

Unfortunately, it appears that we have not learned our lesson. The U.S. is still sticking to the original, unworkable plan. Worse still, I am afraid we may be trying to pressure Armenian and Karabagh into going along with this plan, suggesting that there could be repercussions from the U.S. This is clearly the wrong way to deal with the government of a friendly country like Armenia, particularly when that government is merely standing up for the legitimate security concerns of its people.

The recent change of government in Armenia affords an excellent opportunity for us to offer a new approach to the Karabagh conflict, one that recognizes the need for long-term, ironclad security arrangements and full self-determination for the people of Karabagh. I am concerned that the U.S. and our OSCE partners are taking their cue from the government of Azerbaijan, which has refused to budge. But the bottom line is that Azerbaijan will not budge until the United States and the international community force it to negotiate in good faith.

Mr. Speaker, I am also concerned about the failure thus far to deliver the U.S. aid to Nagorno Karabagh that has been promised and appropriated. In 1998, the Foreign Operations appropriation bill provided for the first time direct aid to Karabagh in the amount of \$12.5 million for humanitarian needs. The humanitarian infrastructure needs in Karabagh are severe, as I have witnessed firsthand.

Unfortunately, Mr. Speaker, it is not clear that any aid has yet been provided to Karabagh. At a hearing two weeks ago of the House Committee on International Relations, officials testified that aid would soon be provided to Karabagh but would be disbursed by a non-governmental organization that would have broad discretion over how the aid was spent. Furthermore, it appears that the State Department does not intend to spend the entire \$12.5 million in Karabagh itself, although that is what was intended by Congress. Several of my colleagues are also pressing for the aid to be spent in Karabagh, as Congress intended, and we plan to keep up that pressure.

While working to get the aid that has already been appropriated to its intended recipients in Karabagh, I am also urging the Foreign Ops Subcommittee to build upon its historic achievement in the FY 1998 bill to earmark assistance to Nagorno Karabagh at \$20 million and make it even more clear that the aid is intended for disbursement within that Nagorno Karabagh. I also urge that aid to Armenia be increased and not decreased, as the Administration has proposed.

Armenia is making great progress in terms of democracy in free markets. We should not back out of that commitment now that our investment in democracy in this former Soviet Republic is bearing fruit and particularly not if the intent is to use the aid as a

form of leverage against Armenia and Karabagh in the stalled peace talks.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I want to again stress the importance of maintaining the current ban on direct government aid to Azerbaijan until this country lifts its blockade of Armenia and Karabagh. This ban was enacted as part of the Freedom Support Act of 1992, it is good law. Now, Congress is reexamining the issue of the prohibition on aid to Azerbaijan.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday postponed a markup on legislation known as the Silk Road Strategy Act. I think that that legislation should not be passed, because we do not want to see a repeal of section 907.

The House International Relations Committee is soon expected to consider similar legislation. While ostensibly an effort to enhance U.S. engagement in the region, the purpose of the bill seems now more than ever to be an attempt to repeal Section 907.

Mr. Speaker, for the ban on aid to be lifted, Azerbaijan need only lift its blockades of Armenia and Karabagh. Until then, there should be no consideration of asking U.S. taxpayers to support the dictatorship in Baku.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Ms. JACKSON-LEE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Ms. JACKSON-LEE of Texas addressed the House. Her remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION ACT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. DREIER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. DREIER. Mr. Speaker, as we prepare for a load of speeches that most of us will be giving on Monday, it is important to think about the debate which has taken place today on the Defense Authorization Act.

The issues raised during the debate on amendments to the Defense Authorization Act, as I said, which involve the relationship between the United States and China, are some of the most deeply troubling that I have witnessed since I have had the privilege of serving here in the Congress. And make no mistake about it, the long-term bilateral relationship between the United States of America and China is very serious business.

We are talking about the world's leading democracy and only superpower and the world's fastest growing and most populous nation. This may be the most important bilateral relationship in the world. We have a responsibility to make every effort to craft a strong and stable bilateral relationship that is built on positive economic and political reforms in China.

Mr. Speaker, success is critical to our future. Now, our Constitution places in the executive branch, in the

presidency, the responsibility to first and foremost protect our Nation's security. As the Commander in Chief and executor of foreign relations, there is no substitute for the President on foreign policy.

During the past two administrations, I have worked long and hard on a bipartisan basis to help craft policies toward China which promote more stable relations based on free market reforms and the seedlings of democratic progress in that country.

What is so troubling today is that very serious, Mr. Speaker, disturbingly serious charges are being leveled at the current administration which cut to the very heart of the fitness of the administration to carry out a sound China policy. The first and foremost responsibility of the executive branch of the President is to protect national security. Nobody else can do that, Mr. Speaker, not American businesses and not other foreign entities.

The key events in question do not seem to be in dispute. We know that for years a number of American firms that construct and use satellites have desired to use Chinese launch vehicles, Chinese rockets. They have used them because they are cheaper and more available. The big problem has been that they are very unreliable. Those rockets blow up too often, destroying their expensive satellite cargo. This, obviously, can be a big problem.

In the spring of 1996, a Chinese rocket blew up that was carrying such a satellite. It is reported that the insurance companies responsible for the \$200 million satellite destroyed by the rocket failure essentially told their American satellite customers to either improve the reliability of Chinese launch vehicles or find new launch sources. It is reported that the U.S. companies proceeded to help improve the launch vehicles.

Mr. Speaker, this assistance raised very, very serious red flags at the Department of Defense and the Department of State about the prospect that this assistance would likely help improve Chinese ballistic missiles, a clear national security concern.

The key fact is that over the course of 2 years, an internal debate raged within the administration between the economic benefits to a few companies being able to use better Chinese launch vehicles and clear national security warnings from within the Defense and State Departments. Added to the mix are a blizzard of campaign contributions to the President's campaign from the corporate interests involved.

Mr. Speaker, while no pun is intended, it does not take a rocket scientist to recognize that better Chinese satellite launch vehicles will result in better Chinese ballistic missiles. The fact that it appears that the administration chose the financial benefits of some companies over a clear national security concern is very troubling. The fact that such large campaign sums may have had an impact on the decision is even more disturbing.

Finally, the fact that the Administration would devastate their own ability to carry out our Nation's foreign policy towards China with some degree of respect and moral authority is staggering.

The administration had better recognize the signal that was sent to them by the House with the passage of the amendments today. The relationship with China is too important to be foolishly squandered. It is time for the administration to immediately provide the Congress with all information related to these events.

While we have a responsibility, Mr. Speaker, to continue to try to foster a sound relationship with China, we must ensure that the administration holds national security as the bedrock upon which our foreign relations stand.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR TERRY SANFORD

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 7, 1997, the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HEFNER) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the minority leader.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and to provide extraneous material on the subject of my special order.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. KINGSTON). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. HEFNER. Mr. Speaker, as the dean of the North Carolina Delegation, I would take this time to pay tribute to what I consider one of the greatest politicians and public servants that has ever served this country, former Governor Terry Sanford; Duke President Terry Sanford; and as of late, the Senator Terry Sanford.

At this time, some of my colleagues from North Carolina have remarks that they would like to make, and I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. PRICE).

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I thank my colleague for organizing this special order and for giving us the opportunity tonight to pay tribute to an extraordinary citizen and a visionary leader, Terry Sanford, a son of North Carolina of whom we are exceedingly proud.

Terry Sanford died on April 18. When we look back on the broad sweep of his life, in addition to being governor and senator, he was an FBI agent at one time; a World War II paratrooper; a state legislator; a lawyer; an author; a university president. We see a life committed to the greatest movements and deeply involved in the greatest accomplishments in this American century.

Terry Sanford was a mentor and an inspiration to many of my generation who came of age politically during his

governorship in the early 1960s. He was the first political figure with whom I seriously identified. He became governor at a time of extraordinary challenge as the movement for racial justice swept across the South. The South, in fact, was a racial powder keg, with the sit-in movement, the Freedom Riders, a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, mob violence, and federal troops occupying college campuses.

Governor Sanford rejected the politics of demagoguery and defiance and thus set a standard for the New South on the most important and explosive issue of the day.

While massive resistance was embraced by some, during his 1961 inaugural address, Terry Sanford called for a "new day" in which "no group of our citizens can be denied the right to participate in the opportunities of first-class citizenship."

It made a world of difference to me and my generation to have Terry Sanford as a counter-example to the Wallaces and Faubuses and Barnetts, as an example of decency and dignity and a willingness to change.

Governor Sanford also in the space of a short, single term made major contributions to the improvement of public education in North Carolina, to the development of North Carolina's community college system, and to the growth of Research Triangle Park. A Harvard study designated him as one of the Nation's top 10 governors in this century.

Most importantly, Terry Sanford taught my generation what democratic politics at its best could be. He was a model of energetic and innovative leadership, full of ideas, refusing to be bound by the shackles of the past, possessing a vision of future possibility that inspired and empowered others.

When I returned to North Carolina in 1973 to teach at Duke University, it was again under Terry Sanford's inspiration as we launched what is now called the Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy. President Sanford's idea was to bring disparate disciplines together, from economics to political science to history, to the arts, to ethics, to bring these disciplines together to enrich one another and to address the major challenges facing our society. As a young faculty member, I could not have asked for a more worthwhile mission or a more congenial atmosphere than what he fostered at Duke University.

Under President Sanford's leadership, the world-renowned Duke Medical Center doubled its capacity, the Fuqua School of Business was constructed, the University's endowment tripled. In short, under President Sanford, Duke reached its current status as a national leader in education, while also strengthening its ties to North Carolina and its contribution to our region of the country.

Along the way, Terry Sanford chaired a major national Democratic Party commission, he wrote a book,

and organized a national forum on our flawed system of presidential nomination, and he ran for President himself, standing up to George Wallace in the 1972 primaries.

□ 1915

Finally, Terry Sanford served North Carolina and the Nation as a United States Senator. He was a reluctant candidate in 1986, but he saw the need, and he responded to the call. I will forever treasure the memory of running on the ticket with him in my first campaign and serving with him here. He was the best at delivering a political stump speech that I have ever seen, speaking without notes in perfect one-sentence paragraphs, each one of them a perfectly crafted applause line. He was very, very good.

Senator Sanford's diverse policy interests were expressed in his service on the Committee on the Budget, Committee on Banking, and the Committee on Foreign Relations, and in initiatives that ranged from promotion of a stable peace in Central America to the cause of truth-in-budgeting. As always, he combined a gift for national policy innovation with faithful stewardship of North Carolina's needs and interests.

Terry Sanford had multiple careers, any one of which would be a credit to most people. I do not expect we will see another Terry Sanford in our lifetimes. But we can pick up parts of his legacy, and we can move that legacy forward.

We can all draw strength and wisdom from our memories of the example that he set, the courage that he displayed, the diligence and patience he showed in mentoring the younger generation, the good humor that infused everything that he did, the confidence he had in the capacities of ordinary men and women and in the ultimate judgment of history, even when he was undergoing temporary disappointments or setbacks. We will remember the confidence he had in us, willing to believe the best about each of us and thus enabling us to be our best.

Terry Sanford empowered and enabled many, many people. The ultimate impact of his influence and his inspiration will be limited only by the energy and creativity and the passion for realizing social justice that each of us can muster.

Mr. Speaker, I include for the RECORD the tributes to former Governor and Senator Sanford from the magnificent memorial service at the Duke Chapel: the remembrances by Governor James B. Hunt, President Nan Keohone of Duke University, former North Carolina House Speaker Dan Blue, Duke Endowment Chairwoman Mary Semans, Judge Dickson Phillips, and former Sanford Institute Director Joel Fleishman.

In addition, I include in the RECORD the eulogy from that service by Provost Emeritus Tom Langford of Duke University. I would also like to include a tribute by Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation Director Tom Lambeth, delivered on another occasion, and then two