

Senate on Wednesday, April 28, 1999 at 9:30 a.m. to conduct an Oversight Hearing on Bureau of Indian Affairs Capacity and Mission. The Hearing will be held in Room 485, Russell Senate Building.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate Committee on the Judiciary be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 28, 1999 at 9:30 a.m. in room 226 of the Senate Dirksen Office Building to hold a hearing on: "S.J. Res. 14, Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, authorizing Congress to Prohibit the Physical Desecration of the Flag of the United States."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Rules and Administration be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 28, 1999 at 9:30 a.m. to receive testimony on the operations of the Architect of the Capitol.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Intelligence be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 28, 1999 at 2 p.m. to hold a closed hearing on Intelligence Matters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON FORESTS AND PUBLIC LAND MANAGEMENT

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Forests and Public Land Management of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources be granted permission to meet during the session of the Senate on Wednesday, April 28, for purposes of conducting a Subcommittee on Forests and Public Lands Management hearing which is scheduled to begin at 2 p.m. The purpose of this hearing is to receive testimony on S. 415, a bill to amend the Arizona Statehood and Enabling Act in order to protect the permanent trust funds of the State of Arizona from erosion due to inflation and modify the basis on which distributions are made from the funds, and S. 607, a bill to reauthorize and amend the National Geological Mapping Act of 1992; and S. 416, a bill to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to convey to the city of Sisters, Oregon, a certain parcel of land for use in connection with a sewage treatment facility.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

KOSOVO

• Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I rise today to bring your attention to a newspaper column that I believe provides thoughtful commentary on current events taking place in Kosovo and in the United States. The following, written by Mr. A.M. Rosenthal, appeared in the New York Times on April 9, 1999.

I ask that it be printed in the RECORD.

The material follows:

Do Americans understand that while we have been bombing the Serbs, the following took place:

Libya was exonerated from responsibility in the destruction of Pan AM 103.

Saddam Hussein's closedown of the U.N. search for Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons went into its eighth month. Richard Butler, the chief arms inspector, was barred Wednesday by the Russians from even entering the U.N. Security Council chamber where his inspection commission was the agenda, marked for death.

China's Prime Minister was visiting America getting a great press—plus a step nearer to a trade agreement that will fatten China's economy and armed forces. On the day Zhu Rongji arrived in Washington representing the Communist politburo, President Clinton criticized not China's expanding arrests of political and religious dissidents, but American critics of China.

So: do Americans understand that while we fight one dictatorship, fumbling around trying to heighten the war and somehow end it at the same time, three other dictatorships more dangerous to American interests are walking away with America's pants?

The Libya deal was possible because the Administration signed off on it. This sweetheart gift to Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi ends the effective sanctions imposed on Libya for harboring two Libyans accused of murdering 270 people in the bombing of Pan AM 103 on Dec. 21, 1988.

American intelligence agents are not allowed to ask the suspects now held in the Netherlands if perchance Qaddafi knew what his boys were up to or Syria and Iran were involved—as Western intelligence agencies had long believed. And during the trial itself, Libya's Government is not to be undermined, hear?

For Libya, a no-loser. Even if the men are found guilty, the sanctions will remain ended. Italy, Russia, France and other countries have already lined up fat oil and gas deals with Libya. U.S. companies will follow. The deal is disgusting, an insult to the dead and their families, and to all, who fly in U.S. planes.

Do Americans understand that the U.S. delegation to the U.N. did not stand up and holler at the barring of Mr. Butler? Let's hope it will when he tries again today.

Do they understand that the President denounced U.S. critics of China on the very day that Jeff Gerth and James Risen of The Times were writing that even more Chinese nuclear espionage took place than the reporters had already disclosed? Another chapter in Chinese espionage was written in 1995, reported to Samuel Berger, now the national security adviser, in April 1996, who told the President in July 1997, who ordered tightened security—in February 1998.

And do Americans understand that the Administration disgraced itself in the war on Serbia?

Slobodan Milosevic, not America, is responsible for driving cold, hungry, terrified Albanian Kosovars from their homes. But Washington's disgrace is that President Clinton and his top people did not know and did not expect that Mr. Milosevic would use the bombing as an opportunity to expel them by the hundreds of thousands. American leadership still does not seem able to plan more than a couple of days ahead.

So we need no longer worry about America's credibility; we have none.

For a democracy, credibility comes not just from smart weapons but smart leaders, from respect for the intelligence of the public, domestic and foreign, from a measure of honesty. In a democracy, pretense in war or peace is transparent, embarrassing and finally self-destructive.

We need not and should not support Kosovar secession. But we helped Mr. Milosevic in his fight with the Kosovars by not foreseeing his mass expulsion plans, and not having our own plans that would treat the Serbian nation as something more than a bombing target.

"When at war, support the troops." To me, that means making sure they have the strength they need, the affection, respect—and doable mission.

What it does not mean is keeping our mouths shut about misconduct of a war by an American Government—or about its failure to protect American interests in other crises that may inconveniently present themselves. That's not supporting American armed forces, but walking away from them. •

UNITARIAN UNIVERSALIST CHURCH OF SAN DIEGO

• Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, today I want to recognize the First Unitarian Universalist Church of San Diego as it celebrates 125 years of religious freedom. The First Unitarian Universalist Church of San Diego enjoys a rich history in San Diego. Founded in 1873, the Church has continued to grow into a diverse community of over 3,000 members with differing beliefs yet shared values.

The First Unitarian Universalist Church of San Diego is an important part of the spiritual lives of thousands of San Diegans. In 1890, founder Lydia Horton helped to pioneer women's rights through the Church. Today, it continues that tradition of activism by working for environmental protection, gay and lesbian rights, and women's equality. In the local community, the Church is fighting discrimination and illiteracy, building schools in underserved neighborhoods, and teaching San Diego's children the value of community involvement.

The Church encourages members of its congregation to develop their own religious wisdoms, truthful to themselves and respectful of others.

For thriving 125 years in San Diego, I salute the First Unitarian Universalist Church of San Diego and wish them many successful years ahead. •

RECOGNIZING THE WORLD CLASS SCHOLARS PROGRAM, ABERDEEN, WA

• Mr. GORTON. Mr. President, a constant theme heard in the economic

news of our country is the dramatic success and sustained growth of our nation's economy. My own state of Washington has been particularly fortunate in that regard, even give the much-talked about "Asian flu." Not all of Washington's communities, however, have been so lucky. Among those is Aberdeen, in Grays Harbor County. Unemployment in Aberdeen is double the state average; over 17 percent of the county depends on public assistance as a primary source of income; and 27 percent of the adult population has not completed high school. To combat these issues, the Aberdeen School District and Grays Harbor Community College came together in 1993 to create the World Class Scholars program which I am pleased to present with one of my Innovation in Education Awards.

Recognizing that students were struggling to finish their education and would therefore be unqualified for many of the well paying technology-based jobs in Washington state, local educators created a new path to reach these workers of tomorrow—the World Class Scholars Program. The school district and community college agreed that students in the scholars program would automatically be accepted into the local community college, receive scholarship assistance and college credit for college-level work completed in high school. In return, students must follow through on a pledge made in the 7th grade to graduate with a "B" average. Students in the program also agree to demonstrate leadership and other interpersonal skills, volunteer at school or in the community, and become technologically proficient. This is exactly the kind of jump-start this community needed to encourage students to complete their education and to ensure that recent graduates have the tools necessary to compete for today's high-paying jobs.

Each year, the number of students and volunteers involved in the World Class Scholars program continues to grow. But, perhaps of great mention, the number of other school districts participating throughout the county in collaboration with Grays Harbor Community College has also grown. In two years, the first class of high school students will graduate and the community's pledge to provide them with continued education will be honored. Clearly, Aberdeen and surrounding school districts have needs that are different, perhaps unique, from other localities throughout Washington state. They have met this problem head on and are well on the way to making their community a better place to live. The response of the Grays Harbor community perfectly demonstrates that local educators really do know best.

In presenting my Innovation in Education Awards, I fall back on this common-sense idea, that it is parents and educators the who look our children in the eye every day that know best how to educate them. For too long, the federal government has been telling local

schools that Washington, DC bureaucrats know best. Educators across Washington state and throughout the country, like those involved in the World Class Scholars program, deserve more decision-making authority they deserve and I pledge to work hard to return that power to them.●

REMARKS BY DR. HENRY BUCHWALD

● Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, I offer for the RECORD the text of a lecture delivered at the Central Surgical Association by Dr. Henry Buchwald, Professor of Surgery at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Buchwald, a past president of the association, is a highly regarded surgeon, and as we address Medicare reform and related matters in the months ahead, I believe we would do well to consider his words. At this time, I ask that excerpts of Dr. Henry Buchwald's presidential address be printed in the RECORD.

The material follows.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: A CLASH OF CULTURES—PERSONAL AUTONOMY VERSUS CORPORATE BONDAGE

(By Henry Buchwald, MD)

PERSONAL AUTONOMY

A constellation of principles embody the personality of the surgeon. At its core are the tradition and the ethos of personal autonomy. One of the distinguished past presidents of the Central Surgical Association, Donald Silver, who has been a role model for me, entitled his 1992 presidential address, "Responsibilities and Rights." He allowed very few intrinsic rights to surgeons, but first among the limited prerogatives he granted was autonomy.

As surgeons, we tend to be individualists and to espouse individual responsibility. To us, maturity means being responsible for our actions. We keep our commitments. We view fiscal independence as essential. We take pride in earning a living and, should we have a family, in providing for its needs. To give the gift of an education to our children has been integral to our aspirations.

The years of medical school, residency, and the post-graduate education of clinical practice finally give birth to a surgeon. This individual has acquired a base of knowledge and the insight to apply facts and rational suppositions to the care of patients. This individual has obtained operating room skills secured by observation, trial and error, repetition, and respect for tissues and tissue planes and has learned the art of being gentle with a firm and steady hand. The surgeon has been sobered by death, by bad results, by the frustration of the inadequacies of even the most modern medical advances, and by the vagaries of human nature that obstruct the best of intentions and efforts. The surgeon has acknowledged fallibility and his or her power to do harm. The surgeon has become comfortable in a profession in which decisions are singular and responsibility is particular. The mature surgeon has achieved personal autonomy.

Within our company of surgeons we take just pride in our accomplishments. We are a distinct discipline with a unique body of knowledge. We are, for the most part, successful. We save lives, we increase life expectancy, we enhance the quality of existence. In addition, we have provided society with numerous competent surgical practitioners and built dynasties of surgical edu-

cators and researchers—individuals who bridge the present with the future of our profession.

Unfortunately, this golden age for surgery and the personal autonomy of the individual surgeon are threatened with imminent destruction by a force that will, if not countered and checked, lead us into corporate bondage. I will term this force administocracy.

CORPORATE BONDAGE

Ideally, the role of health care administration is to facilitate the work of physicians and health care personnel. But the chief administrators in our health care institutions and universities are no longer facilitators. They now seek to control. They have been redefining medical practice, clinics, academic departments, and universities on a corporate model, a model that subverts the essential nature of an intellectual society, a model totally alien to the definition of a university as a community.

Administocracy, the term I have coined to epitomize this force, is the rule of centralized administration, based on the top-down control of money, resources, and opportunities. Its primary beneficiaries are the administrative hierarchy. Administocracy has established itself as a new ruling class, an order clearly separated from the toilers in the vineyard of medicine. Administocracy is governance not by facilitation but by intimidation. Administocracy has gained or is gaining control of our medical schools, our teaching and community hospitals, and our current means of providing health care. I will outline administocracy's practices, codified into its own perverted Ten Commandments.

I: Thou shalt have no other system. The glory of our nation's democracy, the longest surviving democracy in the history of the world, is its ability to tolerate differences—to take new initiatives and then to retrench, to be liberal and to be conservative—and, concurrently, to be responsible to the will of the governed and to the precepts of fundamental code of principles and individual rights. An autocracy, on the other hand, denies flexibility and governance alternatives. An autocracy's overriding objective and only goal, regardless of any protestations of working for the common good, is its own perpetuation. By definition, such a system denies the will of the governed and refuses recognition of individual rights.

Administocracy is, of course, an autocracy. Once in power, administocracy's first order of business is to replicate itself. For example, in 1993 the academic administocracy at the University of Minnesota cut 435 civil service positions, while simultaneously adding 45 more executives and administrators.¹ The Office of the Senior Vice President for Health Sciences at Minnesota, a unit that did not even exist some years ago, now has 25 members.

The growth of medical administocracy is the result of genuine problems in the distribution of health care, including cost problems not adequately addressed by the medical profession itself. Our failure, or inability, to take action on these issues has allowed outsiders and opportunists within our own profession to hijack the delivery of health care. Among practicing physicians, a general ennui and a lack of resistance have been the reactions to the administocracies that are becoming our overlords. Perhaps one reason for this seeming complacency is that, individually, physicians feel powerless when faced with the well-organized, implacable machine of administocracy—an entity that knows its purpose and will use any means to attain its goals. Another reason is well expressed by Thurber's paraphrase of