

CLINTON-SOEHARTO MEETING

• Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, as President Clinton prepares for his meeting with President Soeharto of Indonesia tomorrow, we are hearing a lot about Indonesia's recent economic achievements, and its great potential for United States investment. I also salute Indonesia's economic success, and believe there are many valuable lessons in Indonesia's experience which can be applied to other developing countries throughout the world.

But, Mr. President, today I rise to highlight ongoing concerns about Indonesia's continuously dismal record on human rights. Repression, occupation, and brutality, such as that practiced by Indonesia, are ingredients for instability, and undermine long-term, sustainable economic growth. In fact, I would submit that unfortunately, Indonesia's potential will go unrealized until its human rights record improves.

Freedom of expression is under attack by the Indonesian Government. In the past year, gag orders have been placed on controversial figures, prominent journalists have been arrested and sentenced to prison, and seminars of nongovernmental organizations have been broken up. In addition, the country's only independent trade union, the Prosperous Workers Union of Indonesia, is virtually banned, and its members are routinely interrogated and harassed. The Indonesian military regularly intercedes in peaceful gatherings with impunity. Foreign business and professionals cannot function effectively in this kind of environment.

In Irian Jaya, there are numerous credible reports of torture, disappearances, and the killing of 16 indigenous people by Indonesian forces in the last year.

Indonesia's stability also depends upon the military withdrawal from the territory of East Timor. For that reason, it is in the interests of President Clinton, the international business community, and the donors to take an interest and aggressively pursue an effective human rights strategy for Indonesia.

Last year, when Presidents Clinton and Soeharto met in Jakarta, President Clinton gave the issue of human rights attention. However, since then, there has been an escalation of tensions and violence in East Timor.

For example, reports of arbitrary detentions and incidents of torture by Indonesian soldiers have been continuous all year. Forms of Indonesian torture are reported to include electric shocks by cattle prod; slashings with razor blades and knives; sleep deprivation; and hanging people upside down by their feet.

On January 12 of this year, six civilians in Liquicia were reported summarily executed by the Indonesian military. Even the Government-appointed National Commission on Human Rights found that there was "a process of intimidation and torture by security officials" which resulted in

"unlawful shootings by the military." For this, two officers were punished not for murder, but for violating an order from a superior.

There has also been an outbreak of gang violence in East Timor. Hooded vigilantes, described by residents and human rights monitors as military-related bands and commonly known as "Ninjas," have been terrorizing, abducting, assaulting, intimidating, and harassing East Timorese civilians. Notably, the Ninjas have not been reigned in by the same military that has so effectively suppressed the East Timorese opposition. There must be an investigation into the operations of these groups, and why they are permitted to continue terrorizing the East Timorese.

These recent incidents underscore the need to accelerate the United Nations sponsored dialog on East Timor with genuine East Timorese participation. The dialog should be the vehicle by which the numerous U.N. resolutions be implemented. The dialog should also be aimed at demilitarizing the territory, and working toward a just resolution that respects the rights of all parties to the conflict.

While administration rhetoric has been supportive of the East Timorese, United States policy has not been forceful enough. For example, the administration has not applied much pressure to encourage the Indonesians to participate seriously in the U.N. talks. It has never devised a strategy, or requested a plan from the Indonesians, for troop withdrawal from East Timor. There have been few, if any suggestions, of what else the United States can do to leverage human rights reform beyond raising the issue.

In fact, I often get the feeling that the administration is trying to placate the same Indonesian military that is guilty of so many horrendous abuses. For example, the administration has lobbied fervently to get the United States taxpayer to subsidize Indonesian military training, when Indonesia has been purchasing IMET courses out of its own pocket for the past four years. Now, the administration is trying to sell Indonesia F-16 aircraft, despite a ban on the sale of small arms which is explicitly linked to human rights violations. Furthermore, I am unclear as to what the administration has actually expressed to Indonesia as to what is our human rights policy regarding linkage to arms sales.

Tiptoeing around the violence and occupation is not going to work. Rather, I believe that publicity and international condemnation would be more effective. As a tiger economy, Jakarta has much invested in its image. And its international image should reflect its potential and accomplishments. But it should also include Indonesia's brutality and disrespect for human rights.

President Clinton has an opportunity here not only to communicate his sincere commitment to human rights, but also to implement a substantive plan of

action which can improve the lot of the East Timorese, and also enhance Indonesia's long-term development prospects. President Soeharto, who knows well his own country's battle and victory against Dutch colonialism 50 years ago this year, should understand the principle of self-determination we are advocating for East Timor. •

COMMEMORATING ARCHILLE LAURO'S 10TH ANNIVERSARY

• Mr. D'AMATO. Mr. President, I rise to urge you to stand with me against the blight of terrorism that is growing throughout the world. We need legislation to toughen our antiterrorism laws in response to the growth of this scourge. During the tenth anniversary of the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* and the killing of one of its passengers Leon Klinghoffer, I ask you to take the time to support my request for such legislation before the United States bears the brunt of another terrorist act.

Americans are the focus for many terrorist acts overseas. Now, we are becoming targets at home. Americans are increasingly exposed to the deadly realities of terrorism. Ten years ago Leon Klinghoffer was singled out by terrorists for execution and summarily dumped over the side of the cruise ship *Achille Lauro*. The mastermind behind this act, Abul Abbas, continues to elude international authorities to this day. We need to be able to run these criminal masterminds to ground wherever they hide.

In 1993, terrorists bombed the World Trade Center murdering six innocent people and injuring over 1,000 more. We were lucky the structure withstood the blast and did not collapse. We could have faced thousands of murdered people. We need to be able to block the actions and designs of international terrorists.

Earlier this year, Oklahoma City was targeted by domestic terrorists. This time, Americans were graphically confronted with the specter of hundreds of mangled bodies. Our children were viciously mauled by the passions of an unstable youth and his accomplices. We need to be able to thwart the evil ambitions of such internal fringe groups.

Just weeks ago, ten Islamic extremists were found guilty of conspiring to carry out a campaign of terrorism and assassination against New York City landmarks and officials.

These incidents highlight the growing threat of terrorism and the need for improved United States' antiterrorism measures. Final passage of comprehensive antiterrorist legislation will represent a concrete step toward extinguishing the threat of terrorism by increasing the difficulty and cost in perpetrating heinous acts such as these. We have seen terrorism become a way of life for many other nations. We cannot allow this complacency to occur in

the United States. If anyone such as Abul Abbas or his conspirators can be discovered in our country, perhaps other destructive attacks may be averted.

Mr. President, on this, the tenth anniversary of the *Achille Lauro* tragedy, the threat of terrorism is undiminished. It is our responsibility to act collectively to thwart forces pursuing these acts and to block the financiers condoning international terrorist activity. We need action and we need it now. Our people cannot continue to endure the deprivations of these extremist murderers. Thank you Mr. President. ●

UNANIMOUS CONSENT REQUEST— S. 1357

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, we have now reached the point where there is no further debate time allowed under the statute that governs this reconciliation bill, including time allotted to Senator ROTH for the Finance Committee amendment. I am informed by the Democratic leader that they will have 30 or more amendments or points of order that they intend to offer and get votes on prior to passage.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that all remaining votes after the first vote tomorrow be limited to 7½ minutes and each Senator with an amendment is asked to submit a one-line description of their amendment to the chairman for him to read in explanation of the amendment, and that Senator MIKULSKI be permitted to offer a motion to instruct the conferees prior to the vote on final passage.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I object.

Mr. President, let me take a moment to explain. I am extremely distressed, concerned and apprehensive about what is going to happen tomorrow. All night I have been asking to see the amendment that the Finance Committee is going to offer as its final amendment in the so-called tier two. And now at 12:17 a.m., we have yet to receive a copy of this amendment.

Under the agreement that was reached previously, we are going to be placed in a situation which this amendment of undetermined length but, I anticipate, significant length and complexity, is going to be offered with 10 minutes to debate equally divided, and then ostensibly a vote.

I object to that procedure, and until a satisfactory resolution can be achieved, either in terms of agreeing to extend the time of debate so there can be reasonable opportunity to understand what is in that Finance Committee amendment or, if there is an unwillingness to provide for that ex-

tended debate, then at a minimum, a reading of the Finance Committee amendment, so that we will all have an opportunity to know its contents before we are called on to vote on it, will be insisted upon or at least will be a condition of granting consent to the request which has now been made.

Mr. DASCHLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I hope the Senator from Florida will not object. There are three provisions in this unanimous consent request that specifically assist Democratic Senators. First, we want to protect the Senator from Maryland to offer her motion to instruct. Second, we want to give Democratic Senators the opportunity to explain all of the 30-plus amendments that we have available to us. And third, we are accommodating another Senator in starting when we are to assure that she does not miss the first vote.

So I hope that after all the negotiations that we have made in good faith on both sides that the agreement, which has nothing to do with the Roth amendment, would be allowed to be accommodated, and we will, as I have given him my word, deal with the Roth amendment to accord additional time and additional understanding tomorrow.

This agreement has nothing to do with tier two. It only has to do with the third tier, directly affecting virtually every Democratic amendment still pending.

So I hope that the Senator will not object, and we could work with Republican managers tomorrow to accommodate the concerns, legitimate as they are. There are concerns I share in terms of attempting to better understand what the Roth amendment would do.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I am still compelled to object, unless as part of this unanimous-consent request some unanimous consent provision is inserted which will deal with the Roth amendment, either a unanimous-consent request to expand the time for consideration of the Roth amendment or a unanimous-consent request that no motion to waive the reading of the Roth amendment would be in order. Either of those two would be acceptable, the first being much more preferable.

When we adopted this unanimous-consent agreement that set up the procedure for the three-tier system of consideration, I did not contemplate that at this late moment we were going to receive a major Finance Committee amendment with no opportunity to know its contents, understand its implications and be in a position to cast an informed vote as to its acceptability.

I am particularly concerned, Mr. President, about the provisions that might relate to Medicare and Medicaid, which I understand are going to be two of the areas covered by the Roth amendment.

These have great importance to all of the citizens of America, and especially to the citizens of my State. I intend to fully understand what the implications of any changes are before the matter is brought before the Senate for a vote.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, let me reiterate, I have great sympathy for the Senator from Florida. It is his right to ask for a reading, and it would take unanimous consent to dispense with the reading. So the Senator is protected under the rules, should he choose to have the amendment read.

I hope that he will recognize that we will certainly work, as I have throughout this process, with him and all of our Democratic colleagues, to protect our rights, to ensure that Senators are accommodated. I will work with him in this regard as well. We just need to get on with the business of moving this legislation, as it relates to all of our amendments.

This largely is an agreement that we have requested. It would undermine my ability to deal with the leader as it relates to disposing of these amendments were we not to get this unanimous consent request tonight.

Mr. GRAMS. Shall I renew the request?

Mr. GRAHAM. I will object until some provision is inserted that either provides for adequate time to consider the Roth amendment, or a statement that no motion to waive the reading of the Roth amendment would be in order.

Mr. GRAMS. I will tell the Senator from Florida that it will be the majority leader's intention to attempt to shorten the votes from 15 minutes to 7½ minutes beginning tomorrow morning at 9:15.

Mr. GRAHAM. It would be my intention to resist those efforts until such time as we can be assured that there is adequate opportunity to be informed of and knowledgeable about the provisions in the Roth amendment.

I think it is an outrage that now, at 12:22 a.m., we are yet to be provided with a copy of what will probably be the most significant proposal on this most significant legislation.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, again, I would like to say that we will attempt to talk with the majority leader and Chairman ROTH in the morning to try and accommodate the request of the Senator from Florida. We cannot do that any more this evening. Those efforts will be made in the morning.

Mr. GRAHAM. We will all gather.