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Senate

The Senate met at 10 a.m. and was called to order by the Honorable TIM HUTCHINSON, a Senator from the State of Arkansas.

PRAYER

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

Gracious God, You have called us to be creative thinkers. You endowed us with a thinking brain so we could think Your thoughts after You. That's awesome, Father, You are omniscient. You know everything. You also know what is best for our future as a Nation. This is Your land; we are Your people; we are a Nation under Your sovereignty. In response, we make Proverbs 16:3 the motto for this day, "Commit Your works to the Lord and Your thoughts will be established." Throughout the day, we will intentionally submit the work of this Senate to You, seek Your guidance, and claim this promise for clarified convictions in keeping with Your will. A profound peace invades our souls as we say with the psalmist, "I commit my way to the Lord and trust also in Him, and He shall bring it to pass * * * I rest in the Lord and wait patiently for Him."—Psalm 37:5,7. Speak to our minds, Lord, we are listening. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

The legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,
PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,
Washington, DC, July 16, 1998.

TO THE SENATE: Under the provisions of rule I, section 3, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby appoint the Honorable TIM HUTCHINSON, a Senator from the State of Arkansas, to perform the duties of the Chair.

STROM THURMOND,
President Pro tempore.

Mr. HUTCHINSON thereupon assumed the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

Mr. COCHRAN addressed the Chair.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Mississippi.

SCHEDULE

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, at the request of the majority leader, I am pleased to make the following announcement concerning the schedule of the Senate today.

This morning, the Senate will immediately resume consideration of the agriculture appropriations bill. It is expected that Senator GRASSLEY will offer an amendment which will be considered by the Senate. Following disposition of the Grassley amendment, it is hoped that Members will come to the floor to offer and debate any remaining amendments to the agriculture appropriations bill so that the Senate can complete action on this legislation by early afternoon.

Following disposition of the appropriations bill, the Senate may resume consideration of the VA-HUD appropriations bill or begin the legislative branch appropriations bill. The Senate may also consider any other legislative or executive items cleared for action.

Therefore, Senators should expect rollcall votes throughout the day and into the evening during today's session.

AGRICULTURE, RURAL DEVELOPMENT, FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1999

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will now resume S. 2159, which the clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 2159) making appropriations for Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and

Drug Administration, and Related Agencies programs for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1999, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Mr. WELLSTONE addressed the Chair.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Minnesota.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Christy May Carlson, an intern in my office, be allowed on the floor during today's debate on the legislation.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. GRASSLEY addressed the Chair.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Iowa.

AMENDMENT NO. 3172

(Purpose: To express the sense of the Senate concerning appropriate actions to be taken to alleviate the economic effect of low commodity prices)

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will report.

The Senator from Iowa (Mr. GRASSLEY), for himself, and Mr. ROBERTS, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. HAGEL, Mr. BROWNBACK, and Mr. BOND, proposes an amendment numbered 3172.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

On page 67, after line 23, add the following:

SEC. 7. SENSE OF THE SENATE CONCERNING APPROPRIATE ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN TO ALLEVIATE THE ECONOMIC EFFECT OF LOW COMMODITY PRICES.

It is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) Congress should pass and the President should sign S. 1269, which would reauthorize fast-track trading authority for the President;

(2) Congress should pass and the President should sign S. 2078, the Farm and Ranch Risk

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



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Management Act, which would allow farmers and ranchers to better prepare for fluctuations in the agricultural economy;

(3) the House of Representatives should follow the Senate and provide full funding for the International Monetary Fund;

(4) Congress should pass and the President should sign sanctions reform legislation so that the agricultural economy of the United States is not harmed by sanctions on foreign trade;

(5) Congress should uphold the presidential waiver of the Jackson-Vanik amendment to the 1974 Trade Act providing normal trade relations status for China and continue to pursue normal trade relations with China;

(6) the House and Senate should continue to pursue a package of capital gains and estate tax reforms;

(7) the President should pursue stronger oversight on all international trade agreements affecting agriculture and commerce dispute settlement procedures when countries are found to be violating such trade agreements;

(8) the President should sign legislation providing full deductibility of health care insurance for self-employed individuals; and

(9) the Congress and the Administration should pursue efforts to reduce regulations on farmers. The President should use the administrative tools available to him to use Commodity Credit Corporation and unused Export Enhancement Program funds for humanitarian assistance.

Mr. GRASSLEY. Mr. President, this is a sense-of-the-Senate resolution regarding the problems that our farmers are experiencing and what we can do to ease the burden of uncertainty and risk that every farmer faces.

As those of us from States with major ag economies know, and as my friends on the other side of the aisle have discussed, farmers across the Nation have legitimate concerns about the prices they receive for their products. I know, as do my colleagues who represent ag States, that commodity prices are not good.

Making that problem worse, in Iowa, for example we are looking at the possibility of a bumper crop and we still have nearly 40 percent of last year's grain in storage, which obviously, will work to keep prices low.

I am not here to say everything is just fine with the ag economy right now. But I am here to say that in addressing these problems we must take our marching orders from farmers and the folks who represent farm interests such as Farm Bureau, the corn growers and the soybean producers, among others. Opening up the 1996 farm bill, as some advocate, is not the way to legitimately address these very real concerns. And it is not what these very respected farm organizations advocate, and I must say, it is not what farmers in my State have been telling me to do. Nonetheless, we need to do something to alleviate the worries our farmers face. Earlier this year, representatives of all the major agriculture organizations came to Capitol Hill to discuss the problems the ag industry is facing. Frankly, opening up Freedom to Farm did not make their list of priorities. In fact, this list consisted almost entirely of initiatives to support and enhance trade opportunities. Farmers tell me

the most important thing Congress can do to ensure the long-term prosperity of the family farm is to open and expand foreign markets for their products. That's why we must give our farmers the opportunity to compete for every sale, in every market in the world.

In fact, the message that we were sending to the rest of the world when we passed Freedom to Farm is that we intend to compete for every market anywhere in the world and we are going to be a sure supplier in that market.

We in the Senate ought not be telling farmers what they should want and need. We should be listening to farmers and doing what they tell us is important. That is what my resolution is all about. My resolution is nothing less than a commitment to the American farmer that we have heard you and we share the principles that you support and we will work with you to make those principles a permanent part of farm policy.

It is a reiteration of the principles of Freedom to Farm. But it is 3 years later a reiteration of what we ought to be doing and an admission that in some places we have come up short as far as the marketing opportunities we promised that they should produce and that there will be markets for that product.

And as we know, at least in my part of the country, we export about 40 percent of our production, so farmers have to have open markets. They must be overseas. Anybody who wants to price the United States out of the world market is saying that we ought to shut down 40 percent of our productive capability. That is not only intolerable for farmers, but it is economically disadvantageous to small business people of America who depend upon the business that farmers bring to them, both in processing of our agriculture products as well as inputs in agriculture.

So I do not pretend that there is anything new here. But I do intend to carry out the principles of Freedom to Farm, which is dependent upon market-opening opportunities overseas. There is a crisis in trade policy right now and we need to focus more on it. And some of that crisis is politically oriented. There is not enough activity in this town on market promotion and on setting a political tone that the United States will continue to be a leader in market-opening negotiations around the world, which we have been for the last 50 years, and it is an expression of all of these things coming together, that we have to have more of an emphasis on trade opportunities.

So this Sense-of-the-Senate resolution states that we in Congress should act on a variety of measures that have been endorsed by agriculture groups as providing the best hope for farmers across the country for sustained economic growth and opportunity. These measures include fast-track negotiating authority for the President, legislation that I introduced establishing

farm and ranch savings accounts, sanctions reform legislation, normal trading status with China, stronger oversight on international trade agreements affecting agriculture, additional estate and capital gains tax reform, full deductibility of health care insurance for self-employed individuals, reducing the regulation on farmers, and finally using the CCC and the EEP funds for food aid.

Mr. President, these are reforms that the leaders of the farm groups we met with have asked for. Many of these items were also promised to farmers when we passed the 1996 farm bill. It is time for Congress to live up to these promises.

We have heard today and in the days past in the debate on this bill about the serious problems facing American farmers in the northern plains States, particularly the Dakotas. So I met with North Dakota Governor Ed Schafer yesterday morning, and he told me about the serious circumstances in which his farmers find themselves. But he also told me emphatically that reopening Freedom to Farm would be a tremendous disservice to his constituents; that doing so would not give his people the help they need. It is time that we show our solidarity with the American farmer and pledge to give these hard-working men and women fundamental, long-term assistance that they count on from year to year rather than so-called emergency measures.

I have lived and worked on a family farm all of my life. My son operates our family farm. I know that farmers are independent, and I know they want as little Government interference in their business as possible. The initiatives listed in my resolution will help ensure that independence. It will help make sure that the promises of Freedom to Farm, that the farmer was going to be able to operate according to the marketplace and not according to the dictates of bureaucrats in Washington, DC, are adhered to.

The 1996 farm bill took positive and necessary steps to bring this about for the American farmer. Some in this body would reverse that progress. Let's show that we really listen to farmers' concerns and put the Senate on record as supporting our farmers in the initiatives they have asked. I strongly urge a "yes" vote on this legislation. It is a sense-of-the-Senate resolution. It does not change any policy, but it reaffirms what we did 3 years ago. It acknowledges the problems that come from the Southeast Asian economic situation—less exports going to that part of the world and a deteriorating income situation because of that.

Now, some people might say, well, what is different than 2 days ago or just yesterday when there were some negative votes for some help for the American farmer offered by people on the other side of the aisle? Well, the difference is this. Those programs would have changed Freedom to Farm. Those programs would have been short

term rather than long term. Those programs would not have been budget neutral. Keeping the budget balanced to keep interest rates low for American farmers is very, very important.

But what has also happened is very bad signals coming from the White House. Now, let me emphasize—very bad signals coming from the White House and coming within the last 24 hours, and so this was not a part of the political environment when we were talking about farm legislation yesterday and the day before. The White House is sending very clear signals through the business community of America that they do not want fast-track trading authority for the President brought up this year. They do not want to vote on it.

So we are hearing from the White House, for the first time, that the United States should withdraw from leadership in world trade as a matter of fact because of the absence of policy we have had, because we have not had fast-track negotiating authority for the last 4 years. But now there is a signal sent that nothing should be done about fast track.

To this point, the administration kept telling us we should be pushing for fast-track trading authority because this President wants it, and also because it has been the tradition of this country since World War II to lead in this area. The administration sent signals, both through the legislation and the activity of the White House, that the president wants to continue to get this authority, to continue to lead.

But now I hear there are meetings going on at the White House with the business community where the administration is sending a signal that, no, now is not the time for fast track. Well, this is the first time in 50 years that now is not the time for the President of the United States, Republican or Democrat, to be a leader in breaking down barriers to free trade so that our farmers can export and be prosperous because of it.

Now, when we are in this environment, where the administration is sending this signal that they do not want fast-track trading authority, then it is time for us to reiterate Congress' stand, which has been the stand of this Congress since World War II, that we should be a leader in marketing opportunities for our farmers, for our businesses, and for our services in America.

It is a sad day to hear, particularly for those involved with us in the Senate who are leaders in international trade, that we are not getting the support from the White House that we need to pass fast track. It does not send a very good signal to the people we have been working with around the world for the last 50 years, looking to the United States for leadership, that the United States doesn't want to lead. We are saying to the rest of the world: You lead. We are saying to the rest of the world: We don't see that it is nec-

essary for us to be at the table. We don't think it is necessary for the President of the United States to be at the table to protect our farmers, to be at the table to protect our business interests, to be at the table to protect our producers that want to export.

This is an intolerable situation. If we do not reverse this policy, the legacy of this administration is going to be that the United States has withdrawn from world leadership in trade barrier reduction. I don't think that is the legacy this President wants. I don't think that is a very good legacy for this country as we go into the 21st century.

What is so important? It is not just the economic opportunities we lose, but commerce breaks down barriers between people. Commerce promotes peace. Commerce is going to expand the world economic pie for a growing population so we have more for more people rather than less for more people, not only from the standpoint of the quality of their life but from the standpoint of their ability to just survive—just survive. When we have a growing economic pie, we are going to have more political stability in the world and we are going to promote the process of world peace.

That is what is at jeopardy when a President of the United States is sending a signal—or even his staff is sending a signal—to the business community of America: Forget fast track.

I yield the floor.

Mr. WELLSTONE addressed the Chair.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, my colleague from Kansas asked whether he might speak, and then I know the Chair wants to speak briefly. I will be pleased to defer to my colleague. I ask unanimous consent that I then be allowed to follow those two Senators.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The Senator from Kansas.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. President, I especially thank my colleague from Minnesota. I know he will have some important things to say, too.

Mr. President, I rise today as a cosponsor of the Grassley amendment. While this vote is nonbinding, as the Senator has said, I believe it does give the Senate the opportunity to make a very important statement on our commitment to our farmers and ranchers. We have had a rather spirited and I think a rather good debate in these past few days in regard to the many challenges that face farm country. I think this amendment is very clear. It simply lays out the issues Congress must address before we finish this session. Time is certainly drawing near. The time for action is now.

None of these issues, as the distinguished Senator from Iowa has pointed out, is more important than fast-track trade negotiating authority. Senator GRASSLEY did actually consider offer-

ing the fast track as an amendment to this bill, but obviously, due to the need to complete this bill, he has decided not to offer the amendment. So we have a sense of the Senate, if you will, that this is our priority action. That does not mean we should not come back to the issue as of this session, and that is the plan.

Before the Senator leaves the floor, let me point out, I do not know anybody in this Senate who has been a more distinguished leader in behalf of agriculture than the Senator from Iowa. There is an expression in farm country that you need to sit on the wagon to be able to listen to farmers. CHUCK GRASSLEY is the personification of that. There isn't anybody who speaks more in concert with the corn producer of Iowa or the hog producer of Iowa or livestock producer or any other farmer in Iowa, and I think that is reflective of his position of leadership in the Senate and all throughout the country.

As a matter of fact, this sense-of-the-Senate resolution mirrors a letter sent to the President, to the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Agriculture, to the distinguished Democratic leader, to our leader. This is the letter I referred to in my remarks when we had the debate on the Daschle amendment. It was sent, as I have said, to the President, the Secretary of State, to our Special Trade Representative, the Secretary of Agriculture, everybody on the House Committee on Agriculture, the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Ways and Means.

The person who really paid attention to this was, in fact, the distinguished Senator from Iowa. He pretty much took what these farm organizations—and I might add, it is: the American Farm Bureau Federation, the American Soybean Association, the National Association of Wheat Growers, the National Barley Growers Association, the National Cattlemen's Beef Association, the National Corn Growers—obviously they would be here if Senator GRASSLEY did it—the National Cotton Council of America, the National Grain Sorghum Producers Association, National Grange, National Oilseed Processors Association, National Pork Producers Council, National Sunflower Association.

They had a meeting with Senator LOTT and 12 Senators, attended by Senator GRASSLEY. Not content with just saying, "Here's the list of what we need to do," Senator GRASSLEY has come to the floor of the Senate and said, "These are our marching orders. It's the sense of the Senate that we do these things." Consequently, he listened to agriculture. He followed the farm summit that the agriculture leaders of America had with Republican Senators, and this is bipartisan as well. So I certainly credit him in that regard.

I do have some concern about the President first saying, "Yes, let's do this," and then, "Perhaps, you know,

let's not." So, consequently, in that regard I am happy that both the distinguished majority leader of the Senate, Senator LOTT, and Speaker of the House NEWT GINGRICH, have indicated we will vote on fast track, and hopefully it can be combined with IMF funding, a Caribbean initiative, or the African trade bill. I cannot think of a more important message to say to our farmers or more important work that we should do prior to this session ending.

With that, I thank, again, the Senator from Minnesota, and I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Mississippi.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, I have suggested to the Democratic manager, on the other side, that this amendment ought to be accepted. But I understand that there are some Senators who have objections to certain provisions of the resolution.

My observation is that at the beginning of the debate on this bill there was a sense-of-the-Senate resolution, which we approved unanimously on a recorded vote, that talked about the plight of agriculture, the problems in production agriculture, the low prices in some commodities, disasters that occurred in some parts of the country. It is a very uneven situation in agriculture right now. But the serious problems are serious. There are serious problems that need the immediate attention, as that resolution said, of the Congress and the President. This resolution spells out what some of those specific things are that can be done by the Congress and the President to relieve problems in production agriculture and strengthen our agricultural economy.

So I applaud the Senator from Iowa for going further than the sense-of-the-Senate resolution in getting into the details of some specific ideas that he has for improving the plight of farmers and those involved in the agriculture sector. I intend to support the resolution. I recommend the Senate approve it. There will be some others who will have other ideas, and they are here on the floor to speak to them, but I suggest to Senators, if you do want to be heard on this resolution, you should come to the floor and express yourself on the resolution, because I expect we will vote on it—whether it is a voice vote or a record vote—and that could occur soon.

Several Senators addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ROBERTS). The Senator from Arkansas is recognized.

Mr. BUMPERS. I just want to echo the words of my chairman, Senator COCHRAN, and state, first of all, this is a sense-of-the-Senate resolution. So the world is not going to come to an end, no matter how strenuously somebody might object to a particular provision of the bill. I would have been willing—when I came on the floor, I

discussed it with Senator COCHRAN—I would be willing to accept it and go to conference with it. It doesn't seem all that ominous to me. But there are some really strenuous objections on this side. So I suppose, as the chairman said, we are going to have to have a vote on it. I not only find nothing objectionable, I find a lot in it to commend.

I think it is an excellent, very thoughtfully crafted proposal, and I agree with every one of the items he has listed here. I understand, as I say, that there are strong feelings on the other side.

In conclusion, this is one of those things—I see my colleague from Arkansas seeking the floor, and I think I know which provision he dislikes intensely in it, and Senator BYRD, I think, has voiced objection to the fast-track provision. I wish we could adopt it on a voice vote. If we can't do that, why, then do something else. Maybe we can get Senator GRASSLEY on the floor and at least get a time agreement on this amendment. It is the kind of amendment that can just go on all day long and it is a sense-of-the-Senate resolution. We never will get the bill passed if we spend this much time on sense-of-the-Senate resolutions. We have a lot of work to do here. If we finish this bill today, we will be lucky, in my opinion.

In any event, Mr. President, I hope that people who want to speak on this bill will hurry to the floor and get said whatever they want to say, and we can get Senator GRASSLEY on the floor and maybe work out a time agreement so we have some definition of what the day in front of us is going to look like. I yield the floor.

Mr. HUTCHINSON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The other distinguished Senator from Arkansas is recognized.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. I thank the Chair. Mr. President, before I raise my concerns about this sense-of-the-Senate resolution, I pay my respects and my thanks to the Senator from Iowa for his leadership and his advocacy for agriculture, as well as the Senator from Kansas, who is presiding at this time, for his many years of service to agriculture and service to our country as a proponent and advocate for the agriculture community. I think that the intent of the sense-of-the-Senate resolution is admirable. It has many very laudable provisions. Certainly, I am a proponent of fast track. We need to give the President fast-track authority. I regret that President Clinton has expressed his unwillingness to pursue that aggressively in the House of Representatives, and I applaud the Speaker of the House for scheduling a vote in September on fast-track authority.

I believe the votes are there to pass fast-track authority in the Senate, and I hope we have the opportunity to do that. I hope we have more than sense of the Senate. I hope we will, in fact, have

the opportunity to give the President that negotiating authority, which I believe will be an important step in opening markets for the agriculture community. I am glad that we have a sense of the Senate that has that provision in it.

I also applaud the provisions regarding sanctions reform. I believe very strongly that we misuse the sanctions tool. Sanctions is not a policy; sanctions is a tool, and it is a tool that we should not abandon. We have only three great tools: one is military, one is economic, and one is diplomatic. We need all three of them, and it would be a mistake for us to make a wholesale abandonment of the use of sanctions in dealing with other nations. It would make the use of military force a greater likelihood, and that would be a mistake.

There is no doubt we need to reform sanctions laws in this country, and I am glad to be serving on the leader's bipartisan task force to bring about comprehensive reform of the sanctions laws. It is important, and the leader has said by September 1, we should try to produce comprehensive reform of the sanctions in this country. I don't know that we will make the September 1 deadline, but it is a mistake for us to prematurely begin to make those kinds of reforms incrementally. I think we should wait for a comprehensive approach to sanctions reform, but I am glad to support the sense of the Senate that advocates that we reform the sanctions.

My concern about this resolution, nonbinding though it is, is that there is a provision included that would put us on record in support of extending most-favored-nation status to China. Next week, the House of Representatives will begin what I think will be a heated and intense debate on whether we should, once again, provide most-favored-nation trading status to the People's Republic of China. For the U.S. Senate, 1 week before the House begins its debate, to have, in a sense of the Senate, one little provision that says, "Yes, we should extend MFN and, in fact, extend MFN permanently to China," would be a great mistake. I regret that the authors of the sense-of-the-Senate resolution saw fit to include that one provision which I think, more than any other provision in this resolution, becomes controversial.

This week there was a headline in the Washington Post that said this: "Chinese Resume Arrests."

Mr. President, perhaps nothing is more prophetic or revealing about the lack of impact the President's recent trip will have on the future of democracy in China than this week's headlines announcing a multitude of new arrests of political dissidents in China.

Less than 1 week after the President of the United States ended his tour of China, Chinese police arrested 10 pro-democracy advocates in China. I will read the first paragraph in that Post article, dated July 12, Beijing:

Police detained 10 democracy advocates just one week after President Clinton ended a tour of China, during which he emphasized the benefits of freedom and the rule of law, and praised Chinese President Jiang Zemin as a man who could transform this nation into a modern democracy.

The detainees included two cofounders of the opposition China Democratic Party, who tried to register it on June 25, the day Clinton began his nine-day visit.

These people were arrested for one reason: They dared to start an opposition party to the Communist Party in China. For daring to say we will be an opposition voice, for daring to say we will dissent from the ruling political party in China, they were arrested.

I asked an advocate of MFN today, a Member of the House of Representatives who is a proponent of MFN, "Sir, what would it take for you to vote against normal trading status with China? What would they have to do? What abuse would they have to perpetrate in order for you to cast a vote against MFN?"

There was a thoughtful response, and I think a cause for pause. I ask all those who say we need to adopt a sense-of-the-Senate resolution today advocating MFN for China to ask themselves the question: What would it take? Is it forced abortion? Apparently not. So a nation that continues to practice taking women who are 7, 8 and 9 months pregnant against their will forcibly to a labor camp, putting them in a cell and forcing them against their will to have an abortion, if that is not enough to deny normal trading status or MFN, what does it take?

China today continues to persecute religious minorities, whether they are Hindus, whether they are Buddhists or whether they are Evangelical Christians, they continue to incarcerate them, they continue to require registration, they continue to monitor the messages.

If religious persecution is not enough to deny MFN for China, what does it take? What would they have to do? China continues to proliferate weapons of mass destruction. In committee testimony this week, officials of this Government admitted they cannot guarantee that China is not today continuing to proliferate. So if the proliferation of missiles and weapons technology is not enough to deny MFN, what does it take? What would it require that we say no to giving them normal trading status?

For us to go on record in light of the ongoing abuses—what a thumb in the eye to the U.S. Senate and to the United States of America and to the President of this country, within 1 week of our President's visit, to round up those who dare to say, "We would like to be an opposition political party," and who dare to call their political party the Democracy Party. They rounded them up and put them in jail. How ironic that the President would refer to, and I quote the President's words in his speech in China, what he called "a steady breeze of freedom blowing through China."

That gentle breeze has become a brittle wind chilling any hope for true freedom—freedom of speech, freedom of political expression, freedom of religion in this Communist nation.

So while there were dazzling pictures and eloquent rhetoric about human rights, the President's tour of China was full of missed opportunities and mistakes that are sure to have a much more detrimental impact on human rights in China in the long run than the benefit of any short-term afterglow.

I will not today itemize what I think were the missed opportunities during the President's trip to China. But there is one—there is one—certainty, that on the heels of that trip, the Chinese Government once again cracked down on those who would make the mildest of political dissent and seek to register as a new political party.

Any pretense that the government, the regime, that dominates China today is moving toward reform and democracy should have been dispelled by what they did this week. And for the U.S. Senate to say, we are going on record in favor of most-favored-nation status, in view of what they did, I think would be a great mistake.

I would welcome the opportunity for the sponsors of this amendment to simply take the MFN provision out of this sense of the Senate; and I would wholeheartedly support it. But I think it is a mistake for us to go on that kind of record in view of what China has done in the wake of the President's recent trip in which he spoke so eloquently for freedom and for democracy.

I add, to my colleagues in the Senate, that it was this week that the Communist government in China rebuked the U.S. Senate for our audacity in passing a resolution reaffirming our traditional support for Taiwan.

I believe the President made mistakes in his trip to China, and I could enumerate them. But the greatest mistake was this: pinning our hopes for democratic reform in China to this regime. And the laudatory comments made about Jiang Zemin and the expression of the belief that he would be the leader to move in a transition from the current totalitarianism and repression to democracy and freedom, that hope was surely dashed in the actions of the Chinese Government this week.

I ask my colleagues to think again. I ask my distinguished colleague from Iowa, whom I admire and respect so much, to rethink the inclusion of a pro-MFN statement in this sense-of-the-Senate resolution.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor. Mr. WELLSTONE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, my colleagues—I have been waiting for awhile—have asked me whether they could have a minute—a minute, I say to my colleague from Arkansas—to speak. But I understand their passion

and know how strongly they feel about these issues.

My very good friend from New Mexico has also asked for some time, and I would be pleased to defer to him. I ask unanimous consent that I follow the Senator from New Mexico, and that then I will be free to speak and take more than a minute.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DOMENICI. I thank my good friend.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The distinguished Senator from New Mexico is recognized.

CBO MIDYEAR REVIEW

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, yesterday the Congressional Budget Office released its annual midyear review. I believe every Senator should acquaint himself with it. This CBO analysis speaks volumes about the success that the Republican-led Congress has had in putting the Federal Government's fiscal house in order—because policies aimed at reducing Federal spending, stimulating economic growth, coupled with the passage of the Balanced Budget Act last year have produced remarkable results.

The Congressional Budget Office, which is our official scorekeeper and economic analysis group, now projects that there will be a Federal budget surplus of \$1.6 trillion over the next 10 years. Let me repeat, the Congressional Budget Office now projects a Federal budget surplus of \$1.6 trillion over the next 10 years. This is up significantly from the \$650 billion, 10-year number they gave us in January.

The Budget Office forecasts surpluses of \$63 billion for this year; but they tell us that surplus will grow, rising to \$80 billion in 1999; \$251 billion in 2008. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that the total accumulated surplus—I repeat—during the next 10 years will be a whopping \$1.6 trillion.

More importantly, the Budget Office projects that in the second 5 years, from 2003 to 2008, we will produce a \$168 billion operating budget surplus. That means a surplus, excluding the money borrowed from Social Security.

For those who said they wonder when the day will ever come when we will have a balanced budget, having returned to the Social Security trust fund whatever was used in the general funding of this Nation, the Congressional Budget Office says that day will arrive in the year 2003. And it will produce a very genuine and solid \$40 billion a year, more or less, in a genuine surplus on budget, taking into consideration the Social Security trust fund in its entirety.

In other words, under the leadership of this Congress, we have moved from Federal budgets that produced deficits for as far as the eye can see to budgets that project surpluses for as far as the eye can see. I believe we must now