A major job for Secretaries of Commerce from now on will be to promote U.S. goods, not just in the offhanded, random way of the past, but with all the force of Ron Brown's campaigns, or they will be judged failures. From now on, the Federal Government is going to have to get down and get to work with business selling our economy. It's about time, but it took Ron Brown to show us how to do it. Ron Brown has

set an entirely new standard for the country by which all that come after him will be judged.

INNOVATION

A second remarkable thing he did as Commerce Secretary was to fight for innovation. This has been almost nowhere mentioned in the press, and it is not well understood by the public or the fourth estate or Congress. But Ron Brown understood that for the American dream of opportunity to be sustained for a new generation, a higher level of economic growth was crucial. In addition to exports, he concentrated on another ingredient of that strategy, innovation. Even before he was sworn in as Commerce Secretary, his friend George Fisher, then president of Motorola and now of Kodak, invited him to speak to a leading group of business thinkers, the Council on Competitiveness. Ron Brown set out in that speech an aggressive agenda of technology development and promotion. He recognized that innovation has been the great American competitive advantage for generations, that it is now under attack as our competitors expand, and that it has to be renewed if we are going to keep expanding our economy. Economists estimate that technology development—coupled with a technologically trained work force—has accounted for 80 percent of the increase in United States productivity and wealth for most of this century.

INNOVATION IS OUR BREAD AND BUTTER.

Brown understood that since the Second World War, the Federal Government has backed most of the long term research and development and applied R&D that has gone on in the U.S., while business focused on shorter term product development. That is an economic reality—the risk and cost of R&D means that the private sector must focus on what it can raise capital for—shorter term products. It's a classic market failure problem, and until recently Congress on a bipartisan basis has supported the need for governmental support of innovation. Brown picked up a series of small technology and technology extension programs that had been quietly started at Commerce in previous administrations, and made them a central focus. With an able team around him, he made the Commerce Department the administration's leader in civilian technology development, and supported a new system of cooperative R&D development with business, requiring business to match Federal funding to ensure sounder Government R&D investments and leveraging Federal research dollars. He also helped expand a new system of manufacturing extension centers around the country, now in over 30 States, to bring advanced manufacturing techniques and technology to smaller and mid-sized manufacturers desperately in need of it to be able to compete with global competitors. In a time of budget cutting, he successfully found the resources to build these programs. He was also head of the admin-

istration's Information Infrastructure task force, formulating policies on the new information highway and how to expand our population's access to it.

He was both an innovator and an innovation supporter, and was moving quickly toward making the Commerce Department what it long should have been: A department for trade and technology, where each of these two sides of the department provides synergy for the other. It was becoming an agency which provided governmental leadership in these two areas in support of the private sector, not trying to dominate it, and much stronger because of this.

Ron Brown's clear success, of course, led to the usual Washington political reaction against signs of creativity. Unfortunately, for too much of this past year he had to spend time deftly deflecting attacks on the existence of the Commerce Department. But he had helped make it into an instrument for growth and job creation, and his efforts had strong support among business and work force constituencies. He had begun the process to put the Commerce Department on the map as a unique American engine to support opportunity and growth in America. He had a great dream for his agency, and I respect that dream very much. I, for one, pledge to him that I am not going to sit here in this body and let it get dismantled.

BARRIERS

I have discussed his innovations at Commerce, but I want to raise an additional subject. Much was said in the aftermath of Ron Brown's tragic death about his role as a bridge builder. I say he was also a barrier breaker. I think sometimes about Chuck Yeager and how he felt piloting his X-1 rocket plane when he first broke the sound barrier. Ron Brown was a great barrier-breaker, too, our first African-American to achieve many things. While Chuck Yeager's courage enabled him to break his barrier, the sound barrier remained and had to be broken again by countless other pilots. Ron Brown's barrier-breaking was different. It also required courage, but he had a way of breaking barriers that began to erase them. He would get through a barrier in his wonderful, excited, buoyant way, and he would make everyone who watched him think, there goes another one, and why didn't we do that long ago? When Ron Brown became Commerce Secretary, many were expecting the President to name an experienced business leader, and were disappointed when he named a friend and politician. Ron Brown's outstanding performance as Commerce Secretary, and the depth of support he built in the business community, was unlike anything any Commerce Secretary has been able to do before. We watched and thought, there he goes through another barrier, the biggest he had ever faced.

In so doing, Ron Brown broke an even bigger barrier. America has been blessed with a long line of outstanding

African-American leaders. Many of those leaders have been seen as leaders of the African-American community. Ron Brown was intensely loyal to his African-American roots, but, like Colin Powell, he was also a national leader, an American leader who was clearly understood, in his great energetic way, to be battling for the well-being of every American.

In his struggle to save the Commerce Department over the last year, Ron Brown often compared the abolition of the Department to unilateral disarmament in the international economic wars of today. In closing, I note that all around our city of Washington are statues of our great military heroes. Now we are engaged in a different kind of global conflict: an economic global conflict. If we ever start building statues for those who have served courageously and with great success in this economic battle for the opportunity and the well-being of our people, we ought to erect a statue to Ron Brown as one of the finest of those leaders.●

THE MARK AND GARY BEEF PLEDGE

● Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, cattle producers in my State of Iowa and across the country are facing substantial economic hardship. Record-high grain and feed costs, low hay reserves, drought conditions, and an oversupply of beef are compounding the problem of a 10-year-low cattle market. I am pleased the administration has taken to heart our proposals to assist the sagging cattle market. Allowing haying and grazing on CRP acres is necessary to alleviate the high feed costs and a large beef purchase by the U.S. Government should help turn the tide.

Speaking of helping to turn the tide, a farm broadcasting duo in central Iowa has embarked on a campaign to promote beef consumption in the State of Iowa. Gary Wergin and Mark Pearson of WHO-Radio in Des Moines, IA are calling on their Heartland listeners to take a pledge. As one who proudly and easily accepted their challenge to eat just one more serving of beef a week, I submit "The Mark and Gary Beef Pledge" into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. By working together, Iowans can make a difference.

The material follows:

THE MARK AND GARY BEEF PLEDGE

I, Chuck Grassley, am a proud consumer of beef be it broiled, roasted or grilled. I respect the efforts of all those, from the farm to the supermarket, who make American beef the safest in the world. At this time of low prices, I can help in the most delightful way . . . by consuming more beef. I therefore pledge to boost my beef consumption by one serving per week, while staying within dietary guidelines.

CHUCK GRASSLEY.●

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Kentucky.

THE CHOIR FROM KENTUCKY

Mr. FORD. Mr. President, in Appalachia in a community and a county called Harlan, there is a group of young men who now for decades—some have fathers that sang in this choir, and their sons are now singing in this choir. They all donate their time. The director of this choral group donates his time. It is after everything else is done.

They have won international honors without much fanfare, without much publicity. But we know them, and we love them. In 1988, they were here to sing at the inauguration. They sang for the inauguration, the Kentucky Society, the Bullets basketball game, and they kind of took this town by storm. Everybody liked them when they found out about them, like I do.

Mr. President, this group is back in town. They are here visiting Washington again. I know the policy and rules of the committee. I can go only so far. But I want it to be in the RECORD that this group is here, and I want my colleagues to know how important they are to me, and to our State.

So, Mr. President, if any of you see some young men, fine young men, walking around this town, or walking around this Capitol Building—they have on light green T-shirts—I hope that you will walk up to them and thank them for their contribution to something that is real, something that is tangible, and something that is lasting.

I yield the floor.

Mr. BURNS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Montana.

Mr. BURNS. I thank the Chair.

(The remarks of Mr. BURNS pertaining to the introduction of S. 1726 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. BRADLEY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from New Jersey.

NEWBORNS' AND MOTHERS' HEALTH PROTECTION ACT OF 1996

Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, in 10 days it will be Mother's Day. This means something precious to mothers, grandmothers, and expectant mothers in this country. I, along with many others, also think it means something special to the Senate. It is our opportunity to take up and pass the Newborns' and Mothers' Health Protection Act of 1996.

I have several letters with me today. These were addressed to the majority leader and the minority leader of the Senate. Each letter respectfully requests that a date for Senate floor ac-

tion and a vote on the newborns bill be scheduled as soon as possible. This is what we can do for mothers and their families this Mother's Day.

Let me remind us all of the history of the newborns bill. Last year, many of us began to hear disturbing stories about mothers and babies being forced to leave the hospital too soon after childbirth.

While we can all agree that sometimes it makes good medical sense for mothers and babies to go home quickly, we have to recognize that, tragically, many times it is not good sense. We have been moved and saddened to learn of the deaths of babies and of serious and sometimes lifelong threats to their health and normal development that come from leaving the hospital too soon after childbirth.

Many of us began to hear that the decision about whether or not a mother and her baby should leave the hospital was being made by the wrong people. We began to hear that those who should make this decision, the doctor or the health care practitioner attending the mother and baby, were in fact not making that decision. Instead, the decision forcing a woman to leave the hospital in less than 24 hours after childbirth was being made by a clerk at an insurance company shaving costs and shortening lives.

I think many of us began to realize that this was the moment in a situation just like this when Government should step in to try to provide protection to mothers and babies. We all know the health care environment has changed, and changed with startling speed, over the last couple of years. Such a massive, fast change, even when positive, always creates instability and temporary imbalances. On occasion, it creates a serious problem. This is a serious problem—forcing women out of hospitals after giving childbirth in less than 24 hours.

With this background, Senator KASSEBAUM and I introduced the Newborns' and Mothers' Health Protection Act, S. 969, about a year ago—last June. This is a bill that respects the authority of doctors and other health care practitioners, in consultation with mothers, to make health care decisions about the length of time their patient should stay in the hospital following childbirth. This is a bill that respects the flexibility that health plans need to manage care efficiently in our rapidly changing health care environment.

Mr. President, the newborns act creates what my colleague and cosponsor on this bill, Doctor and Senator FRIST has called a safe haven of time—a safe haven of time for doctors, mothers, and babies, 48 hours minimum for normal childbirth, 96 hours minimum for Cesarean sections. Under this bill, doctors, nurse practitioners, nurse midwives, and nurses will all be free to do their job. Mothers will be relieved of the fear that they may be sent home too early before their babies are stable and they are prepared physically and emotionally. Newborns will be watched