



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 105th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 143

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, JUNE 17, 1997

No. 84

Senate

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the PRESIDENT pro tempore [Mr. THURMOND].

PRAYER

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

Gracious God, we begin this day with three liberating convictions: You are on our side, You are by our side, and You are the source of strength inside. Help us to regain the confidence that comes from knowing that You are for us and not against us.

We continue to remain awed by the knowledge that You have created us to know and love You and have called us to serve You wherever You lead us. You have programmed us for greatness by Your power, so help us to place our trust in You and live fully for You.

We thank You that You are with us, seeking to help us know and do Your will. Guide us today in all that we face. We invite You to take up residence in our minds so that we may see things from Your perspective. And grant us the courage to give You our all. May Your justice, righteousness, integrity, honesty, and truth be the identifiable qualities of our character.

Lord, we commit all that we have and are to glorifying You with all that we do today. In the name of our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

RECOGNITION OF THE ACTING MAJORITY LEADER

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The able acting majority leader is recognized.

SCHEDULE

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, the Senate will be in a period of morning business until 10:30 a.m. today. Following morning business, the Senate will resume consideration of S. 903, the State Department reauthorization bill. By pre-

vious consent, there will be two stacked rollcall votes beginning at 12 noon. The first vote will be on the DeWine amendment dealing with Haiti, followed by a vote on the Lugar amendment regarding U.N. funding. Also by consent, following the stacked votes, the Senate will recess until 2:15 p.m. for the weekly policy luncheons.

When the Senate reconvenes at 2:15 p.m., the Senate will resume the State Department authorization bill and hopefully complete action on the bill at a reasonable hour this evening.

In addition, this week the Senate may begin consideration of the defense authorization bill following disposition of S. 903. I thank my colleagues for their attention.

Mr. LEAHY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The distinguished Senator from Vermont is recognized.

COMPLIMENTING THE PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I might note for my colleagues, the distinguished President pro tempore, the senior Senator from South Carolina, has set a remarkable example. In my 23 years here in the Senate, I think I have seen him as President pro tempore opening the Senate more times than I have seen anybody else. I note that this happens whether we have been in session half the night and coming in early in the morning, or whenever it is. I compliment my good friend from South Carolina. I am glad, however, to see that he does not carry the baseball bat here that was presented to him by the distinguished senior Senator from Utah and myself at the Judiciary Committee meeting last week.

Mr. President, what is the parliamentary situation?

MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDENT pro tempore (Mr. ENZI). We are under a period of morn-

ing business until the hour of 10:30 a.m. Then we will be considering S. 903.

Before the Senator begins, the time for morning business is divided and under the control of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HAGEL] and the Senator from Vermont [Mr. LEAHY].

The Senator from Vermont is recognized.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Lesley Carson, a fellow with the Foreign Ops Subcommittee, be given privileges of the floor.

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

BANNING ANTIPERSONNEL LANDMINES

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I will speak very briefly because I see the distinguished Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HAGEL], on the floor. But I will reserve such time as I may need.

Mr. President, the Leahy-Hagel bill on antipersonnel landmines is the result of years of work. I commend the Senator from Nebraska for his efforts in this. We have talked about the need to have a ban on these weapons, a need that is felt throughout the world, both by countries that have used landmines, such as ours, and also by countries that have been devastated by what has become a plague of landmines. As I have said on the floor many times, this human disaster was described to me by a Cambodian I had in my office on a snowy winter afternoon at Christmas-time in Vermont—one of the most beautiful times of year in our State—and it became far less beautiful as he said, “We clear our landmines in Cambodia an arm and a leg at a time.”

Fifty-seven Senators—Democrats, Republicans, conservatives, men and women alike—joined together last Thursday to introduce legislation to

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



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ban new deployments of antipersonnel landmines beginning in the year 2000. Our purpose is to enable the United States to join other nations around the world that have already shown both the moral and strategic courage and leadership by saying that they will ban unilaterally ban antipersonnel landmines. Senators like BOB KERREY and JOHN MCCAIN, CHUCK ROBB, and MAX CLELAND, decorated Vietnam veterans, along with Senator HAGEL, know far better than I what landmines have inflicted on our own soldiers. Senator HAGEL has even been injured by them.

All of us know that landmines have some marginal value, but so do chemical weapons. But we banned them. The problem with landmines is that wars end, peace treaties are signed, armies march away, the guns grow silent—but the landmines stay. To the child who steps on a mine on the way to school a year after the peace agreement is signed, that peace agreement is no protection. To the farmer who cannot raise crops to feed his or her children because the fields are strewn with landmines, that peace agreement is worth nothing. To the medical personnel and humanitarian workers who cannot get polio vaccine to a village where it is needed because of the landmines, that peace agreement is useless.

What we have, Mr. President, is a weapon that has grown so grotesque, the use of which has gotten so out of balance that most responsible nations are uniting in one voice to say: Stop the horror of landmines. There are 100 million of them in the ground in some 68 countries that are waiting for a person to step on them and die, innocent civilians. There were over 64,000 American casualties from landmines in Vietnam. If that is not appalling enough, the majority of those landmines were built here in the United States and were killing American men and women half way around the world. In Bosnia, 279 U.N. and NATO soldiers have been injured or killed by landmines. Every American casualty in Bosnia from enemy causes has been from a landmine. Then you have thousands of innocent civilians that have lost arms, legs and so on.

Sixty-eight countries have a bridge to the 21st century, Mr. President, but that bridge is strewn with landmines. The United States has the responsibility, as a moral leader, to help stop that. Great Britain, Canada, Germany, South Africa are all countries that can claim a greater need for landmines than we can because they do not have the power of the United States. They have unilaterally renounced the use of these landmines and are destroying stockpiles. But a White House official, who apparently has an extreme case of myopia—and I say that only because in polite dialog we would not say he has an extreme case of stupidity—had the audacity to say that our legislation undermines their negotiations on a global ban rather than a unilateral measure.

Frankly, I don't think that he reflects the views of the President. I have

to tell you that this is the most asinine comment issued by the administration yet on this issue. Why does the White House think a treaty banning these weapons is going to be signed in Ottawa this December? Countries are coming together to sign a treaty banning antipersonnel mines in Ottawa, not because of the United States or because of this administration's negotiating strategy; to the contrary, they are signing it in spite of the United States. While the United States has sat on the sidelines and forsaken the kind of moral leadership we can bring, dozens of other countries have taken strong, unilateral action by renouncing the use of these weapons and are pledging to sign a treaty in December. We showed great moral leadership on the Chemical Weapons Convention and on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. But, Mr. President, far, far more civilians have died or have been injured by landmines than nuclear weapons or chemical weapons. Every Member of this Senate who is a combat veteran from Vietnam is a cosponsor of this bill.

I have more to say, but the distinguished Senator from Nebraska, my chief cosponsor, is on the floor. I yield the floor to Senator HAGEL.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Nebraska.

MR. HAGEL. Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, first, I want to commend my distinguished colleague from Vermont for his leadership over the years. This has been an issue that has been worked with some difficulty with a certain intenseness to develop, first of all, an awareness of the problem.

This is an issue that, like all difficult issues, should always come with a certain amount of information. And through the process over the years, Senator LEAHY; my friend and colleague from Nebraska, Senator KERREY; and others, have been remarkable in their tenacity and their effort to focus on this issue of landmines. Today, I continue with my friend from Vermont; my distinguished senior Senator, BOB KERREY; and others in our efforts to ban antipersonnel landmines. The legislation that we are introducing this morning would permanently ban new deployments of antipersonnel landmines.

Now, my colleague talked a little bit about why it is important. But I think there are a couple of primary reasons, Mr. President, that we owe this country the world leadership on this issue. First, America has always taken the moral high ground over its brief 200-year history. There is some debate and argument about the military necessity, the military use, the viability of landmines. But as we enter a new century, a bold new century full of hope and promise, in my opinion—and I have some experience in this business—I do not really believe, nor do many former commanders and present commanders believe, that to continue to use anti-

personnel landmines in our arsenal is in the best interest of anyone.

So I take up this debate as a conservative Senator from Nebraska, a combat veteran. There is no U.S. Senator in this body who supports more strongly the U.S. military, what we must do to always arm our military, never taking away the capabilities of our military. So I come at this as a very strong advocate of our national defense forces and the awesome responsibility our military has to protect our people and freedom worldwide.

However, I believe the issue here regarding the banning of antipersonnel landmines is no longer the argument of whether we should or shouldn't. The issue now is when and how. I believe the time is now. The time is now for this country and for this body to provide leadership, as so many other nations around the world are providing leadership on this issue.

We can change the face of warfare. We must not make the mistake in believing that this act alone will do away with landmines. It is a beginning. We must understand and face the fact that there are over 110 million landmines in the ground today all over the world. This act today will not dig those 110 million mines up. But it is a beginning. It is a moral beginning. It is a beginning that sends a message to the world that we are a moral nation, that we will defend freedom as we always have, and that we will defend the rights of individuals, but we do not need indiscriminate killing machines like antipersonnel mines in order to defend those liberties.

Mr. President, there are colleagues other than Senator LEAHY and I on the floor, and I wish to ensure that they have time to express themselves on this issue.

With that, I will summarize by saying that those of us in Congress—especially those of us who have served in combat—have a responsibility to those Americans who now serve in our military to give our best judgment on all weapons systems, including landmines, to the future. We owe no less to the countless thousands of civilians, including many men and women who will yet suffer from the indiscriminate use of these weapons.

It is significant, as I see my friend and colleague, Senator BOB KERREY, the recipient of the Congressional Medal of Honor, walk around on the floor of the Senate, that my other five Vietnam combat veterans have joined Senator LEAHY and I in cosponsoring this important initiative. It is time for America to lead.

Mr. President, thank you. I yield my time to Senator LEAHY.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

MR. BENNETT. Mr. President, could I have 5 minutes from either side to both speak to this issue and raise one other related issue?

MR. LEAHY. I am perfectly willing to, and I want to yield to the Senator

from Utah for that. We were sort of flipping side to side, if that will be OK.

Mr. BENNETT. Absolutely. I appreciate the courtesy of the Senator.

Mr. KERREY addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Nebraska.

Mr. KERREY. Thank you, Mr. President. I thank the senior Senator from Vermont and my colleague from Nebraska, Senator HAGEL.

Mr. President, I rise today to join with my colleagues Senator LEAHY and Senator HAGEL to express my strong support for a worldwide ban on the use of land mines. Senator LEAHY's bill, of which I am an original cosponsor, is an important step in this effort in that it will restrict the use of funds for new deployments of U.S. anti-personnel land mines beginning no later than January 1, 2000.

One only has to look at the statistics to realize that these weapons carry a legacy that lasts far longer than the wars in which they were laid. More than 26,000 people will be killed in the world this year by landmines; the vast majority of these deaths will be civilians. In fact, every 22 minutes a man, woman, or child is killed or injured by a land mine. It is impossible to truly calculate the cost of 26,000 deaths due to land mines in a single year.

Mr. President, I believe that there can be no better example of the destructive nature of these weapons than Cambodia. It is estimated that over 10 million land mines remain in that country. After years of conflict and chaos, the people of Cambodia must still fear to walk along footpaths or rice paddies; or to allow their children to play along riverbeds or around villages. Mr. President, they have reason to be afraid; current statistics show that 1 Cambodian in every 236 has lost an eye or a limb to a land mine.

Again, these are noncombatants, civilian individuals that are suffering as a consequence of the indiscriminate placing of these dangerous weapons.

My interest in this issue also extends to not only protecting civilians but protecting our own military forces.

The truth is, far too often the victims of these mines are the men and women who serve in the U.S. Armed Forces. The Department of Defense has estimated that 33 percent of United States Army casualties in Vietnam were caused by land mines. It is further estimated that 90 percent of those mines contained components made in the United States.

Today in Bosnia, the greatest threat to U.S. troops involved in the SFOR mission is not from hostile fire, but from the millions of land mines that were indiscriminately laid during the years of fighting in that country. Mr. President, not only do I believe that we can continue to protect our national security without these weapons, I believe that ridding the world of land mines would be a significant step toward our providing greater protection to our forces stationed abroad.

I want to thank Senator LEAHY for his continued leadership in this area, because I believe the bill that we have sponsored is an important first step. However, it is also important for the United States now to take the lead on a global scale. While I applaud President Clinton's support for the eventual elimination of antipersonnel land mines, I would urge him to join our closest allies around the world by supporting the so-called Ottawa process which seeks to negotiate a treaty to ban land mines to be completed no later than December 1997. I firmly believe that a treaty negotiated with U.S. leadership, and which would include many countries where land mines have been used with devastating results, would help to create the moral authority to establish a global norm that would make these weapons unacceptable forever.

Again Mr. President, I believe now is the time for the U.S. exercise its leadership role in the world to stop the use of these devastating weapons.

I thank the Senator from Vermont and the Senator from Nebraska for their leadership on this issue. I hope that the President will change and begin to see the wisdom of adopting the Ottawa process.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I yield to the Senator from Utah.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair recognizes the Senator from Utah.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I congratulate the Senator from Nebraska and the Senator from Vermont for their leadership on this issue.

I ask unanimous consent that I be added to the bill as an original cosponsor.

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

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I thank the Chair and I thank the two Senators.

CHINESE COMPANIES EXPORTING DANGEROUS WEAPON

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, if I may, Mr. President, I would like to take just a few minutes on a related but different subject. We have been talking about blowing people up here this morning with landmines. I would not intrude on that debate with another issue, except that it is hot off the press this morning.

Secretary Cohen has revealed that Chinese military companies have exported a dangerous new weapon to Iran. I have discussed this weapon on the floor before. But this is a dangerous new development, and I would like to call the attention of Senators to what Secretary Cohen has revealed this morning.

We have here a drawing of the C-802 antishipping cruise missile that is designed by the Chinese on the basis of the Exocet missile. Here is a picture of

the U.S.S. *Stark* that was struck by an Exocet missile 10 years ago, in which 37 American sailors were killed. The *Stark* was out of commission for a full year. Ten years later, the C-802 is considered to be a more lethal weapon than the one that struck the *Stark*.

Here is a picture of a Chinese freighter, on the fantail of which they have loaded five missile boats which are being sent to Iran, each one of them with missile launchers, and four tubes that can be used against American shipping in the gulf. I have shown this picture to the Senate before. I have also shown this next picture to the Senate, a land-based C-802 which has been exported to Iran by Chinese companies.

This morning Secretary Cohen told us that Chinese companies have added a final dimension to their export. We have a picture from the Chinese sales brochure of a helicopter equipped with the C-802, and the Chinese sales brochure says: "Air to Ship. The air-launched C-802, named C-801K, can be adapted to aircraft such as attackers and helicopters." This picture out of the sales brochure shows this missile as it has been exported to Iran.

Mr. President, there is a law against this kind of thing. It is called the Gore-McCain Act. Secretary Cohen now says that because of the actions of Chinese companies, Iranian forces can threaten American servicemen and women literally from 360 degrees—land, water, and now air.

I intend to offer an amendment to the underlying legislation that we will take up in just a few moments calling upon the administration to enforce the Gore-McCain Act against those Chinese companies that are exporting this technology to Iran in violation of American law. The Secretary of State has already invoked the other sanctions laws by bringing sanctions against Chinese companies that have exported poison gas to Iran. I want to, here, now, apply that same principle to the exportation of these missiles.

Again, Mr. President, I would not intrude on this debate on landmines with this information if it had not just come up this morning with Secretary Cohen's announcement that this export has taken place and that the dangerous new weapon is now has a dangerous new dimension in Iran.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD various press releases on this subject.

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

[From the Associated Press, June 1997]

COHEN SAYS IRAN TESTING MISSILE

(By Robert Burns)

MANAMA, BAHRAIN.—Iran's air force has conducted its first test launches of a newly acquired anti-ship cruise missile, Defense Secretary William Cohen disclosed today in arguing that Iran is a threat to world commerce.

The United States is concerned about Iran's increasingly sophisticated military