

to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 23, 1995, at 10 a.m. to hold a hearing on Reorganization and Revitalization of America's Foreign Affairs Institution.

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

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent on behalf of the Governmental Affairs Committee to meet on Thursday, March 23 at 10 a.m. for a markup on S. 291, the Regulatory Reform Act of 1995, and S. 343, the Comprehensive Regulatory Reform Act of 1995.

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

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be authorized to hold a business meeting during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 23, 1995.

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

SUBCOMMITTEE ON MEDICAID AND HEALTH CARE FOR LOW INCOME FAMILIES

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Medicaid and Health Care for Low Income Families of the Finance Committee be permitted to meet on Thursday, March 23, 1995, beginning at 2 p.m. in room SD-215, to conduct a hearing on Medicaid 1115 Waivers.

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

SUBCOMMITTEE ON TRANSPORTATION AND INFRASTRUCTURE

Mr. COATS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Transportation and Infrastructure be granted permission to meet Thursday, March 23, at 2 p.m. to conduct a hearing on legislation to approve the National Highway System and transportation issues related to clean air conformity requirements.

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

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

THE NATION OF BELARUS

• Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today to express my continued support for the nation of Belarus and its citizens on the upcoming 77th anniversary of the creation of their great country.

On March 25, 1918, in the final months of World War I, the nation of Belarus was founded. Shortly after the war ended, the Red Army of the Soviet Union seized Belarus, beginning Belarus' long hard battle against Soviet communism. During World War II 25 percent of Belarus' population was obliterated while fighting the Axis Powers of Germany and Italy. Untold numbers died at the hands of the Soviets as well.

For over 70 years the Belarusian people were forced to live under the iron

fist of Communist rule. The Communist-led Soviet Union held no regard for the lives of any of its citizens, and the brutal Soviet dictators routinely incarcerated or shot anyone not conforming to their rule.

Then in 1990 the years of enslavement for Belarus came to an end as Belarusian freedom fighters issued a declaration of sovereignty, detailing their goal to become a neutral, non-nuclear state. On December 25, 1991, the United States recognized independent Belarus as a sovereign nation, allowing the people of Belarus to hold their heads high once again.

The end of one exhausting journey signifies the beginning of another. The people of Belarus must now fight to maintain their right to liberty and territorial sovereignty. Extremists within the current Russian regime are once again attempting to control Belarus through unfair economic and military treaties. This attempt to destroy the natural rights of the people of Belarus, a people who fought and overcame one of the most oppressive regimes in the history of man, must not be allowed to occur.

Mr. President, I want the Belarusian people, both in Belarus and here in the United States of America to know that I stand with them in their fight to maintain the right to freedom and self-determination that was denied them for so long.●

SESQUICENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF WINSLOW TOWNSHIP, NJ

• Mr. BRADLEY. Mr. President, I rise today to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the founding of Winslow Township, New Jersey. Originally a sleepy farming community, Winslow has developed into a unique hybrid, encompassing both rural and urban elements within its 54 square miles.

With roots firmly planted in New Jersey's farming community, Winslow has played an increasingly important role in the State's agricultural industry throughout the years. It is Winslow Township's renowned peaches that help make New Jersey fourth in the Nation in production of this crop. Blessed not only with fertile farmland, the Winslow Township area also enjoys a close relationship with two of New Jersey's greatest natural resources, the Pine-lands and the Great Egg Harbor River. The magnificent Pine Barrens, a national wilderness preserve, is popular with hikers, nature enthusiasts, and canoeists. The Great Egg Harbor River is also a favorite with canoeists and fishermen, and is home to hundreds of different species of fish, mammals, reptiles, birds, and amphibians.

Coexisting with Winslow's natural riches are urban areas of great diversity. Described by its residents as a "microcosm of America," Winslow is ethnically, racially, and socio-economically diverse. The small town belief that fellow residents are actually

friends and family has allowed Winslow's different groups to live harmoniously as their community has grown. Different communities and forces have influenced the development of Winslow Township, and the town has profited from them. The rolling farmlands and local winery shape Winslow Township as surely as the new pockets of urban development. Children of New Jersey's most recent immigrants share classes in Winslow's outstanding school system with the great-great-grandchildren of the Italian farmers who helped found the town.

Winslow Township may be a small town, but the lessons it offers us in community and modern living are broad in scope. These lessons are simple, for they are all rooted in one common theme and that theme is respect. Respect for the beauty and riches of our environment, from which we can derive both pleasure in recreation and products with which to earn a living; respect for diversity and the lessons we cannot afford to ignore about the larger world in which we live; and finally, respect for community—the civil society in which all Americans make their homes, sustain their marriages, raise their families, hang out with their friends, meet their neighbors, educate their children, and worship their God.

Mr. President, I congratulate Winslow Township once again, on their sesquicentennial anniversary.●

TRIBUTE TO COMMANDER LORENZO "PETE" CASALEGNO

• Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I rise to recognize the dedication, public service, and patriotism of Comdr. "Pete" Casalegno, U.S. Navy, for 30 years of unselfish service to our Nation in both the U.S. Air Force and the U.S. Navy.

Commander Casalegno's military service began in 1965 when he enlisted in the U.S. Air Force and served as a weather observer and forecaster. A veteran of the Vietnam war, he served as a member of the combat weather team at Tan Son Nhut, Vietnam, from December 1967 to December 1968.

Upon graduation from the University of San Francisco, Commander Casalegno was commissioned and subsequently designated as a naval flight officer. After completion of advanced training in the E-2 Hawkeye aircraft, Commander Casalegno was assigned to Carrier Airborne Early Warning Squadron 114 and completed two overseas deployments onboard the U.S.S. *Kitty Hawk* (CV-63) and the U.S.S. *Coral Sea* (CV-43). During this assignment, Commander Casalegno completed arduous qualifications as officer of the deck and tactical action officer.

After graduating from the United States Postgraduate School in 1981 with a master of science in systems engineering, Commander Casalegno was assigned to the staff of Cruiser Destroyer Group Three as assistant air

operations and electronic warfare officer. Involved in frequent deployments to both the Western Pacific and Southwest Asia, Commander Casalegno participated in military operations following the fall of the Shah of Iran, and numerous humanitarian operations.

In 1985, Commander Casalegno reported to Carrier Airborne Early Warning Squadron 116, where he served as operations officer and maintenance officer during deployments to the Western Pacific and Southwest Asia. Commander Casalegno was involved in operations which included escorting U.S. merchant ships through the Straits of Hormuz and retributive strikes on Iranian oil facilities.

Following this tour, Commander Casalegno was assigned to the staff of Commander Allied Forces Southern Europe in Naples, Italy. As a staff officer, he was involved in numerous North American Treaty Organization operations, including support of allied forces during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm.

In 1990, Commander Casalegno was assigned as the United States Navy Exchange Officer to the Royal Navy's Maritime Tactical School in Portsmouth, England, where he trained senior allied officials in the employment of naval forces. In 1994, Commander Casalegno returned to the United States to serve at the Navy's Tactical Training Group, Atlantic Fleet, as the air defense instructor.

Commander Casalegno, his wife Marla, and his sons Cory and Phillip are stalwart Americans whom have sacrificed greatly for the past 30 years. Commander Casalegno has honorably and faithfully upheld the Nation's special trust and confidence conveyed through his military commission. In every way, he has lived up to his oath of office and bore true faith and allegiance to our Constitution and the Nation. It gives me great pleasure to recognize Commander Casalegno before my colleagues and wish him all of our best in his retirement.●

#### REGARDING IRAN

● Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise today to briefly discuss Iran. As we have all read, Iran has placed chemical weapons on disputed islands in the Strait of Hormuz. They have also placed at least 6,000 troops on these islands. It is becoming very clear that Iran is not content with projecting its twisted criminal acts of terrorism through third parties. They are now, like with the case of the placement of Hawk missiles a few weeks ago, issuing a direct challenge to the West in the waterway so vital to the flow of oil: the Persian Gulf.

As I have spoken on other occasions regarding Iran, we face a dangerous situation there. To compound this, we are forced to admit that Iran's military and terrorist operations are being subsidized by the purchase of Iranian oil by overseas subsidiaries of American

oil companies, with the oil being resold overseas. This practice, stemming from a loophole in the regulations governing our embargo with Iran, is perfectly legal. This, however, does not make it morally right.

It is precisely for this reason that I introduced S. 277, the Comprehensive Iran Sanctions Act of 1995. We need a total United States trade embargo against Iran. We can no longer subsidize vast military buildups and terrorist operations sponsored by Iran against United States interests and United States allies.

In this regard, I ask that a statement by Prof. Patrick Clawson of the Institute for National Strategic Studies of the National Defense University, be printed in the RECORD, following the text of my remarks.

In this, "Policy Watch" statement of the Washington Institute, Professor Clawson details effects of a total trade ban on Iran. I urge my colleagues to read it to help them determine how we might best deal with this burgeoning threat from Iran.

The statement follows:

#### ESTIMATING THE EFFECTS OF COMPREHENSIVE UNITED STATES SANCTIONS ON IRAN

(By Patrick Clawson)

Secretary of Defense Perry's statements in Bahrain today highlighting the "potential threat" of Iran's deployment of "8,000 military personnel \* \* \* anti-ship missiles, air-defense missiles and chemical weapons" on disputed Persian Gulf islands will renew debate over imposing comprehensive economic sanctions on Iran. A key element of that debate is the argument that sanctions would have no effect on Tehran but would impose a considerable burden on the United States. This claim is not accurate: unilateral U.S. sanctions would cost Iran money. Lost revenue could affect Iranian actions, and the forgone business would be no great loss to the U.S. economy.

#### HOW SANCTIONS WOULD COST IRAN MONEY

Comprehensive U.S. sanctions on Iran would reduce Iran's foreign exchange receipts several ways:

Oil Trade. Iran sells about one-fourth of its exported oil to U.S.-owned firms. In the event of sanctions, Iran would have to sell this oil to other oil companies. Iran would have no difficulty finding other buyers for the oil, but the loss of access to U.S. firms will have a price for Iran. U.S. firms are prepared to offer slightly better terms than firms from other countries, which is exactly the reason why Iran has been selling to the U.S. companies. When it can no longer sell to the U.S. firms, Iran will lose that extra margin. The exact size of its margin is unclear, but most probably less than \$50 million per year—admittedly small relative to Iran's oil income (\$12-15 billion, depending on oil prices).

Planned Oil Swaps Involving Iran and Former Soviet States. The U.S.-led consortiums producing oil in Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan are planning to ship oil to Iran across the Caspian Sea. Iran would use that oil in its northern cities, especially Tehran, while increasing the export of Iranian oil from the Gulf. This swap arrangement, which could start in a matter of months, is supposed to be temporary. But nothing lasts as long as a temporary deal. Iran will earn several tens of millions of dollars a year in profits and cost-savings from this arrangement. These swaps have all the earmarkings of being another

Conoco case—the U.S. government signals the U.S. oil firms that the deal is permissible, but when the public announcement is made, the political reaction is such that the U.S. government has to feign shocked indignation.

Oil Field Renovation and Expansion. Iran's oil fields are old; production will decline unless Iran develops more difficult-to-reach offshore areas and/or uses sophisticated techniques to recover more oil from aging fields. European oil technology is about as good as the United States, but Iran has found that U.S. firms offer good terms for oil equipment, as testified by Iran's desire to use Conoco over the French firm Total for developing the fields off Sirri Island. Now that President Clinton has ordered U.S. firms not to invest, European firms will step in, at somewhat higher cost to Iran.

Investor Confidence. Comprehensive U.S. sanctions will add to the impression that Iran is a politically risky place to do business. European investors and bankers are already hesitant about Iran because of its heavy indebtedness, and Iranian businessmen are worried about increasing government restrictions. It is possible that comprehensive U.S. sanctions would trigger a further run on Iranian currency, which has already lost a third of its value in the last three months.

In short, sanctions would cost Iran tens of millions, if not a hundred million or more dollars a year in export revenues and in capital invested in the country.

#### AND THE EFFECT ON THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC'S BEHAVIOR

Because comprehensive U.S. sanctions could reduce Iran's income by several tens of millions of dollars each year, the pressure on the Iranian budget, already under tight constraints, would be even greater. This could force Iran to decrease its military spending, given the difficulties of making adjustments elsewhere, e.g., on food supports and social welfare projects.

Indeed, one of the unsung accomplishments of the current U.S. policy towards Iran is its success in forcing Iran to curtail its ambitious 1989 plan for acquiring a large-scale modern military. Iran planned to buy \$10 billion in arms in 1989-1993, primarily from the Soviet Union. The arms purchases had to be cut in half when Iran was locked out of world capital markets, thanks to both its own incompetent economic practices and to U.S. pressure not to make politically-motivated loans to Iran. The difference in military potential is highly significant. Today Iran is a threat in certain areas, mostly terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. Had Iran carried out its 1989 plan, its conventional forces would pose an even more urgent and worrisome threat than they currently do.

The impact of comprehensive U.S. sanctions should not be oversold, however. While they may reduce Iranian military spending some, there is no prospect that the Islamic Republic would fall because of sanctions. The fate of the Islamic Republic will be decided largely by internal factors, over which the U.S. has little or no influence.

#### IRAN'S SHRINKING ECONOMIC RELEVANCE

Some argue that the U.S. should woo Iran because it is the strategic prize in the Persian Gulf region. As far as economics are concerned, this view is outdated: Iran is no longer a country with great economic significance.

Iran is not an oil superpower. Iran produces less oil today than it did in 1970. While production has soared in other parts of the world, it has steadily declined in Iran. In 1970, Iran produced almost 9 percent of the world's oil; today, it produces only about 5 percent. Moreover, it has to invest several