

and the Nation to achieve important goals in health care, aging issues, and agriculture. His accomplishments have been remarkable, and will be recognized for many years. I have been deeply honored to serve with my distinguished colleague Senator PRYOR, and wish him every happiness and good health in the years to come.

#### SENATOR SAM NUNN

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to one of the Senate's most respected and accomplished Senators, SAM NUNN of Georgia. Despite the counsel of Democrats, Republicans, and even the President to seek an assured and well deserved fifth term, Senator NUNN has decided to retire from the Senate at the end of the 104th Congress.

Clearly, Senator NUNN's departure is this Chamber's loss. As anyone who has attended or testified before a hearing of the Senate Armed Services Committee over the last 24 years is well aware, there is no member on Capitol Hill today who understands defense issues better than the Senior Senator from Georgia. Throughout his nearly two and a half decades on the Armed Services Committee and 10 years as its chairman or ranking member, Senator NUNN has been routinely consulted by Senators—including this one—when particularly difficult and complex issues have been before the Senate. With little doubt, few Senators in the history of this distinguished body have shown Senator NUNN's acumen for balancing Congress' prerogative to raise and support our Armed Forces with respect for the judgment of our military's leadership.

Mr. President, in his capacity as chairman and ranking member of the Armed Services Committee and as a member of this Chamber, my friend from Georgia has conducted his career in the best tradition of the Senate. The reputation of Senator NUNN's committee for bipartisanship is due in part to the leadership of the Georgia Senator. Better than most, SAM NUNN has understood that compromise is absolutely essential if the Senate is to function as effectively and fairly as the American people expect, and deserve.

Although I do not expect it to last, Senator NUNN's departure from the national stage will be the Nation's loss. His influence has been apparent in the policies of every administration since the senior Senator from Georgia was elected to this body in 1972, and has been especially evident over the last decade. Since the end of the cold war, Senator NUNN has guided the reorganization and reduction of our global military posture, effectively balancing the necessity to maintain forces appropriate for an increasingly complex threat environment, with the need to put our fiscal house in order. Senator NUNN's participation in a bipartisan budget coalition testifies to his commitment to the cause of responsible

deficit reduction, and it has been my honor and privilege to work with him toward this important end.

Mr. President, Senator NUNN has established the benchmark for sound leadership, and I have no doubt that his influence will continue to be felt once he leaves the Senate. As my friend from Georgia is aware, there has been speculation for years that he would one day become Secretary of Defense or Secretary of State. But as many of his colleagues have knowingly observed, Senator NUNN has long exercised influence on defense matters worthy of the Secretary's job itself. I wish Senator NUNN the very best as he begins a new chapter of his life. As a Senator and citizen, I offer my sincere thanks to the Georgia Senator for his excellent service, for which we are all better off. I know that I speak for all Senators when I say that Senator SAM NUNN will be sorely missed, but never forgotten.

#### TRIBUTE TO ALAN SIMPSON

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, the Senate this year will lose a long-time friend, ALAN SIMPSON of Wyoming. Senator SIMPSON has served his state well for three decades, including 18 years in this chamber, and 12 years before that in Wyoming's House of Representatives. As many here know, he was raised in politics: his father Milward was a former governor and U.S. Senator.

While I congratulate Senator SIMPSON on his retirement, I also have to say I am sorry to see him go. As members of different parties, we have not always seen eye to eye. But even in those times I have disagreed strongly with him, I have always been impressed by his passion. He is a formidable opponent, and any Senator who challenges him better be fully versed on the issue and ready for a tough debate. Because ALAN SIMPSON is always ready. This smart, principled legislator also possesses a unique sense of humor that can inject laughter into even the most difficult situations. And on many issues, such as the current immigration debate which he has led in the Senate, he has shown a willingness to find a bipartisan solution to our mutual problems.

In a Congress that has become increasingly more partisan, many of Senator SIMPSON's colleagues in both chambers and on both sides of the aisle, would do well to heed his example. Compromise and cooperation are seen by some as a lack of leadership. But the "my way or the highway" attitude often short-changes the American people. Senator SIMPSON's willingness to achieve solutions for the greater good is the embodiment of leadership.

On the Senate Finance Committee, Senator SIMPSON and I have examined some of the most pressing issues before us; reduction of our national debt and the future of entitlement programs like Social Security, Medicare, Medic-

aid, and veterans' benefits. As colleagues on the bipartisan Centrist Coalition we worked together to find a fair and reasonable solution to reducing the deficit and controlling the growth of entitlements, when the White House and congressional leaders reached an impasse.

Anyone who works with him on these issues knows without a doubt that Senator SIMPSON cares as deeply about the future of our country as anyone in Congress. Federal spending on entitlement programs is growing at an alarming rate, but suggesting change to entitlement programs is considered political suicide by some. But that has never stopped Senator SIMPSON. His work on the Bipartisan Commission on Entitlement and Tax Reform confirms that he is willing to advocate tough solutions to these growing problems. I may disagree with some of his conclusions, but the fight to reform these programs, as well as the fight to reach a fair balanced budget, is ongoing. I am saddened that he is not staying on to help lead these fights. But perhaps in the coming years, all of us in Congress will learn to embody the virtues of courage and leadership that we have seen in ALAN SIMPSON.

#### RETIREMENT OF SENATOR NANCY KASSEBAUM

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, today, I offer tribute to my friend and colleague, Senator Nancy KASSEBAUM. The Senate will miss this respected and fair minded policy maker. While the distinguished Senator from Kansas may no longer physically be present on the floor of the Senate to fight the battles she believes in, she will leave a legacy of intelligence, honesty, and common sense that will always be respected and never forgotten.

Among her many accomplishments, Senator KASSEBAUM will go down in the textbooks of American history as the first woman to Chair a major Senate committee, the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources. This fact makes a statement about the strength of Nancy KASSEBAUM as a leader. Senator KASSEBAUM successfully challenged institutional gender biases, paving the way for other women who aspire to become powerful Members of the Senate. I compliment Senator KASSEBAUM for this significant accomplishment.

Throughout her 18 years of dedicated service as a member of the Senate and her tenure as Chair of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, Senator KASSEBAUM has fought to preserve the health and dignity of America's families, children, and the poor. She was a moderating force throughout the welfare debate. Her strong stance on issues such as ensuring abused and neglected children are protected, increasing the availability of child care for low-income families, and preserving child care health and safety standards was a key to the successful passage of

a welfare reform bill that received bipartisan support.

I had the recent privilege of working closely with Senator KASSEBAUM on a comprehensive budget proposal formulated by a bipartisan group of Senators. This proposal was based on compromise, fiscal responsibility, common sense, and fairness. It balanced the unified budget by 2002, while preserving important social safety nets for some of our most vulnerable citizens. My colleagues and I worked long hours on this proposal, which received substantial support on the Senate floor. I was proud to have the opportunity to work with Senator KASSEBAUM on this compromise agreement and was impressed by her diligence and thoughtfulness throughout the discussions.

Senator KASSEBAUM's spirit of fairness is exemplified by her work in the Foreign Relations Committee. As a member and Chair of the African Affairs Subcommittee, she fought to break down the barriers that oppress and divide people. She would not condone intolerance and took decisive action to suppress apartheid by supporting sanctions against the South African Government in 1986. She applauded the fall of apartheid in 1993 and the election of Nelson A. Mandela as President of South Africa in 1994. People and governments worldwide will thank Senator KASSEBAUM for her work on this issue.

In closing, I will look back on the long career of a great Senator, NANCY KASSEBAUM, with admiration and respect. I thank Senator KASSEBAUM for her honesty and fairness and wish her well in her future pursuits.

#### REPORT BY SENATOR PELL

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, yesterday—in my capacity as chairman of the Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs—I introduced into the RECORD a portion of a report prepared by the very distinguished ranking minority member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Senator PELL.

The report, entitled "Democracy: An Emerging Asian Value," details the Senator's recent trip to Asia. I was very interested in the distinguished Senator's observations because the countries he visited—Taiwan, Vietnam, and Indonesia—fall within the jurisdiction of my subcommittee. I thought my colleagues would benefit by having the report readily available to them, and had a portion of it reproduced in the RECORD yesterday. But because of space considerations, Mr. President, only a portion could be reprinted.

Consequently, today I ask unanimous consent to have the remainder of Senate Print 104-45 [pages 1 through 9] printed in the RECORD.

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

#### DEMOCRACY: AN EMERGING ASIAN VALUE

##### TAIWAN

##### A. Introduction

The political and economic development on Taiwan has been truly amazing. For 40 years after Chiang Kai-Shek led his defeated Nationalist Party (KMT) to Taiwan in 1948, the government in Taipei was controlled by Mainlanders to the exclusion and detriment of the native Taiwanese. The KMT's political control was absolute and oppressive. But in the economic sphere capitalism flourished. Taiwan became one of the world's fastest growing economies and its citizens enjoyed surging prosperity.

Political liberalization began in the late 1980s under President Chiang Ching-kuo, including the lifting of martial law in 1986 and the legalization of opposition parties in 1989. Contested elections to the Legislative Yuan, the government's main legislative body, took place in 1992.

This year, democratization reached a new level with the direct election of President Lee Teng-hui. Until this year, the president had been elected by the National Assembly. Lee himself had been a main proponent of this electoral change. Lee's election represented the first time in 5,000 years of Chinese history that the Chinese people directly chose their leader. Four candidates ran for the Presidency; the three losing candidates peacefully accepted the results of the election.

I have found these breathtaking political developments very satisfying. In the 1970s and 1980s I was one of a small number of American political figures who regularly criticized Taiwan's authoritarian regime and the dominating KMT Party for their political inflexibility, and I urged political liberalization and reform. That Taiwan has come so far in such a short time is truly impressive and is a great compliment to the people of Taiwan and to their current leaders.

Democratization has brought new problems as well as benefits to Taiwan. In the past the KMT had complete control over the government. Now the party has the presidency, but only a one-seat majority in the legislature, where three main parties are represented: the KMT, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and the New Party. All politicians and government officials are learning new ways of interacting under these changed circumstances.

As freedom of speech has grown in Taiwan, so too have voices advocating a formal declaration of independence and separation from China. As Taiwan's identity as a democratic society has increased, President Lee has tried to raise its international identity as well. The government has called for Taiwan's membership in the UN and other international fora. Senior leaders, including the President, have made numerous visits abroad, some billed as private "golf trips," in what has become known as "vacation diplomacy." And some members of the DPP have openly called for a formal declaration of Taiwan's separateness from the Mainland.

The People's Republic of China has reacted strongly and negatively to the new internationally active Taiwan. Beijing has seemed particularly provoked both by the idea of an "independent" Taiwan and by the process of democratization itself. Tensions between China and Taiwan, and between China and the U.S., have risen in the last year to levels not seen since the 1950s. China has held four sets of military exercises clearly meant to intimidate Taiwan, the most serious of which was just before the presidential elections in March. One of Taiwan's greatest challenges in the next few years will be managing relations with its largest and most contentious neighbor.

##### b. Political development

I had a very warm meeting with President Lee Teng-hui, who spoke optimistically about the "new history of China." Naturally pleased with Taiwan's recent democratic exercises, he made clear that he believes Taiwan's transition to a totally democratic society is not yet complete. He spoke of the work he feels must still be done, focusing not on political institutions but on the people's minds and expectations. He argued that the people of Taiwan still lack a truly democratic mind set, a sense that free will can shape their future. Arguing that he was following the philosophy of Dr. Sun Yat-sen to first change the public sphere, then focus on the private, he is now focusing on educational reform and cultural change, along with judicial reform. He recognizes that such changes take a long time—"maybe a hundred years"—but that they are important. He feels this mission is his personally, that if he, as the first directly-elected president, does not undertake to make these changes, then an opportunity for profound change will be missed.

Yet structural challenges remain and structural changes are continuing. Just before I arrived the Legislative Yuan, in an unprecedented exercise of budgetary control, rejected the Executive's request for funding of a fourth nuclear power plant. The role of the President vis-a-vis the Premier is also under discussion. Structurally, official power rests with the Premier's office, with the President's power coming as head of the KMT. In past practice, however, the President has wielded considerable influence and Lee's popularity may serve to increase that influence even more. President Lee and National Security Council Secretary-General Ting Mou-shi both mentioned that this was an on-going issue that would be discussed at the next National Assembly meeting, expected to take place this summer. Some opposition party members, members of the Legislative Yuan and constitutional scholars have questioned this trend and have recommended finding ways to check the power of the Presidency, such as by increasing the power of the legislative branch.

President Lee also expressed the need for continued economic liberalization and internationalization. He said that the government's new direction is toward changing local laws and regulations to be more open to foreign investment. President Lee said his first priority will be to take concrete steps toward this end, once his new Cabinet is formed.

President Lee sent his thanks to the U.S. Senate for its support for the world's "youngest democratic country" and especially for its support during the recent military threats from the Mainland. He said that the U.S. carrier groups sent to the Taiwan Strait helped to insure stability during the presidential election in March, and he thanked us for the many Congressional resolutions of support. Taiwan's gratitude for U.S. support was reiterated by all other government officials with whom I met in Taipei.

Finally, President Lee said that relations between the U.S. and Taiwan, while always good, would be particularly close now that Taiwan was a "full-fledged democracy." He said he hoped that the U.S. would continue to "support us under the wording and spirit" of the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA), a request that National Security Council Secretary-General Ding also made to us. The TRA, passed by Congress in 1978, requires the U.S. to "make available to Taiwan such defense articles and defense services in such quantity as may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability." Taiwan would very much like to increase its defense purchases from the U.S.