

can restore integrity to our electoral system by enacting meaningful campaign finance reform legislation.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

Mr. NICKLES. Madam President, I know my colleagues have been waiting patiently. Would they mind if I went ahead for a few minutes?

Mr. GRAMS. That is fine.

(The remarks of Mr. NICKLES pertaining to the introduction of S. 9 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

(The remarks of Mr. NICKLES, Mr. GRAMS, and Mr. HUTCHINSON pertaining to the introduction of S. 9 are located in today's RECORD under "Statements on Introduced Bills and Joint Resolutions.")

#### 1996 YEAR END REPORT

The mailing and filing date of the 1996 Year End Report required by the Federal Election Campaign Act, as amended, is Friday, January 31, 1997. Principal campaign committees supporting Senate candidates file their reports with the Senate Office of Public Records, 232 Hart Building, Washington, DC 20510-7116.

The Public Records office will be open from 8 a.m. to 7 p.m. on the filing date to accept these filings. In general, reports will be available the day after receipt. For further information, please contact the Public Records office on (202) 224-0322.

#### REGISTRATION OF MASS MAILINGS

The filing date for 1996 fourth quarter mass mailings is January 27, 1997. If a Senator's office did no mass mailings during this period, a form should be submitted that states "none."

Mass mailing registrations, or negative reports, should be submitted to the Senate Office of Public Records, 232 Hart Building, Washington, DC 20510-7116.

The Public Records Office will be open from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. on the filing date to accept these filings. For further information, please contact the Public Records office on (202) 224-0322.

#### TRIBUTE TO FORMER SENATOR PAUL TSONGAS

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, it is with great sadness that we learned last weekend of the death of our former colleague from Massachusetts, Paul Tsongas. Paul served in the House of Representatives for 4 years, from 1975 to 1979, and in the Senate for 6 years, from 1979 to 1985. All of us who knew him respected him and admired him.

Paul was a great friend, a great Congressman for the people of Lowell, a great Senator for the State of Massachusetts. He had a special dedication to public service that began as a Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia in the

1960's and endured throughout his brilliant career, including his 1992 Presidential campaign.

As a Lowell city councilor, a county commissioner, Congressman, Senator, and Presidential candidate he had a special vision of America as it ought to be. Above all, he had an extraordinary personal and political courage. It was a courage demonstrated during his long illness and in all aspects of his years in public service. He often took stands that were unpopular. He had strongly held beliefs and he fought hard for them regardless of the passing political cause. He cared more for the truth than public opinion. And the people of Massachusetts loved him all the more because of it.

President Kennedy would have called him a "profile in courage."

One of his enduring legacies is the Lowell National Historic Park, which symbolized a great deal about his commitment to Lowell and to that entire region of our State. He had the vision to conceive the park and the skill to achieve it. In a larger sense, it also typified his unique ability to find new ways to see old problems. Where others saw a fading mill town, Paul saw the opportunity for rebirth, growth, and a thriving new economy.

He applied that same dedication to new ways of thinking in everything he did in our State, our country, and our common planet, yet he had both a realistic and idealistic vision of a better future and a powerful commitment to reach it so no one would be left out or left behind.

He reminded me of Robert Kennedy. As my brother often said, "Some people see things as they are and say, why. I dream things that never were and say, why not?" That was true of Paul Tsongas as well. We will miss him very much. Our hearts go out to his wife Niki, his sisters, Thaleia and Vicki, all the members of his wonderful family, his three daughters, Ashley, Katina, and Molly.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that editorials from the Lowell Sun and the Boston Globe be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Lowell Sun, January 20, 1997]

#### COMING HOME

When he stood in the raindrops at Boarding House Park, Paul Tsongas spoke of embarking upon his "journey of purpose" to become the President of the United States.

We in Lowell knew better.

We in Lowell knew Paul Tsongas' purposeful journey began long before he tossed his hat into the presidential ring, and endured long after his candidacy came to an end.

For Citizen Paul Tsongas, his journey to make his city and his world a better place began as soon as he was old enough to make a difference, and continued—with as much passion and purpose as ever—until it ended all too soon Saturday night.

Let others talk about Sen. Tsongas' extraordinary contributions to the national landscape—as they should and will.

Let us in Lowell talk about contributions far more significant and enduring.

Let us talk about a man who brought a remarkable wife to Lowell, and a father who raised three wonderful children in the city of his birth.

Because before all else—before all the politics and the presidential campaigns—Paul Tsongas devoted his life to his beloved and cherished wife and daughters. And even if his journey consisted "only" of Nicola, Katina, Ashley and Molly, he would have succeeded—grandly—in making this city and this world a better place in which to live.

If a man's legacy is first and foremost his family, Paul Tsongas' journey has left us all with a living legacy to cherish and honor as we do his own life.

For years, we in Lowell have needed Paul Tsongas. Now it is time for all of us to begin to repay our debt to him by reaching out to Nicola, Katina, Ashley and Molly with our arms, our hearts and our prayers.

They surely don't need us to tell them, but we should let them know just how proud we are of her husband and their father, and how much we, too, will miss him.

For those who knew Paul Tsongas—and so many in this city were privileged by his friendship—we knew him first as a husband and a father. In these parts, he was not Sen. Tsongas. He was "just" Paul Tsongas, a guy who clearly was happiest not on the firing lines of City Hall or Capitol Hill, but rather in his back yard on Mansur Street.

'Our' Paul Tsongas was not a politician or a presidential candidate. He was something much more special than that.

He was Tsongy—our neighbor and our friend. A guy who may have been better at driving his kids to school than he was at driving legislation through the U.S. Senate. A hard-working environmentalist whose most beloved contribution to the greening of America was surely cleaning up and landscaping Kittredge Park, on his hands and knees, as content as a man could be.

Let others applaud and exalt the contributions Rep. and Sen. Tsongas made to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—as they should and will. Let the national pundits and politicians ponder what contributions a President Tsongas would have made to the country—as surely he would have.

We in Lowell need only walk through our city to celebrate—every day—what Paul Tsongas did for his hometown.

A national park here, a Boarding House Park there. The Wang Towers over there, and an arena going up just over here. And here's one of our new middle schools, not too far from our downtown hotel. And just over there, where the river bends, we're going to have a brand new ball park for Lowell's own minor league ball club. You know, the Spinners, the team Paul Tsongas brought to town.

Let those on the national stage talk about the bumpy, bizarre and truly incredible road which Paul Tsongas nearly traveled to the White House.

Here, in Lowell, we'll walk and talk about the most important roads in Paul Tsongas' life—Highland Street, where he lived as a child. Gorham Street, where young Paul toiled in his father's dry cleaning store. And Mansur Street, where Paul Tsongas of Lowell lived and raised his family.

Let other congressmen and senators and presidents talk about the unique contribution Paul Tsongas made to deficit reduction and our grandkids at the Concord Coalition.

Here, in Lowell, we'll reminisce about the first and most important budget Paul Tsongas ever balanced in his life—the one in that dry cleaning shop on Gorham.

We knew The Road from Here would always lead back to Lowell.

And even though his journey of purpose often took Paul Tsongas to bigger cities and

faraway lands, we all knew that his journey began here, drew its strength from here, and will end, too soon, when he is buried here.

Paul Tsongas' journey of purpose may have been all too brief, but like a meteor blazing across the civic skyline he so loved, it was brilliant, intense and unforgettable.

"Lowell is my home. It is where I drew my first breath. It is where I will always derive a sense of place and a sense of belonging.

"It is what I am."

Amen.

Think of Paul Tsongas whenever you take your kids to a Spinners game. We think he'd like that.

[From the Boston Globe Jan. 19, 1997]

PAUL TSONGAS OF LOWELL

Paul Tsongas, 55, relished the uphill fight but was unable to beat back his most formidable opponent and succumbed last night to complications from the lymphoma that dogged him since 1988.

His seemingly inexhaustible ability to rally from a battery of grueling medical procedures, including two bone marrow transplants, was testimony to his grit and a spur to anyone tempted to complain about life's lesser challenges.

Tsongas was a tough taskmaster in his political life too, always willing to challenge conventional wisdom and unafraid to give people bad news if he felt it would fix an ailing system. In 1980 he faced a hall full of doctrinaire liberals at a convention of the Americans for Democratic Action and told them it was time to "escape the '60's time capsule."

Probusiness, open-minded about nuclear power, a relentless deficit hawk but at the same time unstinting in his support of civil rights, gay and women's issues and the environment, Tsongas was a "New Democrat" long before it became trendy.

Since voting for the controversial Lowell connector highway as a city councilor in his hometown in 1972, Tsongas built a reputation on following his political conscience despite the odds.

He was a long shot in his successful 1978 U.S. Senate race against Ed Brooke and was the first Democrat to challenge President George Bush. Asked about the near-empty Democratic field for the 1992 presidential race, he replied: "It's a medical problem: gonads, not lymph nodes."

Independent, thoughtful, passionate, he was as devoted to his family as he was to fighting the good fight. He quit the Senate in 1984 so he could spend time with his wife Niki and three daughters. "They're going to lay me in the ground someday," Tsongas said in a 1992 interview with the Globe. "I want to do the things I would have wanted to have done when that happens so my grandchildren will feel good about me."

Paul Tsongas has left all of us much to feel good about even as we mourn his passing.

#### OECD SHIPBUILDING AGREEMENT

Mr. LOTT. The 104th Congress was unable to reach a consensus on legislation to implement an OECD Shipbuilding Agreement. Opponents of the agreement, as negotiated, insisted that the amendments passed by the House of Representatives be incorporated into any implementing legislation. Supporters of the agreement found these amendments unacceptable. As a result, no legislation was passed to put the OECD Shipbuilding Agreement into effect.

If the outcome is to be any different in the 105th Congress, I would urge the

Administration and the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative to fully consider the amendments to H.R. 2754 passed by the House last year. Those amendments, which were sponsored by the House National Security Committee, were in response to major concerns regarding this agreement's damaging impact on our national security interests, and on the Navy's core shipbuilding industrial base. While preserving the underlying intent of the OECD agreement, the amendments adopted by the House provide some modest safeguards with respect to these national security concerns.

Ms. SNOWE. Those amendments were approved by an overwhelming majority in the House who felt that, without the changes, the OECD Agreement failed to provide an effective mechanism for disciplining foreign shipbuilding subsidy practices. I should add that a number of Members in this body who have examined the agreement also share this view. The base agreement, coupled with the many loopholes and special concessions granted to foreign governments, would continue to place U.S. shipbuilders at a tremendous competitive disadvantage. For this reason, the largest U.S. shipbuilders, representing over 90 percent of all workers in the Nation's major shipbuilding base, opposed implementation of the agreement even though they were the primary advocates of an effective discipline on foreign government subsidy and dumping practices in the first place.

Mr. LOTT. In order to put into perspective the concerns of the U.S. shipbuilding industry, it may be helpful to review some of the background leading up to this agreement. In 1981, the U.S. Government terminated its subsidy program to the U.S. shipbuilding industry. Thus, in 1989, the United States went to the negotiating table as the only nonsubsidizing shipbuilding country. The U.S. shipbuilding industry had already lost all of its commercial shipbuilding market share and was bracing itself for a dramatic decrease in Navy shipbuilding orders.

Ms. SNOWE. In 1993, 4 years after international negotiations had failed to produce an agreement to end foreign subsidies, Congress and President Clinton revived and amended a modest ship loan guarantee program called Title XI. The purpose of this program was to help U.S. shipbuilders recapture commercial market share in the face of dramatic cuts in the Navy's shipbuilding plan and continued foreign government subsidies in the commercial market.

Mr. LOTT. This modest loan guarantee program has begun the revival of commercial shipbuilding in the United States. For the first time in almost 40 years, our major U.S. shipbuilders are building commercial ships for export. Environmentally safe oceangoing double-hulled oil tankers are being constructed for our domestic trades. Over a 2-year period, \$1.7 billion in commer-

cial shipbuilding orders has been generated in the United States. These commercial orders are helping to sustain our major builders of Navy ships.

Ms. SNOWE. In 1996, when the administration sought congressional approval of the OECD Shipbuilding Agreement, the Department of Defense submitted a Navy shipbuilding budget request for the fewest numbers of ships in more than 60 years. While the Navy's Fiscal Year 1997 Future Years Defense Plan called for an average of only 5 ships per year, the Navy anticipates that it will need to procure 10 to 12 ships per year beginning in the year 2002, if it is to maintain a 346-ship fleet. The challenge for our Nation and the Navy is to sustain the critical core shipbuilding industrial base during this alltime low in Navy shipbuilding and still have the capability to meet future Navy building needs.

Facing these circumstances, in 1989 the U.S. shipbuilding industry sought an international agreement to end foreign government shipbuilding subsidies. The industry believed then, as it does now, that it was essential to end foreign government participation in the commercial shipbuilding market if it was to have a fighting chance to make the transition to building both commercial and Navy ships, and thus survive this historic low in Navy shipbuilding.

Mr. LOTT. As negotiations dragged on for over 5 years, the marketplace was changing dramatically and rapidly, while the objective of the negotiators seemed to remain static. There was a failure on the part of our negotiators to recognize these changes and the activities of the various participating parties during the negotiations.

China, which had no commercial shipbuilding market in 1990, began to target shipbuilding to industrialize its economy. China now ranks third in the world for commercial shipbuilding, and it is not a signatory to this agreement. Other countries, such as the Ukraine and Poland, are also not covered by this agreement and have displayed a renewed interest in their shipbuilding sectors.

Ms. SNOWE. During the negotiations, Germany granted \$4 billion in shipyard modernization subsidies to the former East German shipyards. South Korea approved close to a \$1 billion bailout of its largest shipbuilder Daewoo. Other European countries continued to grant billions in subsidies to their shipbuilding industries to fill their order books.

Mr. LOTT. When an agreement was finally reached in 1994, major U.S. shipbuilders expressed their objections with the terms of the OECD Shipbuilding Agreement before it was signed by the U.S. and other parties. These builders articulated to the Administration their concerns with the very generous transition concessions granted to the