

forgotten and I will do whatever I can to ensure the days of the back-alley abortion, a virtual death sentence for women, remain a tragic thing of the past. Let today remind us that, for now at least, the law is on our side.

I urge President Clinton to join us today in commemorating this landmark anniversary. And I respectfully request that he deliver on his promise to veto H.R. 1833. The women of this country are counting on him to do what is right. I know he will not let us down.●

#### CHINA'S CHALLENGE TO WASHINGTON

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, the New York Times had an excellent editorial titled "China's Challenge to Washington."

There is a reluctance to be forceful with China on the issue of human rights.

When I say "forceful," I do not mean the use of force, but the willingness to stand forthright for what this country should stand for.

We turn a cold shoulder to our friends in Taiwan, where they have a multiparty system, and seem to quake every time China is unhappy with something someone says or does.

As the editorial suggests, we should "respond far more sharply to Wei Jingsheng's sentence."

I am pleased to back this administration when they are right, as in Bosnia, but I also believe that we should be much stronger in setting forth our beliefs as far as the abuses in China. I ask that the editorial from the New York Times be printed in the RECORD after my remarks.

Along the same line, Stefan Halper, host of NETE television's "Worldwise" and a former White House and State Department official, recently had an op-ed piece in the Washington Times titled "Taiwan's Unheralded Political Evolution," which I ask to be printed in the RECORD following my remarks and after the New York Times editorial.

The reality is democracy has grown and is thriving in Taiwan, and we should recognize that in our policies.

The material follows:

#### CHINA'S CHALLENGE TO WASHINGTON

If the United States intends to develop a relationship of mutual respect with China, it must defend its interests as vigorously as Beijing does. Now is the time, for China has shown a dangerous new bellicosity in matters from human rights to military threats.

Last week Beijing again showed its contempt for the rights of Chinese citizens by convicting Wei Jingsheng of sedition and sentencing him to 14 years in prison. The activities the court cited included organizing art exhibitions to benefit democracy and writing articles that advocated Tibet's independence. This heavy-handed muzzling of the country's leading dissenter is a measure of the Chinese belief that America and other Western countries will not make them pay a diplomatic or economic price for the abuse of human rights.

Chinese behavior has been equally provocative in other fields. In recent months Beijing

has bullied the Philippines over contested islands in the South China Sea, twice conducted missile tests in the waters off Taiwan, resumed irresponsible weapons transfers and imposed its own choice as the reincarnated Panchen Lama, the second most important religious figure in Tibet. Meanwhile, as The Times's Patrick Tyler reports, influential military commanders have begun pushing for military action against Taiwan and turned to confrontational rhetoric against the United States.

Washington has minimized these provocations, setting them in the larger perspective of China's encouraging economic reforms and Washington's hopes for political liberalization. That was the same logic that led the Administration, early last year, to abandon its efforts to link trade privileges for China to Beijing's record on human rights, arguing that anything that helped China's booming economy would ultimately advance political freedom as well.

It is working out that way. The 19 months since that policy change have been marked by a serious deterioration in China's responsiveness on human rights and other issues. Discouragingly, this seems to be happening not simply because a new generation of leaders is maneuvering to succeed the failing Deng Xiaoping. Nationalist military officers are steadily gaining political influence, and the two top civilian leaders, President Jiang Zimen and Prime Minister Li Peng, seem committed advocates of political repression. That suggests the newly belligerent policies may not be just a transitional phase, or a sign of insecurity in the leadership group, as some China scholars in the West have said.

The Clinton Administration, having done all it reasonably could to smooth relations, including an October meeting between Presidents Clinton and Jiang, now needs to recognize that a less indulgent policy is required to encourage more responsible behavior by China. The first step is to respond far more sharply to Wei Jingsheng's sentence, beginning with a concerted diplomatic drive to condemn China before the United Nations Human Rights Commission next March. U.N. condemnation would be an international embarrassment for China, one it desperately wants to avoid.

Another step is to oppose non-humanitarian World Bank loans to China, as already provided for under United States law. Some Administration officials also want to consider human rights issues in judging China's application to join the new World Trade Organization, even though that is likely to bring objections from other W.T.O. members.

The Administration still refuses to reconsider the simpler, more obvious step of restoring a link between trade and human rights. In this critically important diplomatic game, the United States may no longer be able to deny itself the leverage that link could bring.

[From the Washington Times, Dec. 13, 1995]

#### TAIWAN'S UNHERALDED POLITICAL EVOLUTION

(By Stefan Halper)

In an era that believes America's future lies in Asia, what is the Asian democratic model? Singapore and Malaysia are single party states refreshed a bit by economic freedom. Hong Kong, still a colony, has lately been given a measure of self-government— which Americans of 1770 would have scorned—only to be swallowed whole by the not-so-democratic People's Republic of China in little more than 18 months. South Korea? It's dominated by a government party whose last president is now up on charges of stealing \$600 million—give or take a couple of hundred million.

Japan, for 38 years, has been run by a corrupt single party (the LDP) only to cede

power to a collection of reformers who themselves squandered the chance for real change. Today the LDP is back in a cynical misalliance with its nemesis, the socialists, whom it hopes to shortly expel.

When does that leave us? With the Burmese, or the Indonesian generals, or perhaps Thailand, where politicians are so corrupt they stay out of jail?

Reading the Mainland press, Taiwan's recent peaceful, multiparty elections never happened. No mention—the dog that didn't bark. A decade ago, the phrase "Taiwanese democracy" would have been rightly dismissed as an oxymoron, though compared to Mao's mainland, the island republic was widely seen as an economic miracle.

Ironically, it is this economic strength today—\$100 billion in hard currency reserves and America's ninth-largest trading partner—that has obscured Taiwan's political evolution. The late Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang single-party rule, was replaced by his son and successor Chiang Ching-kuo, who created a supportive environment for democratic pluralism before he died in 1988. Martial law was lifted, opposition parties were legalized, press restrictions were eliminated and it was agreed that Chiang's successor would not be a member of the family or even a transplanted mainland. Instead President Lee Teng-hui is a native Taiwanese so far determined to further reform by supporting younger, Taiwan-born politicians as leaders of the KMT.

In the last eight years, three legislative elections have been held, each time with slowly shrinking KMT majorities. The old National Assembly dominated by KMT geriatrics has been mercifully stripped of its powers. Direct presidential elections will be held for the first time in Chinese history next March.

Literally nowhere in Asia, except Taiwan, has a ruling party allowed itself to be eclipsed. Nowhere has the attack on political corruption been so singleminded as it is in Taiwan. Vote fraud, unlike Thailand and Korea, has been almost eliminated. Vote buying in the recent Dec. 2 poll has been reduced to rural areas and to a level that would boggle the minds of most Japanese and Thai voters.

At present, the KMT holds a six-seat majority in the legislature. Sessions will continue to be raucous, often undignified—not unlike the 19th century U.S. Congress or for that matter Congress today, recall the Moran-Hunter fight a few weeks ago—but so what? The opposition has strengthened as the exhausted Nationalists confront the reality of an increasingly pluralist Taiwan.

Though Democratic politics is often a matter of shades of ugly, the alternatives in Asia—both left and right—are vastly less attractive. Why the, despite Taiwan's effort, has its progress been ignored? Are American interests served by recognizing and nurturing democratic growth—or has some blend of security and mercantile priorities cast our lot with the Mainland? The Clinton administration, still struggling with this Wilson-Roosevelt policy cleavage, has said nothing on the subject, even while embarrassing itself before and after Lee Teng-hui's summer address at Cornell, his alma mater.

Yet in the hall of mirrors that passes for Taiwan's politics, the Nationalist Party-KMT reflects its belief in "One China" while the opposition New Party, with 13.5 percent of the vote, is even more forceful on the subject. And as for the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), it is split on the issue with the majority having muted the call for independence. Maybe the mean Chinese uncle in

Beijing, implacably opposed to the island-nation's existence, succeeded with this muscular diplomacy—missile tests, mock landings and war games. After all, the stock market dipped and successionist politicians had limited resonance during the election.

So why are the mandarins in Beijing worried? Perhaps it is because on the heels of Hong Kong's democratic election that saw the defeat of pro-Mainland candidates, Taiwan has emerged as the Asian democratic model; and the first successful, full-blown democracy in five millennia of Chinese history, underscores the difficulty of reunion with China. Or perhaps the mandarins in the Forbidden City realize that their options have narrowed; that the use of force against Taiwan would be a disaster for U.S.-China relations and U.S. credibility and, most of all, would tear the web of Asian security and economic relationships that have sustained China's and the region's growth. We shall see.●

#### SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY NATIONAL FOOTBALL CHAMPIONSHIP

● Mr. BREAUX. Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate Southern University of Baton Rouge, LA, for winning this year's historically black college national football championship. With their victory in the Heritage Bowl on December 29, 1995, the Jaguars of Southern University won their sixth national football title and their first since 1960.

The Jaguars, who finished the season with an 11-0 record, captured the national title in a 30 to 25 victory over Florida A&M in the Georgia Dome in Atlanta.

I would like to especially congratulate Coach Pete Richardson, his staff, and an outstanding group of players for all the hard work and effort they put into making this a championship season. Your undefeated record and national title are bright examples of the rewards of teamwork and determination. Thank you for bringing another national championship to Baton Rouge and for making Louisiana proud.●

#### THE STATE OF PUERTO RICO

● Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, Senator Charles A. Rodriguez, the majority leader of the Puerto Rico Senate, recently had an op ed piece in the Washington Post that speaks with candor about our fellow Americans from Puerto Rico. We should be paying attention to his words, which I ask to be printed in the RECORD.

The reality is that commonwealth status—supported strongly by powerful American corporations who benefit from it financially—is simply another form of old-fashioned colonialism.

Puerto Ricans should have the rights that Americans have in our 50 States.

Eventually, Puerto Rico will either go independent or become a State. From the viewpoint of our 50 States and from the viewpoint of the people of Puerto Rico, statehood makes much more sense.

But that is a decision they have to make.

The special financial breaks that certain corporations get should not be a barrier to an improved life for the citizens of Puerto Rico, and that is the reality today.

The op-ed follows:

[From the Washington Post]

THE STATE OF PUERTO RICO

(By Charles A. Rodriguez)

Two years ago, when Puerto Rico voted to remain a U.S. commonwealth—again rejecting statehood—many thought the issue was settled for years to come. In fact, the plebiscite raised more questions than it resolved.

The vote exposed the undue influence of discredited economic arrangements on the island's political process and the myth of commonwealth autonomy, both cornerstones of our second-class U.S. citizenship. Today proponents of the status quo are on the defensive in both Puerto Rico and in Washington.

The plebiscite was held as the Clinton administration sought repeal of Section 936 of the federal tax code, which exempts U.S. companies' Puerto Rican operations from federal taxation—a subsidy that has cost the Treasury nearly \$70 billion since 1973.

Faced with immediate loss of their lucrative tax break or eventual termination if islanders voted for statehood, companies spent millions of dollars fending off Congress while cajoling workers to vote against statehood or else face job losses and plant relocations.

Meanwhile, status quo proponents campaigned for "enhanced commonwealth," replete with promises of expanded political autonomy and parity with the 50 states in the financing of federal programs—all this while preserving the immunity of Puerto Rico's 3.7 million U.S. citizens from federal taxation.

Despite the cacophony of economic demagoguery and "something for nothing" hyperbole, commonwealth failed for the first time in 40 years to get an outright majority. It won with a plurality of 48.6 percent, against 46.3 percent for statehood and 5.1 percent for independence. Compare this narrow margin of victory with that of 1952 (68 percent) and that of 1967 (21 percent), and the tide against the status quo becomes unmistakable. The false promise behind the alternative of "enhanced commonwealth" will do nothing to stem it. For given its current budget-cutting exercises, Congress is clearly in no mood to maintain even current levels of federal funding for Puerto Rico programs, much less ante up the additional \$3 billion to \$4 billion necessary to bring them up to par with the states.

Meanwhile, a groundswell of public opinion has arisen in Washington against preserving "corporate welfare." That's why Section 936 is again under review, as it should be; it has made the island dependent on the whims of Congress and has stifled alternative economic development schemes.

Worse, as now constituted, 936 has failed to generate the jobs and capital investment that were its reasons for being. Witness our chronic unemployment rate, which is twice the mainland's, and our per capita income, half of Mississippi's.

Revision of 936 could present Puerto Rico with opportunities to attain significant new economic and political objectives; full participation and parity in all federal programs, sustained economic growth and, eventually, statehood.

Rep. Don Young (R-Alaska), chairman of the House Resources Committee, has floated one promising proposal toward these ends. In exchange for ending 936 he would phase in full state-like programs for Puerto Rico and encourage private-sector growth through capital grants for infrastructure develop-

ment and through private and nonprofit enterprise financing to spur new industries.

Young's proposal would also, for the first time, subject island residents to federal taxation. Combined with the \$3 billion savings from ending the 936 tax credit, this would mean that the U.S. Treasury would see no diminution in revenues.

Many statehood advocates balk at this "halfway" solution to securing first-class citizenship for Puerto Ricans. They maintain that economic equality would weaken efforts to achieve political equality through a 51st star. In other words, total economic and political equality or nothing.

Other point to the absurdity of Puerto Ricans agreeing to pay more taxes while everyone else is looking to reduce theirs. But the fact is that we already have high tax rates in Puerto Rico. They're necessary to finance activities typically provided elsewhere by the federal government. It's safe to assume that as program costs are shifted to Washington, Puerto Ricans will see little change in their tax burden.

Nonetheless, revision of 936 might accelerate the movement to statehood: No longer would 936 companies have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo.

Given today's economic and political climate, Puerto Rico may face the same hard choice under option: cut programs or raise taxes. But as a colony deprived of Washington representation we will have no say in the discussions leading up to that fateful decision.

It's no wonder that 2.5 million Puerto Ricans have left the island for the mainland knowing that the political and economic benefits of statehood far outweigh the burdens of federal taxation. We share their ambition to be full-fledged Americans here at home, just as we always have shared with all U.S. citizens the duty to defend democracy abroad.●

#### PROVIDING FOR PROVISIONAL APPROVAL OF OFFICE OF COMPLIANCE REGULATIONS

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the Rules Committee be discharged from further consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 123 and, further, that the Senate proceed to its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 123) to provide for the provisional approval of regulations applicable to certain covered employing offices and covered employees and to be issued by the Office of Compliance before January 23rd, 1996.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. DOLE. I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution be agreed to, the motion to reconsider be laid upon the table, and any statements related to the concurrent resolution be placed at the appropriate place in the RECORD.

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

The concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 123) was agreed to.