

It is the first step to help mature women get help from doctors, from family, and from friends. It is the first step to help grown men and women identify the warning signs of addiction, not just with their own kids, but with their parents. It is startling and troubling that mature women are more likely to be hospitalized for substance abuse than for heart attacks.

In Maryland in 1996, 285 mature women sought help for substance abuse in certified treatment centers, 230 in 1997. Thousands more are too scared, too sick, or too alone to seek out care they need. This study can help them. And it can help America.

I have been a life-long fighter for mature Americans. I believe "honor your mother and father" is not just a good commandment, it's good public policy. That's why I am such a big supporter of research like today's study. This study not only highlights a big problem, it highlights opportunities to make good public policy.

If we can end substance abuse among the elderly, we can lower financial costs for Medicaid and Medicare. More importantly, we can lower the emotional cost to women and families. We can't let a blanket of shame and denial blind us to problems that we can and should solve.

I support more research to help protect seniors from scams, from poverty, and from threats to their health. I send thanks to Bristol-Myers Squibb and to the National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse for revealing this troubling problem and helping to create solutions.

Today's research, which focuses on women and seniors, is one big reason I am a big supporter of NIH. Women's health has made great headway with NIH. In 1990, Congresswomen CONNIE MORELLA, Pat Schroeder and I showed up on the steps at NIH to launch what we hoped would be a women's health initiative. Through our efforts, the Office of Women's Health Research was established so that women would no longer be left out of clinical trials and research protocols. I am pleased that we are now seeing more and better research on women's health.

I am sending this report to Dr. Varmus, Director of NIH with my endorsement and with my request that NIH expand its research on alcohol and drug abuse by mature women. Today's study is a shining example of what can get done with attention and money and more women in the House and Senate.

I would ask all my colleagues, men and women, Democrat and Republican, House and Senate, to read the executive summary of "Under the Rug: Substance Abuse and the Mature Woman", which I will send to them. We shouldn't play politics with women's lives, and we shouldn't play politics with the lives of the mature women and their families who are trying to cope with the terrible problems of substance abuse.

BEVERLY GIBSON

• Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I rise today to honor an outstanding Montanan, Beverly Gibson. She will retire June 30 after twenty years as assistant director of the Montana Association of Counties and nearly 30 years of outstanding public service to her State. Through her work I believe Bev knows almost everyone involved in county government in the State, and those of us who have had the great fortune to know her stand in awe of this great lady's achievements.

Montana-born and journalist by training, Bev has been the heart and soul and living history of MACO since its very early expertise have touched many lives. In a State like mine, with its vast area and sparse population spread over 56 counties, local government is the lifeblood of politics. Bev is the real champion in this arena.

At MACO Bev is known as the person who gets things done. Twice a year, MACO holds statewide meetings and she was always the first to get there and welcome everyone. She would research all the issues, staff committees, act as official photographer, coordinate speakers and agency representatives and was the last to say goodbye. Can you imagine doing that for 168 commissioners of different parties? I honestly don't know how the organization will get along without her, except that she is leaving an incredible legacy that will brighten the way for others.

As she retires, I want to wish her much joy, health and happiness. And I also want to say thanks, Bev, for a job well done and for a real service to Montana. •

COMMEMORATION OF PRO-DEMOCRACY ACTIVISTS OF 1989

• Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I rise today to join in marking the ninth anniversary of the Tiananmen Square Massacre, a tragic day when a still unknown number of Chinese—some say hundreds, others, thousands—died at the hands of the People's Liberation Army, and perhaps thousands more were placed in detention.

Despite this monumental tragedy, China's leaders remain unwilling to re-examine the events of June 4, 1989. Indeed, they would like nothing more than to have Tiananmen fade from the world's memory.

But today, the spirit of Tiananmen lives in our memory in the strongest way. We have recently welcomed to the United States two key pro-democracy leaders who were released from Chinese prisons. But as lucky as we are to have Wei Jingsheng, Wang Dan, and others in our midst, we are all well aware that they are not yet free; they remain in the United States because they cannot return freely to their homeland.

Moreover, at least 158 people remain in prison for their role in the 1989 demonstrations. Certainly for these people and their families, Tiananmen remains a part of daily life.

For those of us who are concerned about human rights in China, the very date of June 4th remains a powerful reminder that the Chinese Government has not changed.

But despite the lack of progress, the executive branch of our government continues to pursue a policy of constructive engagement with China, a policy that will be capped off by the President's visit to Beijing at the end of the month. This upcoming summit is yet another in a long line of unwise steps that the Administration has taken with respect to China. I have generally opposed all of these steps because I do not see that progress has been achieved on human rights in China. This includes the October 1997 state visit of Chinese President Jiang Zemin. That was a mistake. We should challenge China's leaders rather than toast them.

The failure of the United States to sponsor a resolution condemning human rights abuses in China and Tibet at the most recent meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights was also a mistake. The Administration made this decision despite the overwhelming support in the Senate of a resolution that urged the United States to "introduce and make all efforts necessary to pass a resolution" at the Commission on Human Rights. I was proud to co-sponsor that resolution.

As we all know, for the past few years, China's leaders have aggressively lobbied against resolutions at the UN Human Rights Commission earlier and more actively than the countries that support a resolution. In 1997, China threatened Denmark, which had made a difficult and courageous decision to sponsor a resolution on human rights in China. This year, Chinese officials played a diplomatic game with various European governments, and succeeded in getting European Union foreign ministers to drop any EU co-sponsorship of a resolution.

The complete failure of the United States and the EU to push for a resolution at the Commission was, in my mind, gravely unfortunate. The multilateral nature of the Commission makes it an appropriate forum to debate and discuss the human rights situation in China. By signing international human rights treaties, China has obliged itself to respect international human rights law. One of the basic purposes of the Commission is specifically to evaluate China's performance with respect to those commitments. The Commission's review has led to proven, concrete progress on human rights elsewhere, and the expectation has been that such scrutiny would lead to concrete progress in human rights in China, but China's rulers cynically ignore their legal and moral duty to respect the human rights of their own citizens. And they do it with impunity.

Despite China's announcement last year that it would sign the United Nations Covenant on Economic, Social

and Cultural Rights and take a few other token steps, I see no evidence of real human rights improvement on the ground in China. The fact that human rights conditions in China are growing worse, not better, demands that human rights continue to be a top priority in our China policy—but it is not a priority, and the rulers in Beijing know that.

Nearly four years after the President's decision to de-link most-favored-nation status from human rights—a decision I have always said was a mistake—we cannot forget that the human rights situation in China and Tibet remains abysmal. Hundreds, if not thousands of Chinese and Tibetan citizens are detained or imprisoned for their political and religious beliefs. The press is subject to oppressive restrictions. And monks and nuns in Tibet are harassed for showing reverence to the Dalai Lama.

In a well-quoted sentence, the most recent State Department human rights report notes that "the Government of China continued to commit widespread and well-documented human rights abuses, in violation of internationally accepted norms, including extra-judicial killings, the use of torture, arbitrary arrest and detention, forced abortion and sterilization, the sale of organs from executed prisoners, and tight control over the exercise of the rights of freedom of speech, press and religions." If that shameful litany is not grounds for a tougher policy, please, somebody, tell me what is!

Today, on the ninth anniversary of one of the most traumatic events in the modern history of China, we remember the courageous people who stood before the tanks, who gave their lives for bravely choosing to express their notions of freedom and breathed their last on the bloody paving stones of Tiananmen, and we honor those heroes who continue to take risks to struggle for real change in China and Tibet.

It is unfortunate, then, that the President's proposed trip to Beijing, which will take place in just a few weeks, will send the wrong signal—not only to China's leaders, but also to those in China and Tibet who have worked so tirelessly to achieve the basic freedoms that we, as Americans, take for granted. In particular, in a move that almost adds insult to injury, the President has agreed to stage his arrival ceremony in Tiananmen Square itself.

If ever a moment cried out for a gesture, Mr. President, that will be the moment. That will be the chance for our President to restore some small moral weight to our China policy.

Mr. President, if the President of the United States feels he must go to Beijing, if he feels he must go there this month, a month when we remember and honor the heroes of Tiananmen, and if he feels he must visit the site of that horrible 1989 massacre, I hope he will take the time to visit with the

families of the victims—a suggestion I made to Assistant Secretary of State Stanley Roth in a recent Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing.

Finally, it is imperative that throughout his visit to China, the President send a clear unequivocal message about the importance of human rights, of the rule of law and of democracy. The students at Tiananmen erected a goddess of democracy. Our China policy worships trade and pays short shrift to the ideal of freedom. Our policy has got to change.

We owe as much to the victims, to the champions of democracy in China today, and to the American people.●

SENATOR PELL ON CUBAN POLICY

● Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise today to submit an editorial on U.S. policy toward Cuba written by my esteemed predecessor, the Honorable Claiborne Pell. The editorial was printed in the May 5, 1998 edition of the Providence Journal Bulletin.

Senator Pell served in the United States Senate for thirty-six years. While in the Senate, he served as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations for eight years. Senator Pell's remarkable career also included eight years of service as a State Department Official and Foreign Service Officer as well as the United States Representative to the 25th and 51st Sessions of the United Nations General Assembly. Senator Pell's positions have taken him to Cuba on three occasions, most recently in early May. Senator Pell's observations of American foreign policy toward Cuba have led him to the conclusion that continuing the 38 year embargo on Cuba will not destabilize the Castro regime and is hurting the Cuban people.

In his editorial, Senator Pell makes a number of insightful points. I hope all my colleagues will take the opportunity to read this piece by an expert in foreign relations and seriously consider his observations regarding relations with our neighbor.

Mr. President, I ask that the editorial from the Providence Journal Bulletin be printed in the RECORD.

The editorial follows:

[From the Providence Journal-Bulletin, May 5, 1998]

OUR CUBA POLICY HAS NOT WORKED

One can only hope that the small but significant changes in U.S. policy toward Cuba that President Clinton announced in late March portend more sweeping changes in the months ahead toward a more rational, more self-interested and more effective U.S. policy.

Having just returned from a five-day visit to Cuba with a distinguished group of Americans, I am more convinced than ever that our existing policy, built around the 38-year-old embargo of Cuba, simply doesn't work.

The embargo upsets the Cuban government and hurts the Cuban people, but, from our discussions with an array of Cuban government officials, religious and dissident leaders and foreign diplomat observers, one thing emerged clearly: The Cuban economy is

strong enough to limp along for the foreseeable future. There is no evidence at all to suggest that U.S. economic sanctions are any more likely to destabilize the Castro regime in the near future than they have been over the past 38 years.

Cuba is now some six years into what the regime euphemistically calls the "special period," the time of economic distress that began with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Cuba lost its preferential trading arrangement with Moscow and the other former communist republics of Eastern Europe, and was left to fend for itself.

If U.S. economic pressure was ever to work, that was the time. But Cuba has muddled through. In moves that must have been bitter pills for Castro to swallow, Cuba "dollarized" its economy, allowed private farmers' markets and other small-scale private enterprises, and offered more favorable terms for foreign investment.

As a result, the Cuban economy, in free fall during 1993, has started to come around. The evidence abounds in Havana. Not only tourists, but all Cubans can purchase an array of consumer goods in "dollar stores" that are prevalent in Havana. When we asked one government official how Cubans with no access to dollars can survive, he shot back: "Who doesn't have dollars?"

One exquisite irony is that this dollar-focused Cuban economy is now in part propped up by an annual deluge of dollars, estimated at \$600 million to \$1 billion, that arrives in Cuba from the United States, primarily from Cuban-Americans anxious to make life easier for their relatives. Whatever pain the embargo causes is offset by this dollar flow, which they will likely increase with the restoration of legal remittances.

Tourism has expanded greatly since I last visited Cuba 10 years ago, and brings both much needed hard currency and less desirable consequences, including prostitution, which seems widespread in parts of Havana after dark. Our delegation visited only Havana and we were told that times are tougher in the smaller cities and the countryside. But the Cuban economy has clearly recovered and, while it could benefit from many more reforms, there is no sign it will collapse.

Cuba is still very much an authoritarian state with tight state control over all aspects of society, including public debate. One day, I visited a showplace medical campus where very interesting neurological research is being conducted. The center was equipped with what appeared to be sophisticated computers and has its own "web site."

Next, I sat with a group of dissidents and asked about their access to the Internet. "We can't use the Internet," one said. "We cannot even have computers; they just take them away."

Yet I felt a much greater openness in Havana this time than in my last visit, and certainly than in 1974, when Sen. Jacob Javits (the late U.S. Republican senator from New York) and I were among the first members of Congress to visit since the revolution. Back then, we were shadowed everywhere we went, were confident our hotel rooms were bugged, and sensed a real oppressiveness in the city. In those days, the infamous Committees for the Defense of the Revolution were an effective neighborhood spy network; today, they seem more a network of aging busybodies. Havana is certainly not a free city, but it has a liveliness and verve that startled me.

On this trip, everywhere we went people still were abuzz about the visit of the Pope. Church leaders do not know yet whether the visit, of which virtually all Cubans seemed immensely proud, will lead to much greater openness. But colleagues of mine went to Mass on Sunday at a Jesuit church in a run-down section of the city, and described a vibrant community with an abundance of