

Congressional Record

United States of America

proceedings and debates of the 104^{tb} congress, second session

Vol. 142

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, JUNE 27, 1996

No. 97

Senate

The Senate met at 8:15 a.m., and was called to order by the President protempore [Mr. Thurmond].

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Today's prayer will be offered by our guest Chaplain, Msgr. Peter Vaghi, St. Patrick's Church, Washington, DC.

PRAYER.

The guest Chaplain, Msgr. Peter Vaghi, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray:

Almighty God, we call upon You this day. Make each one of us more deeply conscious of Your presence in our midst and in our lives. Because of You, "we live and move and have our being."—Acts 17:28. O Lord, help us see You more clearly in all that we do and are—particularly in this Chamber where laws are made.

It is Your law, after all, the law of love which You continue to inscribe on our hearts which alone gives us peace. Lifting our hearts and voices to You, we pray on this June day that ancient Hebrew psalm: "O Lord, great peace have they who love Your law."—Psalm 119.

As servants and guardians of the law on Earth, give us that peace in abundance. Fill us with Your peace and love, a love which makes us ever more sensitive and vigilant to You and Your presence in those we are called to serve.

Almighty Father, continue to encourage us in all our humble efforts carried out in Your life-giving name.

Mr. DOMENICI addressed the Chair. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able Senator from New Mexico.

APPRECIATION TO MSGR. PETER VAGHI

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I rise to thank Msgr. Peter Vaghi for leading the Senate in prayer this morning and to tell the Senate that Reverend Vaghi and I have been friends for a long time.

We met in a casual way, as commuters on a train. A few years after that, Father Vaghi decided to continue his education and to seek to be a priest, and, for three summers, while he was getting educated, I had the luxury and privilege of having him work summers in my office.

I found him to be an extraordinary human being. As I saw his extraordinary qualities then, I am privileged, from a distance, to watch those extraordinary qualities develop as he attempts in his ministry to lead people in the way of the Lord. I am very grateful that he chose to come today, and I thank our Chaplain for inviting him.

I yield the floor.

RESERVATION OF LEADER TIME

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, the leadership time is reserved.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business not to extend beyond the hour of 9:30 a.m., with Senators permitted to speak therein for not to exceed 5 minutes each.

Mr. HATFIELD addressed the Chair.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Oregon is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. HATFIELD. On behalf of the Republican leader, I would like to indicate, as the Chair already stated, this morning there will be a period for morning business until the hour of 9:30 a.m. Following morning business, the Senate will resume consideration of S.

1745, the DOD authorization bill. Pending will be a Nunn-Lugar-Domenici amendment regarding terrorism, on which there will be 10 minutes of debate time remaining.

Following the expiration or yielding back of time, the Senate will proceed to a vote on or in relation to the Nunn-Lugar-Domenici amendment, to be followed by a vote on a motion to invoke cloture on the DOD authorization bill, if necessary.

If all debate time is used, Senators can expect those rollcall votes to occur at 9:40 a.m. Rollcall votes are expected throughout the day on the DOD authorization bill, and a late night session is expected in order to complete action on the bill.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The distinguished Senator from Washington, [Mrs. MURRAY] is recognized to speak for up to 10 minutes.

Mrs. MURRAY. Thank you, Mr. President.

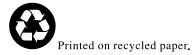
SYMPATHIES TO THE FAMILIES OF UNITED STATES SERVICE PERSONNEL IN SAUDI ARABIA

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President, let me just take this opportunity to extend to the families of the young men and women who lost their lives, and who were injured in Saudi Arabia a few days ago, my heartfelt thoughts and prayers.

It is certainly our duty to protect those who we send overseas to protect us, and we cannot allow terrorist activities to threaten the lives of our young Americans.

I really want to commend the President this morning for his strong and swift action, and again extend my deepest sympathies to those families.

• This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor.



MFN TRADE STATUS FOR CHINA

Mrs. MURRAY. Mr. President. I come to the floor today to discuss most-favored-nation trade status for the People's Republic of China. The Congress is set to begin the sixth annual review of China's trade status. In my mind, this is one of the most important issues, one of the most important debates the U.S. Senate will undertake this year. This is the first in a series of remarks I will make regarding the importance of United States-China relations. It is my hope that the Congress and this country can begin to view our China relations in the broadest possible terms. Whether we like it or not, our future interests are intertwined with China. And today's choices will greatly influence whether our interests coincide or collide.

This month many Americans took time to remember the Tiananmen Square massacre and the horrible events of 7 years ago. Tiananmen Square forever changed the China debate in the Congress and in this country. This year, on June 4, a young woman was dragged from Tiananmen Square by the police for placing a bouquet of yellow chrysanthemums near the Memorial to the People's Heroes. To this day, the Chinese leaders fail to recognize that actions like this only serve to remind the international community of the ongoing struggle for personal and political freedom in China. The promotion of human rights will always be a fundamental element of my work on China, indeed, human rights should always be a priority for United States policymakers.

When this issue is considered by the Senate later this summer, I will vote again to renew China's MFN status. I will vote to renew MFN because it is immensely important to every corner of Washington State—where thousands of current jobs rely on China trade and where thousands of new jobs stand to be created as China integrates into the world economy. Having acknowledged the economic importance of this issue to Washington State, I want to stress and demonstrate that MFN for China is in our national interest.

One in five people on Earth live in China. More than 1.5 billion people speak a Chinese dialect. More than one-half of the world's population lives within 5-hour flight radius of Hong Kong on China's southern border. It is an immense population that impacts us all in so many ways—the world's food supply, pollution problems, and the use of natural resources to name a few. Thanks to technology—in communications and in travel—the world is shrinking. Neither the United States nor China can hide from the fact that we are being drawn closer together each and every day. The United States has the ability to cooperatively influence China's development; we must not shy from this opportunity to aid both the American and the Chinese people.

China's military presence in Asia is increasing; as demonstrated in the Tai-

wan Straits and in the Spratly Islands. China is a nuclear power and maintains a permanent seat on the U.S. Security Council. The prospect of China assuming the leadership role in Asia has the entire region rattled. Most events in Asia-including North Korea, the expansion of ASEAN, and talk of Japan forming an Armv—are all related to and impacted by China. Asia is looking for signs that the United States will remain an active and engaged player in the region. The United States role in Asia remains fundamental to United States strategic and economic security; we are a stabilizing force in Asia and we must continue this peaceful

Some in this country, as a result of China's military expansion and belligerent threats against Taiwan, argue that the United States should take a more adversarial, confrontational approach to China. We borrowed and spent several trillion dollars to win the cold war. I think it is foolish to listen to those who preach another cold war for this country. We owe our children, indeed the children of the world, more than a second cold war confrontation that will take valuable and limited resources away from food and shelter. education, health care, and the opportunity to prosper in peace.

Rather than view China as a threat to the United Stats, we must view China as a challenge and an opportunity to shape the world of the 21st century. China's evolution from isolation to world player cannot be stopped or contained, our task is to work with the world to integrate the giant as she awakes.

China's economy is now the third largest in the world currently growing at an annual rate of 10 percent. It will become the world's largest economy shortly after the turn of the century. China wants to join the World Trade Organization and is currently negotiating with the United States over accession terms. We have a responsibility to bring China into the global trade community and to ensure that China plays by the accepted rules.

I believe the annual congressional MFN exercise for China has outlived its usefulness. The annual review, in my mind, encourages uncertainty and inconsistency and may actually harm, not help, United States interests. Each year, as the MFN debate approaches, the administration and the Chinese engage in a chest thumping nationalistic exercise; each side claims to have coerced and resisted the other. The Result is every summer the United States-China relationship is put on hold or setback for many months. During this period, all constructive engagement with the Chinese is slowed or halted—CD's continue to be pirated, activists continue to be arrested, and United States jobs are lost as trade opportunities go elsewhere.

One of my greatest frustrations with the annual MFN exercise is our failure in Congress to realize that we are changing China, we are having an impact on China today. The next generation of Chinese leaders will not be Soviet trained engineers like the current leaders. Rather, they will be American and Western educated; familiar with the United States and receptive to the ideals we preach. Each year, thousands of Chinese university students experience America. Every major university in this country is engaged in a quiet diplomacy that will pay democratic dividends for decades.

U.S. law enforcement personnel, judges and legal scholars are aiding in the development of the rule of law in China. United States Customs personnel are assisting the Chinese to implement accepted international trade norms. American students and university professors are scattered throughout China interacting with fellow students and academics, local government leaders, and the business community. Cultural, athletic, military, and scientific exchanges are all quietly opening China up to the world.

Ī recently had a young man from China visit my office. He graduated from a Chinese university in 1980 and was assigned to a work unit as a teacher. As Deng's economic reforms began, this young man was one of the first Chinese nationals to leave his work unit for employment with a foreign investor. Today, he owns an apartment many times the size of his childhood home. When we talked about his 6-year-old daughter, I could see he has aspirations for her that were alien to Chinese thought just a few years ago.

These types of successes are difficult for the Congress to factor into the MFN debate because they carry no organized constituency, and they rarely make headlines. But they are happening.

As the Senate turns to MFN for China I am encouraged that so many of my colleagues—Democrat and Republican—have indicated their strong support for renewal. Many distinguished Senators from all regions of the country have spoken on the floor and this issue clearly enjoys bipartisan support. In a year filled with partisan Presidential rhetoric, it is truly noteworthy that so many public officials including both Presidential candidates are speaking out in favor of MFN renewal.

Next year, I intend to urge the administration and Congress to end the annual MFN renewal debate for China. Some may consider this an optimistic view, but I genuinely believe that we will make more progress on human rights, on trade matters, and on Asia security if we move away from the annual review of MFN.

Instead of the annual MFN vote, I intend to urge the administration, regardless of political party, to take China relations to the next important level. This has to include a state visit to China by the President and a reciprocal visit to Washington by China's President Jiang Zemin. A regular dialog between our two leaders can make

a significant difference in our efforts to engage China on all of the issues of importance to the United States.

I do not suggest that Congress cede all interest in China to the administration. Rather, Congress and the administration have to work together to deploy all of our policy and legal tools to influence Chinese behavior. It is time for the Congress to trade in the annual summer verdict on China for a more activist, longer term approach to China and the important Asia Pacific region.

The administration's intellectual property rights dispute with China is one example of United States interests working cooperatively on a specific China problem. Congress backed the administration throughout this process, and as a result we had a widely supported, justifiable response to Chinese piracy. The Chinese knew the seriousness with which the United States viewed this issue, and there is no doubt in the United States resolve. United States negotiators were invited by the Chinese back to the negotiating table, and as a result an agreement was reached. China has taken or agreed to a number of important steps to address our concerns.

These Chinese actions include the confirmed closing of 15 factories that were pirating our technologies, a sustained police crackdown in regions where piracy is rampant, and closer coperation with United States and Hong Kong custom officials to stop these pirated exports.

I want to take this opportunity to commend Charlene Barshefsky, our acting U.S. Trade Representative, and her negotiating team. Ambassador Barshefsky, I am convinced, will be a spectacular Trade Representative, and I am anxious for the Senate to begin her confirmation process.

I believe the IPR example serves as a useful model to move our China relationship forward. Our relationship with China is our most complex and our most difficult. Our successes are hard to measure and our frustrations with them are difficult and easily recognized.

Before concluding, let me restate my purpose in speaking this morning. The United States and China are at a crucial moment in time. Our interests today and into the next century are linked. They cannot be separated or ignored. As policymakers, what we do in this Chamber will go a long way towards determining whether those shared interests coincide to the mutual benefit of the American and the Chinese people or whether those interests collide and create an adversarial relationship clouded by suspicions.

I believe we have to engage the Chinese side—on all of the issues of importance to the American people—and in the coming days I look forward to engaging my colleagues in greater discussion about the importance of United States-China relations.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor. Mr. LEAHY addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BURNS). The Senator from Vermont, Mr. LEAHY, is recognized for the next 15 minutes.

Mr. LEAHY, I thank the Chair.

MY MOTHER, ALBA LEAHY

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, 12 years ago, I stood on the Senate floor to give the most difficult speech I have ever given. I gave a eulogy to my father and a remembrance of his life. Today is also such a difficult time as I remember my mother, Alba LEAHY, and her life which ended last month.

It was an ending not really expected because while she was aging, she was of a family where so many lived well into their 90's, but it appeared that she was more ready to leave than we were ready to have her go.

So as I stand on the floor of the Senate today, I remember a trip with my mother just a matter of weeks before she died. It was one of those beautiful clear days in Vermont when our State moves from winter to spring, and even though there was snow on the ground, the sky was a bright blue and the warm Sun caused the snow to drip from the trees and the brook to run in and out through the ice beside our home.

My mother and I had driven to our farmhouse in Middlesex, VT. It was the same farmhouse that she and my father bought back when I was only 17 years old. We talked of the hundreds of friends my parents had for meals and conversation and companionship at that farm. We talked about how my wife, Marcelle, and I had our first date at that farm and our honeymoon there and how eventually the farm became Marcelle's and mine.

I still remember sitting in that living room, the mountains in the distance, and the Sun coming through the windows behind where my mother was sitting, Sun that glowed on her white hair. Then we talked, as we had occasionally during the past year, of death and dying, and I promised to give this eulogy as I had for my father when that time came, and she quickly said, "Don't make it sad. I have had a very good life except that I miss your father."

So as I prepared for today, the memories came back of the mother I knew who read to me, who stayed awake all night to care for me when I nearly died of pneumonia as a child, who baked me cookies to bring back to college, who stood with my father at my wedding, the christening of our children, through election nights, and as I took the oath of office in the Senate.

I thought of the number of times she would go to functions with me in Vermont, especially after my father died. Both of them enjoyed going to such events with me.

So at the funeral in Vermont last month, friends and family joined us at St. Augustine's Church in Montpelier, the church where my parents had been married 60 years ago. We spoke of the many generations that were connected that day, from her Italian immigrant parents, my grandparents, who came to this great country with nothing but the faith in our Nation and their own skills, to the children and the grand-children and the great grandchildren surviving her today.

Throughout it all, we talked of the total love of Alba and Howard Leahy and how she had mourned him since he died even as she continued the love they both had for their children and their children's children.

Her physician, Dr. David Butsch, told us of the influence she had had on him and his wife and their children and how she was one of those special people one often meets only once in a lifetime.

Her granddaughter, Theresa Leahy, told how she always turned to her grandmother for advice and encouragement—and it was always there for her even to the last day of her life. As Theresa stood on the altar and faced that congregation, it was so obvious the special bond they had.

Her grandson, Kevin Leahy, said, "My grandmother defined her life by the people who shared it with her. It was family; it was relationships; it was her friends and the friends she made into family that defined her, and it was through the stories she would tell of the people that meant so much to her that Grandma showed how much she loved so many people."

Marcelle and I had talked with her just a few hours before she died as we were actually making plans for our next time together, plans for just a few days later.

My brother John and his wife Jane, had seen her just a few days before. And my sister Mary, who gave so much of herself in caring for our mother after Dad died, was with her at the end, as she had been every time Mother had needed her.

When we left the funeral, and returned to the farm in Middlesex where my mother and I had talked of the day I would give this eulogy, it was to celebrate her life.

Her grandchildren, Theresa, Kevin, Alicia, and Mark, together with Kevin's wife, Christianna, Alicia's husband, Rob were there and we were joined by Mark's wife, Kristine, by phone. Mother's older sister, Enes and sister Anne, husband, Matt, and brother Louis and wife Myrth joined John, Jane, Mary, and Marcelle and me as we remembered with joy her life. She would have been so pleased as she saw all the people who came through the house representing friendships going back more than 50 years straight through to the present.

Stories were told of the years my parents owned and ran the Waterbury Record newspaper, how they founded and ran the Leahy Press until selling it upon retirement, of their early courtship, life at 136 State Street and Three Dover Road, Mom's volunteer stint as a State House guide after Dad died, her caring for us all with love and "good