



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 105th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 143

WASHINGTON, MONDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1997

No. 141

House of Representatives

The House was not in session today. Its next meeting will be held on Tuesday, October 21, 1997, at 10:30 a.m.

Senate

MONDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1997

The Senate met at 12 noon, and was called to order by the President pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Lloyd John Ogilvie, offered the following prayer:

Dear God, trustworthy Sovereign of this Nation, and Lord of our lives in whom we trust, we join with others throughout this land in seeking to have trustworthiness a pillar of our character and an essential mainstay of our culture. We know that we should not pray for a quality of life like this for society unless we are willing to begin with ourselves.

Lord, You desire to implant Your character in us. Everything we know about being trustworthy we've learned from You. Your faithfulness never fails; You are consistent in Your loving kindness; You are always true to Your Word. May our trust in You as our God be the inspiring motivation of trustworthiness in us. May integrity be the basic fiber of our character. We dedicate ourselves to speaking the truth, to saying what we mean and meaning what we say. Make us totally dependable to keep our promises. May others be able to count on us and always be able to say, "What you see is what you get." We pray that our actions will build a confidence of trust in others. We commit ourselves to making trustworthiness a reliable, consistent quality of our character. Help us, Lord, to keep this promise to You. Through our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Congress has designated the third week of October as "Character Counts" week. During this week, six pillars of

character are to be emphasized. The focus of our prayers this week will be to make these pillars a part of our personal character and of our society.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The acting majority leader is recognized. Mr. DEWINE. I thank the Chair.

SCHEDULE

Mr. DEWINE. Mr. President, I make the following statement this morning on behalf of the majority leader. Today the Senate will be in a period of morning business until the hour of 2:30 this afternoon. At 2:30 the Senate will resume consideration of S. 1173, the ISTEPA legislation. As the leader announced before the recess, no rollcall votes will occur during today's session. The leader further hopes the Senate will be able to make progress on this important legislation regarding highway construction and highway safety programs. As Members are aware, the first session of this Congress will be concluding before too long and there is much work left to be done. This week the Senate must act on a continuing resolution as we attempt to pass the remaining appropriations bill and conference reports. As the conferences finish their work, the full Senate awaits these conference reports. The majority leader encourages all Senators to cooperate as we schedule the remaining legislative period.

The majority leader also reminds colleagues that typically these closing

weeks of session are some of the busiest. Senators should be prepared, therefore, for busy sessions with rollcall votes occurring each day unless other notification is given. The majority leader thanks all Senators for their attention.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DEWINE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, there will now be a period for the transaction of morning business.

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent I be allowed to speak up to 12 minutes.

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

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Rena Subotnik, a fellow in my office, be permitted privileges of the floor for the duration of the debate.

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

(The remarks of Mr. BINGAMAN pertaining to the introduction of S. 1295

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



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are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

Mr. BINGAMAN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be permitted to speak for 5 minutes in morning business.

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

UNITED STATES-CHINA SUMMIT

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, I wanted to come to the floor to talk a little bit about the summit that is coming up soon—as a matter of fact, the 29th and 30th of this month. President Jiang Zemin of China will visit Washington to have a summit meeting with President Clinton. It is a good time I think for us to do two things. One is to think a little bit about our role with respect to the summit, our role as Congress. Another is that it is a good time for us to take another look at our policy and our bilateral relationships and reevaluate both of those with respect to China and its goals.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on East Asia and Pacific Affairs, this relationship, of course, and its ramifications in the future, its impact on the United States and the world is something that is very important to me. East Asia, of course, will be a source of one of our most important economic and strategy challenges as we move into the next century. China, with 1.2 billion people and an increasingly expanding economy, will continue, and increasingly, to be a center of attention in Asia. To adequately meet those kinds of challenges, obviously, why, we need to continue to articulate and develop a workable policy with respect to China and then, of course, to all of the countries in Asia.

This administration has and continues to refer to our China policy as a constructive engagement, which has a nice sound, a nice ring to it, but I am not sure anybody really knows what that means. Apparently, it can mean whatever one would like it to mean. If you ask 10 or 12 different people, each of them might give you a different explanation of what it is. Moreover, and probably even more important, the Chinese do not know what constructive engagement means. Many of them are not persuaded and talk often about the idea that our relationship with China is one of containment, which it really is not.

So I think it is a good opportunity to make clear what our policy is with respect to China. And it seems to me that that policy ought to reflect those things that are of concern to us, those things that are important to us, those

things that will over time allow us to have a relationship with China. I happened to have the opportunity to visit there in August. Most of the leadership was at the coast because of the summertime, but I did go there and visit with the Foreign Minister. We talked a good deal about the upcoming summit and what it is that it might be.

I was, and am still, a bit concerned that when you have a summit there may be a compelling interest among the administration people to be able to announce great things at the summit, which would be fine if, indeed, they are based on the kind of arrangements and the kind of agreements that really need to be made in order to have great things to announce. It would be a shame, on the other hand, if we rushed to agreement on some things and came up with unsatisfactory agreements simply in order to make the summit look as good as it should.

I agreed with the Foreign Minister that, indeed, it would be better to just have a summit to help our relationships, to talk about problems, if that is all we could do, than to have some artificial arrangements made in order to make some announcements.

So I think that is a little bit where we are. One of the things that I believe is important is that the Congress should be involved. In most countries like China and Indonesia that have a different system, of course, the people do not really understand that Congress has something to do with foreign policy, that Congress is involved in foreign policy. That is not the case in most countries. So I am hopeful, and I am now fairly confident, there will be some congressional involvement in this summit.

One of the things I am glad has not occurred, however, as sometimes does is that—of course, we are free here and should speak out on whatever we want—often you see a whole series of sense-of-the-Congress resolutions that are not very conducive to having a good meeting—some of them saying, well, if you do not behave, we will take away your visas and all that sort of business, which may have merit but it does not seem it is useful as we come up to a summit with the intention to try to improve the relationships we have. I think those things are counterproductive, as is the case generally with sanctions; sanctions do not work. There are less than a handful of objectives that the Chinese simply can't get somewhere else. We have sanctions on something when they are bargaining with Boeing for 777's and they go to France and buy Airbus. That is kind of the way that works. We hurt our own relationship for no positive reason.

Now, I am not an apologist for China. There are many things that are being done there that we think should be done differently, many things that are being done there that are not consistent with our values, but I think probably as important as anything, if China wishes to be part of the family of business in the world, then there are some rules they have to abide by or

else they are not part of the family. Countries have to stay with agreements that they have, the contracts they have.

So there are many things that make it more difficult to embrace people in the international community. In the case of China, there are concerns about Tibet, concerns about human rights, religious persecution, rule of law, intellectual property rights, relationships with Taiwan. All of those things are concerns. But the issue is how do we best deal with them. Nobody denies that there are problems we have to deal with, but as in the case of most favored nation, then you say I understand the problem. The question is how do we best deal with it. Do we best deal with it by standing away? Do we best deal with it by sanctions? Or do we best deal with it by articulating a foreign policy and then saying we are going to stay with that policy? I believe that is the best answer for us.

There are a number of things that ought to be talked about, I believe, at this summit. I have met with Sandy Berger, who is the President's adviser and the person I think most responsible for the meeting, who seems also to be in tune with this. There are about four real issues that I hope are talked about very candidly and talked about in depth. One is nuclear proliferation—the idea of parts shipped to Pakistan, the idea that Iran and the PRC have a nuclear cooperation agreement, changes to domestic law to prevent dual use. These kinds of things. Now, we are in the course of the President certifying that these things are not in fact happening, and I hope they are not. But we need to talk about that. We need to have an understanding. We need to be able to have visibility to see if, indeed, that is happening.

Another is human rights. I think we need to continue to speak out about religious freedom. We need to continue to speak out about personal freedom. Those are our values. We are not going to be able to tell everybody else how to live, but we can promote values that we believe are important. And among those at the top is human rights.

Trade. China, of course, wants to belong to the World Trade Organization, and I, indeed, hope they do. I think it would be better for us so that when you have trade problems, it is not a unilateral kind of thing but, indeed, would fall within the purview of the World Trade Organization. And some measures could be put on by other countries as well as ours.

Finally, security. We have had good cooperation from the PRC with regard to North Korea. But one of the reasons that we are involved as we are in China and in Asia is, of course, to stabilize the security of this part of the world, which is terribly important to us. I think we have been relatively successful in doing that.