

Three weeks earlier, the Mexican-born laborer, who came to America half a century ago, received an "Important Notice" from the government warning him that he might lose his \$400 a month of Supplemental Security Income. The reason: Mr. Munoz, though a legal immigrant, wasn't a citizen—and therefore stood to lose his benefits because of welfare overhaul. "They're going to cut me off," he told friends after receiving the letter. "If I had a gun right now, I would kill myself."

FUNDS MAY BE RESTORED

It's difficult to know what causes any suicide, or what other demons might have haunted Mr. Munoz. But in the debate over welfare policy, the laborer's story provides just the sort of powerful anecdote that can affect the course of events in Washington. Ronald Reagan's tales of welfare queens in Cadillacs helped spark the drive that led the government to revise the welfare system last year. And now tales of hard-working immigrants like Mr. Munoz are leading policymakers from both parties to question whether some of those changes went too far.

Leaders of both parties now support restoring some of the funding cut last year from benefits for legal immigrants, although they disagree on how much. Republican legislators, under pressure from GOP governors and worried about the public relations problems that stories like Mr. Munoz's could cause, have already proposed adding back \$2 billion of funding for immigrants over the next two years—mostly for SSI and food stamps. President Clinton and the Democrats are proposing adding back much more—more than \$14 billion over five years. If the White House and Republican leaders are able to reach a budget agreement, it will probably include a compromise on increased immigrant funding somewhere in between.

In Mr. Munoz's case, the sad irony is that he need not have lost his benefits. The law requires immigrants to either become citizens or prove that they have worked 10 years or more in the U.S. to keep their benefits. Mr. Munoz had worked in this country since the late 1940s, and a welfare counselor told him he could obtain an exemption if he could document his employment history. That, however, would have required his patrons to acknowledge that they had employed him against the law, and Mr. Munoz considered it a matter of honor not to betray his former bosses.

"I'd rather die," he told his friend Salvador Aguiere. Lupe Marquez, another friend, explains it this way: "He really loved the patron. He got in his mind that he'd have to put the finger on his patron. That's why he died."

Mr. Munoz, whose nickname was "Nacho," was born in 1921 on a ranch in Colotlan, in the Mexican state of Jalisco, the son of a laborer. He came to the U.S., illegally at first and alone, in the late 1940s. He lived in labor camps and cheap hotels or with friends. He held a string of odd, seasonal jobs—pruning pear trees in the winter, picking olives in the fall, working in a tortilla factory, and doing landscaping and office cleaning at a local radio station. Anselmo Ambriz, who met Mr. Munoz in the fields in 1951, says his friend worked until age 70, sometimes for 10 hours a day.

Whenever he worked, he was dogged by a fear that border police would catch him. Indeed, he was once returned to Mexico but snuck back in soon after. "He thought he was a criminal," says Frank Gonzales, whose family housed Mr. Munoz at various times.

Mr. Munoz developed intense loyalty to his patrons, his employers through the 1980s: Knox LaRue and Arnold Toso. Mr. Munoz worked illegally for both men, but Mr.

LaRue, under an amnesty program passed by Congress in 1996, obtained a green card and a legitimate Social Security number for him in the late '80s. "He was a very nervous little guy," Mr. LaRue recalls of the 5-foot-7 Mr. Munoz, who had bushy gray brows over sad, dark eyes. "He'd been on the lam for 40 years, looking over his shoulder."

CONSIDERED CITIZENSHIP

Mr. Munoz stopped working after 1992 and moved into the Franco Center, a big, concrete building for the elderly poor, where he took a noisy one-bedroom apartment overlooking a freeway. He paid the \$184 monthly rent with his Social Security payment of \$286 and his \$400 of SSI. At some point, he contemplated becoming a citizen; among the possessions in his apartment is a wrinkled, 11-page list of study questions for the exam.

Mr. Munoz never married and had no children. He spoke little English and never visited the cantinas (tavern) with his friends. He had cataract surgery in January, and walked stiffly because of arthritic legs, but friends say he showed no signs of depression.

The trouble, says Mary Serna, a neighbor, "all started with that letter he got." He showed the letter to his friend Mr. Aguiere. "I worked all my life, now they're cutting me off," Mr. Aguiere recalls Mr. Munoz saying.

He paid a visit to a local advocacy group called Concilio, where Susan Casillas offered to help him document his work history. On Monday morning, March 17, he returned unannounced to the Concilio office. Ms. Casillas asked him to return at 1 p.m. Instead, he walked that afternoon down to the railroad track, past a cement and lumber yard, through some weeds and down into the dusty canal bed. He was found bloody but still breathing just after 1 p.m., the time of his appointment at Concilio.

Mr. Munoz was buried in a simple gray coffin in a plot for the indigent in the county cemetery. The police found \$717.40 in the dead man's pocket—the \$1,000 in savings he had recently withdrawn from the Franco Center office, less the price of the gun.●

TRIBUTE TO EVELYN MARCONI FOR BEING AWARDED THE LIFETIME ACHIEVEMENT AWARD

● Mr. SMITH of New Hampshire. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Evelyn Marconi of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, for being honored with the Lifetime Achievement Award by the Rotary Club of Portsmouth.

Evelyn has been my friend for more than a decade. I can think of no one more deserving of the recognition she is receiving by the Portsmouth Rotary Club.

She has given her life to public and community service. Evelyn has served on the Portsmouth City Council for 10 years, four of those years as assistant mayor. In 1989 she was nominated for the prestigious Norris Cotton Republican of the Year Award.

Evelyn has also been a cornerstone of business in Portsmouth and is known to everyone as she owns and operates the landmark Geno's Coffee Shop. In 1980 former U.S. Senator Gordon Humphrey recognized Evelyn's business leadership and appointed her as a delegate to the Small Business Conference where she participated in the Women in Business and Capital Formation and Retention. She also was a delegate to

the New Hampshire Constitutional Convention.

Evelyn's community involvements range from organizing fundraisers to keeping the local Pierce Island Pool open for the children, to being a member of several foundations, committees and executive boards and serving as the first woman president of the Navy League of the United States.

Among her neighbors Evelyn is known as a compassionate and concerned person who makes chicken soup for the sick, helps out with babysitting and works to secure anonymous donations of food or clothing for the underprivileged. Evelyn has been known to go out in a blizzard to deliver food to shut-ins when the city's "meals on wheels" was canceled due to bad weather.

Evelyn is always willing to take responsibility, whether to organize rides to the cancer treatment center for local patients, giving rides on election day to any voter, chairing committees or helping people in need. Whatever she commits to, she always does an outstanding job.

Mr. President, Evelyn has dedicated her time, talent and energy to serving the residents of Portsmouth in an exemplary way. I am proud to know Evelyn, and to honor her outstanding community commitment, which is so important to the future and prosperity of Portsmouth. We are indeed indebted to Evelyn for her efforts in business, public service and community dedication. Congratulations to my friend, Evelyn Marconi, for this distinguished recognition. I am honored to represent her in the U.S. Senate.●

THE THEME IS FREEDOM: RECONSIDERING U.S.-SINO RELATIONS

● Mr. ASHCROFT. Mr. President, no one did more to bring peace and prosperity in our time than our 40th President, Ronald Reagan. President Reagan's economic and foreign policies gave us the longest peacetime expansion in our history and made the world safe again for democracy. But more than that, Ronald Reagan called us to our highest and best: we never spoke with more certainty or sat taller in the saddle than when Ronald Reagan was riding point.

In his farewell address, Reagan told a wonderful story, a story of a refugee and an American sailor. In the early eighties, the U.S.S. *Midway* was patrolling the South China Sea when the crew happened upon a small craft, a decrepit little boat crammed with refugees trying to make their way to America. The *Midway's* captain sent a small launch to bring the ship to safety. And as they made their way toward the tiny vessel, a refugee glimpsed a crewman on deck and called out, "Hello, American sailor. Hello freedom man."

It was, as Reagan noted, "a small moment with a big meaning." Throughout our history, America has

been a nation dedicated to a proposition, a country committed to freedom—freedom of religion, of speech, of assembly, and of the press. That undying devotion has allowed us to know both wealth and power, for they are the natural fruit of the democratic ideal. From manufacturing to basic science, from aerospace to the arts, it is a material abundance and cultural vitality heretofore unseen.

And freedom is the song America has sung across the globe whether marshaling her troops or providing resources for the Marshall plan. Five times in this century patriot's blood has been spilled in the fight for freedom around the world. That is our history, it is our common calling, it is our shared wisdom.

And so as we stand on the verge of a new century, with the greatest technological and material advances mankind has ever known, we would do well to ask ourselves: how stands the cause of freedom? Not just in the Western Hemisphere, but around the world. For while America is safer, stronger, more prosperous today than at any time in recent history, a sound like a bell tolls softly in the night; and it warns of coming conflict.

Mr. President, there is a destabilizing force in the Pacific rim today—and it is not the Asian democracies. There is an entity, which through its emerging economic and military might, intends to assert its power—and it is not the Asian democracies. There is a political system that sees as its enemy the free people of the world—and it is not the Asian democracies. No, the expansionist force in Asia is Communist China, a country that cares little for international law, and even less for the sacred nature of human life.

Now, Americans have long known of the existence of evil in the human heart. And yet strangely, we are loathe to confess it. We are Jefferson's children, unrequited romantics, believers in the innate goodness of man. But experience is both the best and most expensive teacher. And it has taught us a costly lesson that I fear is being lost: "Totalitarians do not stop—they must be stopped."

Communist China is presently engaged in a military build-up that is as spectacular as it is unsettling. The weapon's bazaar open for business in Beijing includes a blue water navy and a 21st century air force that will give China the capacity to exercise power throughout the Pacific. Russia alone has sold billions of dollars of military technology to the Chinese, including cruise missile(s) capable of defeating the antimissile defenses of the United States Navy.

These force-projection technologies are not about provid[ing] for the common defense; they are about providing an uncommon capacity to project power. They threaten not just the democracies of Asia, but the American sailors of the 7th Fleet who in the name of peace call the waters of the South China Sea home.

Just as troubling as Beijing's buying binge is its decision to sell missile and nuclear technology to Pakistan, Syria, and Iran. Over time, this equipment will allow each to produce bomb-grade uranium. Now, China contends that the sales are nothing more than a mutually agreeable exchange between sovereign nations. But the dispatch of cruise missiles to Iran has placed United States forces in harm's way. For let us recall that it was a lesser version of this same missile that took the lives of 37 American sailors aboard the U.S.S. *Stark*.

As if this were not enough, Communist China has undertaken another drive: a campaign of persecution and repression aimed at crushing internal dissent. Beijing's policies of torture, arbitrary arrest, and execution in Tibet have made horror ordinary.

Today, the President has an opportunity to challenge state persecution and champion individual freedom by formally receiving the Dalai Lama. Unfortunately, administration thinking on his visit seems as muddled as our China policy itself. Why is it that the President has an open door policy for Chinese arms dealers, but the Dalai Lama must be slipped through the White House back door? We should embrace the people of China who yearn to breathe free, not toast the tyrants who ordered tanks into Tiananmen Square.

Or, consider the case of Bishop Su. Hung from the ceiling by his wrists, Su was battered time and again about the head until all but unconscious. He was then placed in a cell filled with water where he was left for days, unable to sit or [to] sleep. Tragically, Su is but one of untold hundreds that have been beaten and killed. Their high crime? A fidelity to God and the desire to exercise that devotion.

And who will condemn such barbarism? The administration has made not a sound. Well, I would respectfully remind them that to sin by silence makes cowards out of men; and an act of cowardice this great has not been seen since Hemingway's Macomber heard the lion's roar.

As for United States exporters, there is little denying trade with China has been of great value. United States goods and services exports to China have increased from \$3.5 billion to over \$14 billion in the last decade alone. From power generation equipment to automotive parts, China has pursued Western consumer goods as a means by which to fuel its military expansion. The West has willingly obliged. But at what cost, and to what end?

Chinese import duties are still five times higher on average than those imposed by the U.S. and quadruple those of Japan. Nearly half of Chinese imports are subject to further barriers. And certain key industries such as electronics, aircraft, and telecommunications are shielded from competition altogether. It would seem that 18th century mercantilism is alive and well in 20th century China.

Mr. President, China's trade policies are about selective market access that ensure merchandise trade deficits as far as the eye can see; on human rights, Beijing is showing the world a reign of terror unparalleled in the post-cold-war era; and a tour of the Pacific rim's horizon finds a Chinese defense buildup aimed at achieving superpower status at the Asian democracies, expense.

So what, then, is to be done? Just a decade ago, the vast majority of the Congress seemed to understand who our enemies were and why. But some in Washington today seem confused about what is a decent political system and what is not, which philosophies should be embraced or rejected, what is right and what is wrong.

We will never tame the Chinese dragon—no more than we subdued the Soviet bear—with the policies of appeasement. The way to bring China into the community of nations, as Michael Ledeen and others have argued, is to talk truthfully and forcefully about the evils found there; challenge Beijing to grant more political and economic freedom to its people; and maintain a military superiority that makes the cost of conflict too high.

There is an old Chinese proverb which says, "When you want to test the depth of a stream, do not use both feet." To end diplomatic ties and cease trading with the most populous nation on Earth would be the march of folly. I do believe, however, that we must look anew at both the granting of most favored nation [MFN] status as well as China's acceptance into the World Trade Organization [WTO].

For we are now approaching a critically important stage in United States-Sino relations as a new generation of leadership leaps forward. They must know that adventurism in Asia will meet a firm response. They must know we will not sanction the injuries and usurpations that the Chinese people have suffered at the hands of the state. They must know that we will support and defend democracy.

The theme is freedom. And the fundamental principle upon which we should base U.S. trade policy is this: Truly free trade can only exist between free peoples. And the Chinese who watched treachery take hold in Tiananmen are most certainly not free.

More than 300 years before the U.S.S. *Midway* patrolled the South China Sea, there was a great Puritan migration to a land called America. And on board a very different ship, the *Arbella*, John Winthrop preached a sermon entitled, "A Modell of Christian Charity." In it, he laid out his expectations for the new colony; he spoke that, "every man might have need of other" and of a world "knit more nearly together by the bond of brotherly affection."

Winthrop was an early freedom man and his, like Reagan's, was a transcendent vision. The society he foresaw was a true commonwealth, a community in which each person put the good

of the whole ahead of private concern. It should not surprise us, then, that Winthrop's words upon arriving in America were some of Reagan's most frequently quoted: "We shall be a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us."

Well, the eyes of all people are upon us again. And the question they ask? Will America continue to stand for freedom? Or, will she fall captive to policies born of confusion and conciliation. The answer we send will tell much about how brightly our city still shines.

For we stand on the cusp of a new and exciting age. By all accounts, this has been the American century. The ideals that light our city have found comfort's warm embrace across the globe; democracy has triumphed; market capitalism reigns supreme. But alas, China's shadow looms large. And the decisions of today will determine whether America alone will shape the tomorrows in which we live. So let us resolve to once again hoist up the flag of freedom. Let us resolve to extol the virtues of democracy to all who will listen. And not because democracy is our form of government, but because

democracy is the only peaceful form of government. With the hope that one day the long tug of memory might look favorably upon us as we look approvingly on the generations who answered freedom's call in decades passed.●

ORDERS FOR THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 1997

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that when the Senate completes its business today it stand in adjournment until the hour of 10 a.m. on Thursday, April 24. I further ask unanimous consent that on Thursday, immediately following the prayer, the routine requests through the morning hour be granted and the Senate immediately resume consideration of the Chemical Weapons Convention treaty.

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

PROGRAM

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, tomorrow, at 10 a.m., the Senate will resume consideration of the Chemical Weapons Convention treaty. I remind all Sen-

ators that from 10:30 to 12:30 the Senate will conduct its business in a closed session of the Senate in the Old Senate Chamber to hear debate on sensitive intelligence issues. With that in mind, I ask all Senators to arrive promptly at the Old Senate Chamber at 10:30 tomorrow morning. Under the agreement, tomorrow there will be five motions to strike in order to the resolution of ratification with 1 hour of debate equally divided between the chairman and ranking member, or their designees. Therefore, Senators should anticipate rollcall votes throughout Thursday's session of the Senate and possibly into the evening, if necessary, to complete action on this treaty.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask that the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 7:06 p.m., adjourned until Thursday, April 24, 1997, at 10 a.m.