

unanimous consent that following the vote on passage of S. 1459, the grazing bill, the Senate proceed immediately to the consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 149 regarding Taiwan, with Senator Thomas to be recognized to offer an amendment, the amendment be considered agreed to, and the Senate immediately vote on adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 149, as amended.

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

Mr. DOMENICI. I thank the Chair.

VOTE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill having been read the third time, the question is, Shall the bill pass. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LOTT. I announce that the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GREGG] is necessarily absent.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. KERREY] and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BRADLEY] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 51, nays 46, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 50 Leg.]

YEAS—51

Abraham	Frist	Mack
Ashcroft	Gorton	McCain
Baucus	Gramm	McConnell
Bennett	Grams	Moynihan
Bond	Grassley	Murkowski
Brown	Hatch	Nickles
Burns	Hatfield	Pressler
Campbell	Heflin	Santorum
Coats	Helms	Shelby
Cochran	Hutchison	Simpson
Conrad	Inhofe	Smith
Coverdell	Johnston	Specter
Craig	Kassebaum	Stevens
D'Amato	Kempthorne	Thomas
Dole	Kyl	Thompson
Domenici	Lott	Thurmond
Faircloth	Lugar	Warner

NAYS—46

Akaka	Feinstein	Moseley-Braun
Biden	Ford	Murray
Bingaman	Glenn	Nunn
Boxer	Graham	Pell
Breaux	Harkin	Pryor
Bryan	Hollings	Reid
Bumpers	Inouye	Robb
Byrd	Jeffords	Rockefeller
Chafee	Kennedy	Roth
Cohen	Kerry	Sarbanes
Daschle	Kohl	Simon
DeWine	Lautenberg	Snowe
Dodd	Leahy	Wellstone
Dorgan	Levin	Wyden
Exon	Lieberman	
Feingold	Mikulski	

NOT VOTING—3

Bradley	Gregg	Kerrey
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So the bill (S. 1459), as amended, was passed.

The text of the bill will be printed in a future edition of the RECORD.

Mr. DOMENICI. I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. STEVENS. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I wish to acknowledge the following staff for

their important contribution to the passage of S. 1459, and I ask unanimous consent that their names be printed in the RECORD.

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

Charles Gentry and Gary Ziehe of Senator DOMENICI's staff.

Energy Committee Majority Staff: Gary Ellsworth, Jim Bierne, Mike Poling, and Jo Meuse.

The personal staff of the following members:

Dan Naatz—Senator THOMAS.
Ric Molen—Senator BURNS.
Nils Johnson—Senator CRAIG.
Rhea Suh—Senator CAMPBELL.
Kevin Cook and Greg Smith—Senator KYL.

Energy Committee Minority Staff: David Brooks and Tom Williams.

The personal staff of the following members:

Damon Martinez—Senator BINGAMAN.
Eric Washburn—Senator DASCHLE.
Mike Eggl and Doug Norrell—Senator DORGAN.

Bret Heberle—Senator BRYAN.
Bob Barbour and Peter Araplis—Senator REID.

Bryan Cavey and Kurt Rich—Senator BAUCUS.

Kevin Price—Senator CONRAD.

Mr. WELLSTONE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Minnesota is recognized.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE HOTLINE

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, if I could just say this. I announced last week that as a part of the Violence Against Women Act we now have a national domestic violence hotline. Senator BIDEN, of course, did so much work on this, as did many others. Every day I come out and show this. It is 1-800-799-SAFE; and the TTD number for the hearing-impaired is 1-800-787-3224.

Mr. President, I spoke about this issue last week. But every day I want to announce this number for women and children and those who need to make this call. I thank the Chair.

EXPRESSING THE SENSE OF THE CONGRESS THAT THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO MILITARY STABILITY IN TAIWAN STRAIT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report the concurrent resolution.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

A concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 148) expressing the sense of the Congress that the United States is committed to military stability in Taiwan Strait and the United States should assist in defending the Republic of China (also known as Taiwan) in the event of invasion, missile attack, or blockade by the People's Republic of China.

The Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized.

AMENDMENT NO. 3562

(Purpose: To amend the resolution)

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Wyoming [Mr. THOMAS] for himself, Mr. HELMS, Mr. DOLE, Mr. MURKOWSKI, Mr. PELL, Mr. SIMON, Mr. MACK, Mr. GRAMS, Mr. PRESSLER, Mr. BROWN, Mr. LUGAR, Mr. D'AMATO, Mr. WARNER, Mr. FORD, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Mr. ROTH, Mr. NICKLES, Mr. HATCH, Mr. GORTON, Mr. CRAIG, Mr. SANTORUM, Mr. DORGAN, Mr. ROBB, Mr. ROCKEFELLER, Mr. BRYAN, and Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN proposes an amendment numbered 3562.

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

The amendment is as follows:

Strike out all after the resolving clause and insert in lieu thereof the following:

"That it is the sense of the Congress—

"(1) to deplore the missile tests and military exercises that the People's Republic of China is conducting from March 8 through March 25, 1996, and view such tests and exercises as potentially serious threats to the peace, security, and stability of Taiwan and not in the spirit of the three United States-China Joint Communiqués;

"(2) to urge the Government of the People's Republic of China to cease its bellicose actions directed at Taiwan and enter instead into meaningful dialogue with the Government of Taiwan at the highest levels, such as through the Straits Exchange Foundation in Taiwan and the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait in Beijing, with an eye towards decreasing tensions and resolving the issue of the future of Taiwan;

"(3) that the President should, consistent with section 3(c) of the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 (22 U.S.C. 3302(c)), immediately consult with Congress on an appropriate United States response to the tests and exercises should the tests or exercises pose an actual threat to the peace, security, and stability of Taiwan;

"(4) that the President should, consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 (22 U.S.C. 3301 et seq.), reexamine the nature and quantity of defense articles and services that may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability in light of the heightened military threat; and

"(5) that the Government of Taiwan should remain committed to the peaceful resolution of its future relations with the People's Republic of China by mutual decision."

Amend the preamble to read as follows:

"Whereas the People's Republic of China, in a clear attempt to intimidate the people and Government of Taiwan, has over the past 9 months conducted a series of military exercises, including missile tests, within alarmingly close proximity to Taiwan;

"Whereas from March 8 through March 15, 1996, the People's Republic of China conducted a series of missile tests within 25 to 35 miles of the 2 principal northern and southern ports of Taiwan, Kaohsiung and Keelung;

"Whereas on March 12, 1996, the People's Republic of China began an 8-day, live-ammunition, joint sea-and-air military exercise in a 2,390 square mile area in the southern Taiwan Strait;

"Whereas on March 18, 1996, the People's Republic of China began a 7-day, live-ammunition, joint sea-and-air military exercise between Taiwan's islands of Matsu and Wuchu

"Whereas these tests and exercises are a clear escalation of the attempts by the People's Republic of China to intimidate Taiwan and influence the outcome of the upcoming democratic presidential election in Taiwan;

"Whereas through the administrations of Presidents Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, and Bush, the United States has adhered to a "One China" policy and, during the administration of President Clinton, the United States continues to adhere to the "One China" policy based on the Shanghai Communiqué of February 27, 1972, the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China of January 1, 1979, and the United States-China Joint Communiqué of August 17, 1982;

"Whereas through the administrations of Presidents Carter, Reagan, and Bush, the United States has adhered to the provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 (22 U.S.C. 3301 et seq.) as the basis of continuing commercial, cultural, and other relations between the people of the United States and the people of Taiwan and, during the administration of President Clinton, the United States continues to adhere to the provisions of the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979;

"Whereas relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China rest upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be settled solely by peaceful means;

"Whereas the strong interest of the United States in the peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question is one of the central premises of the three United States-China Joint Communiqués and was codified in the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979;

"Whereas the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 states that peace and stability in the Western Pacific "are in the political, security, and economic interests of the United States, and are matters of international concern";

"Whereas the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 states that the United States considers "any effort to determine the future of Taiwan by other than peaceful means, including by boycotts, or embargoes, a threat to the peace and security of the western Pacific area and of grave concern to the United States";

"Whereas the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 directs the President to "inform Congress promptly of any threat to the security or the social or economic system of the people on Taiwan and any danger to the interests of the United States arising therefrom";

"Whereas the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979 further directs that "the President and the Congress shall determine, in accordance with constitutional process, appropriate action by the United States in response to any such danger";

"Whereas the United States, the People's Republic of China, and the Government of Taiwan have each previously expressed their commitment to the resolution of the Taiwan question through peaceful means; and

"Whereas these missile tests and military exercises, and the accompanying statements made by the Government of the People's Republic of China, call into serious question the commitment of China to the peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question: Now, therefore, be it,"

Amend the title so as to read: "Expressing the sense of Congress regarding missile tests and military exercises by the People's Republic of China."

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. President, under the order I believe we are to vote. I ask unanimous consent for 2 minutes—1 minute for the Senator from Alaska, 1 minute for the Senator from Louisiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MURKOWSKI addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Alaska.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, I am pleased the Senate will vote on this timely issue regarding the current situation in the Taiwan Strait. I am referring, of course, to the military action by the People's Liberation Army to intimidate the people of Taiwan on the eve of the first Democratic, direct election of their President.

The executive branch has criticized, correctly, the military exercises. The administration has backed up its words by sending a naval presence to monitor the exercises in the Taiwan Strait. The House has passed its own resolution. It is time for the U.S. Senate to also go on record deploring the military threat of the People's Republic of China, and recommitting the United States to the terms and conditions of the Taiwan Relations Act.

Senator THOMAS, the majority leader, Senator HELMS, and I, along with our staffs, have been in close consultation with the administration and with our colleagues on the other side of the aisle to address their concerns, and am pleased that we have crafted a compromise that will have broad bipartisan support. I think it is important for the leaders of the People's Republic of China to understand that America is united in maintaining the historical commitments we have made to Taiwan.

The Taiwan Relations Act clearly states that peace and stability in the Western Pacific are in the political, security, and economic interests of the United States, and makes clear that U.S. policy is to resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic interests of the United States.

The amendment we have offered makes five important points. First, the amendment directs the President to consult with the Congress, as required by the Taiwan Relations Act, when it is determined that there is a threat to the security or the social or economic system of the people of Taiwan.

I do not believe this threshold has been met, both because the People's Republic of China ended the missile tests as scheduled on March 15 and one of its naval exercises on March 20 and because the People's Republic of China has indicated that it does not plan to attack Taiwan. We will have to wait and see if their actions match their words.

Second, the amendment directs the President and Congress, as required by the Taiwan Relations Act, to reexamine the nature and quantity of defense articles and services that may be necessary to enable Taiwan to maintain a sufficient self-defense capability in light of the heightened threat. The purpose of this commitment, of course, is to deter China from considering any type of attack.

I am pleased that United States officials and officials from the Republic of China met this week to discuss additional sales of necessary defensive weapons. I hope the approved list is sufficient to maintain their self-defensive capability. I wonder, for example, whether the Patriot system that is scheduled for delivery in late 1997 is timely or adequate given the recent missile tests?

Third, the amendment deplores the missile tests and other military exercises that have the potential to disrupt air and shipping routes. The missile tests resulted in four unarmed warheads falling in waters near Taiwan's northern and southern ports. The naval exercises using live ammunition encroach upon international shipping lanes. These actions call into question the commitment of the People's Republic of China to the peaceful resolution of the future of Taiwan.

Fourth, the amendment calls on the People's Republic of China to cease its threats, and instead enter into a constructive dialog with the Government of the Republic of China on Taiwan, perhaps through their informal organizations, the Straits Exchange Foundation in Taiwan and the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits in Beijing. In the past, these two organizations have dealt with many other issues between the two countries, from fishing to hijackers, and have helped fuel the enormous investment in mainland China by Taiwanese investors, estimated at some \$20 billion.

Finally, the amendment notes that the Government of the Republic of China should remain committed to the peaceful resolution of its future relations with the People's Republic of China by mutual decision, consistent with government policy.

Mr. President. I do not believe that China is on the verge of attacking Taiwan. I also do not believe that China's scare tactics will have their intended affect on Taiwan. When the roar of the military tests have subsided, and the last vote is counted in Taiwan, I hope the two sides will pursue a course of constructive dialog. Until the time, the United States must maintain its vigilance and monitor events in the Taiwan Strait.

Before I conclude, Mr. President, I want to comment on one issue that is related to the debate surrounding this resolution, an that is Congress' role in the visit of President Lee Teng-hui to his alma mater. There are some who have blamed that visit, and Congress' role in bringing about that visit, for the current crisis. Mr. President, that is simply not the case. I would refer my friends to a recent op-ed in the New York Times by Christopher Sigur that points out that it was not that visit, but the prospect of democracy in Taiwan, that has so upset the leaders in Beijing.

As Mr. Sigur notes, until recently, both China and Taiwan had implicitly recognized the island's de facto independence and dealt with it peacefully.

They negotiated Taiwan's participation in numerous international institutions, from the Asian Development Bank and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum to the Olympics by sidestepping the independence question.

But as Taiwan moved closer to a full fledged democracy with the December parliamentary elections and the March Presidential elections, Beijing's leaders saw the island moving toward a less predictable future, because, of course, in a democracy, there will be many different voices that the leadership must accommodate.

All of this came at a time when Beijing is preparing to take over Hong Kong and thus test Chairman Deng's "One Country, Two Systems" proposition. In addition, the leadership in Beijing is still in transition as Chairman Deng fades from the scene.

Finally, Mr. President, I would argue that our own administration contributed to hardening the Peoples Republic of China's reaction to a private visit by Lee Teng-hui by not issuing the visa initially and assuring Beijing that this private visit did not constitute a departure from the "One China" policy. Instead, Secretary of State Christopher told President Jiang Zemin that such a visit would not occur, and therefore caused the President to lose face when the decision was reversed.

The United States was right to allow President Lee to return to his alma mater. The United States is right to continue to sell defensive weapons to Taiwan. And the United States is right to go on record deploring the recent missile tests and military exercises. Although these actions are condemned by the People's Republic of China they are consistent with United States policy under the four joint communiques with the Peoples Republic of China and the Taiwan Relations Act, the law of the land.

Mr. President, China must understand that missile diplomacy does not work. This amendment sends that message, and I ask my colleagues for their support.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the New York Times article, as well as a recent op-ed I authored in the Wall Street Journal entitled "What We Owe Taiwan" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY TAIWAN SCARES CHINA

(By Christopher J. Sigur)

In the debate over China's military exercises in the Taiwan Strait, few have discussed a fundamental reason for its actions: Taiwan's emerging democracy. China's main concern is not any movement toward independence but rather the effects of Taiwanese democracy on the island's foreign policy.

Until recently, both China and Taiwan had implicitly recognized the island's de facto independence and dealt with it peacefully. They negotiated Taiwan's participation in numerous international institutions, from the International Monetary Fund to the

Olympics, by sidestepping the independence question. China tolerated Taiwan's efforts to open embassies abroad. But the military exercises in the strait show that this implicit understanding is in tatters.

What has changed? With its first-ever direct presidential elections on Saturday, Taiwan will become a full-fledged democracy.

President Lee Teng-hui's controversial visit to Cornell University last summer was a symptom of Taiwanese democracy. To stay in power in a democracy, of course, one must respond to the opposition's views. The opposition in Taiwan does not want reunification with the mainland and has increasingly demanded international recognition of the island. Hence, President Lee's campaign to rejoin the United Nations, his trips to Asia, Latin America and Europe (which have been termed "vacation diplomacy") and the push to have Congress grant him a United States visa.

It is naive to think that if only Mr. Lee had chosen not to go to Cornell, if only he had not offered the United Nations a \$1 billion gift in an apparent attempt to gain a seat, China would not be acting so belligerently.

Beijing's leaders recognize that Mr. Lee's actions are prodded by democracy and it horrifies them. China's state newspapers often refer to Taiwan's "demands for independence in the guise of democratization," clearly linking one with the other.

What the People's Republic sees across the strait is a China whose people are ready to choose their own leaders, with all the demands that makes on a political system: regularly scheduled elections, a free press and political parties that must take their opponents' ideas seriously, because you never know who will be in power tomorrow. Beijing is not prepared to accept this model in Taiwan or on the mainland.

Thus, even if Mr. Lee renounced Taiwan's United Nations bid, canceled all his overseas trips and closed his country's few embassies, both he and Beijing would recognize that the moves are meaningless. Democracy institutionalizes uncertainty, and neither Beijing nor Taiwan could predict how the voters would react. China may not have liked seeing Taiwan under the firm grip of the Nationalists for the last four decades, but at least they were predictable.

The United States must recognize that it has a fundamental interest in promoting Chinese democracy, and in protecting its sole example in Taiwan. Thus, we must warn China in no uncertain terms that we will not sit idly by if Taiwanese democracy is threatened, encouraged our allies to make similar declarations and continue to back up our words with a show of American naval power.

Democracy's uncertainties will only increase the threats to the security and economic stability of the entire region. The United States is vital to any long-term solution. The Chinese on both sides of the strait are unlikely to reach a solution unless Washington keeps them talking.

WHAT WE OWE TAIWAN

(By Frank Murkowski)

President Nixon must be spinning in his grave.

When he first opened relations with Beijing some 20 years ago, Nixon believed that Asia could not progress if China remained isolated. His actions promised to help that country enter into a new and constructive relationship with the rest of the modern world. But Beijing's recent self-defeating actions can only turn back the pages of history and cripple China's economic progress.

Beijing's decision to start missile tests near Taiwan—and it is to be hoped nothing

worse—effectively imposes a miniblockade of Taiwan's two major ports prior to Taiwan's first free presidential elections on March 23. The tests, while probably intended to affect the election, have ramifications beyond the Taiwan Strait.

For that reason, Sen. Craig Thomas (R., Wyo.) and I have introduced in the Senate a resolution recommitting us to the Taiwan Relations Act of 1979, which clearly states that America believes that peace and stability in the area are in the "political, security and economic interests of the United States."

The Taiwan Relations Act, which is the law of the land, commits the U.S. to "resist any resort to force or other forms of coercion that would jeopardize the security, or the social or economic system, of the people of Taiwan."

We must remind Beijing that the decision of the U.S. to establish diplomatic relations with China was "based upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be determined by peaceful means."

Some China-watchers are inclined to rationalize Beijing's behavior. Apologists have blamed China's belligerence on the firm stands taken by Congress. But today it is clear that China, not Congress, is to blame for the current state of U.S.-China relations. Time and again, before and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square attack on student protesters, China's rulers have shown themselves to be almost oblivious to the fact that a larger world—one that is sensitive to human rights concerns, capable of helping improve China's quality of life, and with a firm belief in religious and political freedom—exists beyond the borders of the People's Republic of China.

President Jiang Zemin and his lieutenants must understand that this is why the U.S. finds China's missile diplomacy unacceptable. We support the peaceful settlement of differences between China and Taiwan, and cannot idly watch a peaceful, democratic ally be threatened—and certainly not attacked militarily.

We must, furthermore, continue selling Taiwan defense weapons to help counter any thoughts China might have of using military force against the island. Along with these weapons, we must let the leaders in Beijing know that threats are useless as tools of foreign policy and are the rusted relics of diplomacy from a bygone and dangerous era.

China's leaders must know that economic gains will evaporate if continued military threats (or worse) create havoc in East Asia. Beijing's officials must understand they cannot conduct business as usual with the world if missiles start falling. They also need to know that fear of war is every bit as chilling to investment as the real thing.

Congress should congratulate the people of Taiwan for their continued steps toward democracy. Congress should also state its support for the people of Taiwan to become involved in international organizations. Taiwan has emerged as a force for democracy and stability in Asia, and its people should be represented. The U.S. must continue at the same time to encourage a true dialogue between Beijing and Taipei that will lead to understanding and conciliation, rather than threats and confrontation.

With this latest round of threats against Taiwan—and the U.S.—it is time to step back and gather forces to support reason and dialogue, rather than the rumblings of hostility and war.

President Nixon was correct in seeing the vast potential importance of China as a world economic power. But more than 20 years later, the world still waits for Beijing to abandon its totalitarian ways and to behave consistently as a civilized nation.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I thank the Chair and commend the Senator from Wyoming for his effort in this regard.

Mr. JOHNSTON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, when the matter originally came up, I strongly opposed the resolution because it seemed to be a shift of ground away from the Shanghai Communiqué which has been the basis for almost a quarter of a century of our relationship to China.

Mr. President, we are deeply grateful, Senator NUNN, Senator FEINSTEIN, and I, and others, who had serious objection to the resolution in its original form.

With Senator THOMAS, Senator MURKOWSKI, and others, we are now working this out in a balanced way that makes clear that this Nation continues to adhere to the one-China policy, as enunciated in the Shanghai Communiqué and the communiqués since that time under five American presidents. I believe it is not a perfect resolution, but it is a balanced resolution. On that basis, I can vote for it. I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question in on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 3562) was agreed to.

Mr. NUNN. Mr. President, the current tension in the Taiwan Strait creates a very dangerous situation. While I do not believe that China intends to invade Taiwan, there is always the risk that accident or miscalculation could lead to conflict. China's actions have been precipitated by its perception that Taiwan is unilaterally seeking independence. While I regret that it is necessary, I applaud the decision by President Clinton to send two carrier battle groups to the region.

I would have preferred that no legislation or concurrent resolutions be passed by Congress in the current tense situation but I am opposed to the resolution passed by the other body and believe that it is necessary for the Senate to go on record on this important matter.

Mr. President, the concurrent resolution we are considering this afternoon is reasoned and responsible and is designed to make a constructive contribution to the situation. It is important because it recognizes that the one China policy that is based upon the three United States-China joint communiqués has been and is being adhered to by the United States. It is important because it deplores the People's Republic of China's recent military actions and urges China to cease its action and to enter into a meaningful dialogue with Taiwan. It is important because it reminds everyone of the provisions of the Taiwan's Relations Act. And finally it is important because it states that the Government of Taiwan should remain committed to the peaceful resolution of its future relations with China by mutual decision.

Mr. President, as I noted in my floor speech on United States-China relations last month, the framework of the three communiqués and the Taiwan Relations Act has served both sides of the Taiwan Strait as well as the United States well for almost 16 years. That framework made possible the relaxation of tensions in the Strait; has encouraged Taiwan to abolish martial law and become a prosperous democracy; made available to the Chinese on the mainland that talent and capital of the people on Taiwan; it played a major role in China's drive for modernization; and it produced a sense of security for China, for Taiwan, and the region. The thrust of this concurrent resolution is to remind both sides of the Taiwan Strait of these facts and to encourage them to maintain that framework—both its letter and its spirit.

Mr. President, I would like to repeat what I said at the end of last month's floor speech because it continues to sum up my thinking on this subject and is, I believe, totally consistent with this concurrent resolution.

Americans feel close to the people of Taiwan and are proud of their accomplishments. The people of Taiwan have made enormous strides economically and politically. They are an example to much of the developing world.

It is important for the United States, as a friend, to be clear with the Taiwanese that they must not misjudge China on the question of Taiwan independence.

It is important that the people of Taiwan understand that a unilateral declaration of Taiwan's independence would be inconsistent with United States foreign policy as set forth and followed by President Nixon, President Ford, President Carter, President Reagan, President Bush, and President Clinton.

It is also important for the Chinese to understand that the United States values its friendship and relationship with the people on Taiwan. It is crucial that the Chinese understand that if China uses force to resolve the Taiwan issue, the United States will not stand idly by but will surely respond.

For our part, the U.S. should make it very clear that we will oppose either side's attempt to change the status quo either by the use of force by Beijing or by unilateral declaration of independence by Taiwan. The United States position should be clear that we are prepared to live with any outcome negotiated in good faith between China and Taiwan. The future of Taiwan must be settled by mutual agreement between the parties, not by the unilateral actions of either. For that to happen, Taipei must stop its political provocations and Beijing must stop its military provocations.

The people of China and the people of Taiwan should resume a high-level dialogue to foster clear understandings and increased cooperation. Enormous progress has been made in economic cooperation and people-to-people contacts and visits on both sides of the Strait. While economic development and people-to-people cooperation are emphasized, political questions are complicated and emotional and their resolution will require a long-term effort. This will involve a trait for which the Chinese people are famous—patience.

Mr. President, I support this concurrent resolution.

Mr. KEMPTHORNE. Mr. President, I strongly support the resolution currently before the Senate reiterating this Nation's support for the people of Taiwan. I rise to speak about the recent escalation in military operations by the People's Republic of China—Mainland China—in the Taiwan Strait which is intended to intimidate the Republic of China—Taiwan. Mainland China announced on March 5, 1996, that it would test fire surface-to-surface missiles off the coast of Taiwan from March 8 through 15. China has made good on its threat and began missile firing and conducting amphibious live ammunition exercises on the southern tip of the Taiwan Strait on March 12. China plans to continue these exercises through March 24. The missile tests have forced the rerouting of commercial flights out of the Chiang kai-shek International Airport and have also impacted the shipping operations of the southern seaport of Kaohsiung. It has become painfully obvious that China's sole purpose in conducting these exercises is to attempt to demoralize the people and destabilize the government of Taiwan.

I am deeply concerned, as are other Members of Congress, with the rise in military activities in the Taiwan Strait meant to influence the first-ever Taiwanese presidential election on March 23, 1996. The importance of this election cannot be understated. It is the first election of president by popular vote in the 5,000-year history of China. The actions taken by mainland China have further hindered United States-China relations already convulsed by China's human rights violations, its failure to adequately deter the pirating of United States products in violation of copyright laws and suspected exportation and proliferation of nuclear equipment and technologies.

The primary reason for the renewed China-Taiwan tension is an ongoing power struggle within the Chinese government. The hardliners are using the Taiwan issue to exploit and capitalize on a vacuum in leadership caused by the continued failing health of Deng Xiaoping. These same hardliners will do whatever necessary to boost their own stock while simultaneously devaluing the stock of rivals.

The 1979 Taiwan Relations Act proclaims American support for the peaceful reunification of Taiwan and the mainland, and commits the United States to help Taiwan defend itself in case of Chinese aggression. The recent activity by the Clinton administration which includes the deployment of the carrier battle group U.S.S. *Independence* to the region to be joined later in the month by the U.S.S. *Nimitz* and its support ships, although a step in the right direction, does not clearly define our commitment to democracy in the region. The possibility of miscalculation leading to war cannot be ruled out as the Beijing government has refused to renounce the use of force against Taiwan.

With a population of more than 21 million people, Taiwan has much to contribute to the world. Its robust and vibrant economy ranks among the 20 largest in the world. Taiwan has one of the largest foreign exchange reserves of any nation with assets of approximately \$100 billion. Taiwan has improved its record on human rights and routinely holds free and fair elections in a multiparty system. Taiwan has over the years demonstrated its continued support for humanitarian efforts through its contributions and response to international disasters, environmental destruction and famine relief operations. Additionally, Taiwan is a member of the Asian Development Bank and Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation group.

In the face of psychological intimidation and outward aggression, the Taiwanese people stand firm in their commitment to full democracy. As stated by President Lee and Premier Lien, the Taiwanese presidential election will be held as scheduled. The Taipei government has repeatedly and adamantly expressed its pursuit of national reunification and strong opposition to Taiwan independence. Taiwan would like nothing more than to strengthen the cross-Taiwan Strait relation and further the security and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region.

It must be made clear and in very specific terms that China's actions endanger the peace and security in the region and therefore merit condemnation by all peace-loving countries of the world. I am sure I speak for a number of my colleagues when I urge the Administration to make a more definitive commitment to Taiwan's sovereignty. I ask that the President take every measure necessary to ensure that the pursuit of democracy and democratic practices are not fettered by Chinese intimidation and aggression.

Mr. GRAMS. Mr. President, I rise in strong support for the Senate amendment to H. Con. Res. 148, a resolution which expresses strong House opposition to the Chinese military exercises in the Taiwan Strait. The Senate amendment contains the language of S. Con. Res. 43, which I have cosponsored.

The Senate amendment, drafted by the chairman of the East Asia and Pacific Subcommittee of the Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. THOMAS, and cosponsored by Senators DOLE, HELMS, MURKOWSKI, myself and others, is similar to the House resolution yet sends an equally strong message to China that the United States views the missile tests as a threat to Taiwan, contrary to the spirit of the Taiwan Relations Act as well as the three United States-China Joint Communiques.

Mr. President, we are all painfully aware of the sensitivity portrayed by China to any effort by Taiwan to cultivate relationships with other nations. These actions have been wrongfully perceived to be efforts to pursue independence. The Taiwanese Government denies the allegations.

I am disappointed that China has gone to this extreme to counter what it believes is a growing interest in independence among the Taiwanese people. Even though the Democratic Progressive Party, which supports independence, has picked up a few seats in the Taiwan Parliament, it appears to be far from a threat in the presidential election of March 23. The major party, the National Party, has supported future unification.

While the administration has recently sent elements of the United States 7th Fleet to provide support for Taiwan, these Chinese exercises have been conducted for over 8 months. There has been a very weak response by the administration until this time. I feel compelled to ask the question of why these exercises occurred in the first place. Why have we let our relationship with China deteriorate to the point where military exercises that threaten Taiwan, where sales of nuclear materials continue, and where many other disputes and differences have worsened with China.

It should be an important United States foreign policy objective to set our relationship with China back on track. The administration must place this as a very high priority before the situation worsens. Constant, high-level communication with Chinese leaders may have enabled us to avoid these harmful disputes.

We must work toward ensuring that, after the March 23 election, both China and Taiwan begin a high-level dialog to decrease tensions and to resolve the issue of the future of Taiwan. This must be done in a peaceful manner, consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act and the Three Communiques.

The harm done by the military exercises will not make this an easy task.

I urge support for the Senate amendment to the House resolution.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, the People's Republic of China has conducted a series of missile tests in the last few weeks in a clear attempt to intimidate the people of Taiwan as they prepare for the first direct democratic election of President. These military exercises are not in the spirit of the three United States China Joint Communiques and serve as a threat to the peace, security, and stability of Taiwan.

I join my other colleagues who have cosponsored H. Con. Res. 148 in condemning the recent actions of the Chinese Government. This action severely tests the assumption that was set when we normalized relations with the People's Republic of China in 1979. We did so on the expectation that the future of Taiwan would be settled solely by peaceful means. We codified this commitment and understanding in the Taiwan Relations Act. In this legislation, we state clearly that America believes that peace and stability in the area are in the political, security and economy interests of the United States. This Act also commits the United States to

reset any resort to force or other coercion that would jeopardize the security of Taiwan's people.

I urge the Chinese Government to honor the intent of the Joint Communiques and the Taiwan Relations Act by seeking a peaceful solution to this situation through dialog with Taiwan, and by ceasing their military actions.

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I am pleased to cosponsor the amendment to the resolution, H. Con. Res. 168, condemning the missile tests and military exercises being conducted by the Peoples Republic of China near Taiwan.

Last week I suggested that China's missile tests and military exercises have been dangerous and provocative. Unfortunately, tensions between China and Taiwan have not subsided. In fact, with Taiwan's first democratic Presidential election just around the corner, China's rhetoric continues loud and unabated.

The Clinton administration has gone to great lengths to warn China about the potential consequences of its actions and to underscore United States policy that the future of Taiwan must be resolved by peaceful means. I am pleased the Senate has joined in sending a strong signal to China.

With one clear voice, the Senate is now on record deploring the missile tests China has been conducting near Taiwan and recognizing that such tests are a potentially serious threat to peace and stability in the region. As I mentioned last week, China's missile tests and military exercises are dangerous in and of themselves, and they increase the chances of an accident that could cause tensions to spiral out of control.

It is important to emphasize that this resolution also supports the commitment of the United States, China, and Taiwan to resolve the future of Taiwan through peaceful means. United States policy clearly stipulates that the future of Taiwan should be determined peacefully. Taiwan has made similar overtures. China must also begin conducting itself in a way that reaffirms its commitment to that goal.

China can do just that by ceasing its attempts to intimidate the people of Taiwan and influence their upcoming Presidential election. This resolution urges China to cease missile tests and military exercises and enter into "meaningful dialog" with Taiwan. I completely agree, and it seems to me that Beijing should begin to communicate with Taiwan in a nonthreatening and peaceful way rather than carrying out reckless missile tests and military exercises.

I hope the resolution adopted by the Senate today will encourage China to resolve its differences with Taiwan peacefully.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, this resolution is a thoughtful, appropriate response to recent developments in the Taiwan Strait. With this resolution, the Senate deplores the People's Republic of China's recent missile tests

and military exercises in the Taiwan Strait as an unwarranted and dangerous attempt to intimidate Taiwan as it prepares to hold direct presidential elections this Saturday. It calls on China to return to negotiations at the highest levels between the two governments, negotiations which have successfully resolved a number of issues in the past. The resolution also reiterates our long-standing policy that maintaining peace and stability in the region is in the interest of the United States and that we expect Taiwan's future to be resolved peacefully and in a way that satisfies the Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Strait.

As a sponsor of this resolution, I urge all parties involved to move away from provocative measures and to find new ways to de-escalate tensions. It is incumbent upon all parties to avoid taking steps which could lead unexpectedly, through mistake or miscalculation, to a conflict that no one wants. Now is the time for calmer voices to prevail and I hope that all governments will listen for them.

I think this is a thoughtful and appropriate response, worked in a bipartisan way. It is a resolution we can support with pride.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question on agreeing to House Concurrent Resolution 148, as amended. The yeas and nays are ordered. The clerk will call the roll. The legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. LOTT. I announce that the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GREGG] is necessarily absent.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. KERREY] and the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. BRADLEY] are necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber desiring to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 97, nays 0, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 51 Leg.]

YEAS—97

Abraham	Faircloth	Lieberman
Akaka	Feingold	Lott
Ashcroft	Feinstein	Lugar
Baucus	Ford	Mack
Bennett	Frist	McCain
Biden	Glenn	McConnell
Bingaman	Gorton	Mikulski
Bond	Graham	Moseley-Braun
Boxer	Gramm	Moynihan
Breaux	Grams	Murkowski
Brown	Grassley	Murray
Bryan	Harkin	Nickles
Bumpers	Hatch	Nunn
Burns	Hatfield	Pell
Byrd	Heflin	Pressler
Campbell	Helms	Pryor
Chafee	Hollings	Reid
Coats	Hutchison	Robb
Cochran	Inhofe	Rockefeller
Cohen	Inouye	Roth
Conrad	Jeffords	Santorum
Coverdell	Johnston	Sarbanes
Craig	Kassebaum	Shelby
D'Amato	Kempthorne	Simon
Daschle	Kennedy	Simpson
DeWine	Kerry	Smith
Dodd	Kohl	Snowe
Dole	Kyl	Specter
Domenici	Lautenberg	Stevens
Dorgan	Leahy	
Exon	Levin	

Thomas
Thompson

Thurmond
Warner

Wellstone
Wyden

NOT VOTING—3

Bradley

Gregg

Kerrey

So, the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 148) was agreed to.

Mr. CHAFEE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Rhode Island.

Mr. CHAFEE. I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed as in morning business for 30 seconds.

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

Mr. CHAFEE. Mr. President, I come to the floor today to join Senator SMITH, the distinguished chairman of the subcommittee of the Environment and Public Works which deals with Superfund. Let me take a moment to describe our progress and plans for Superfund reform.

The Superfund Program is our most troubled environmental statute. No one could disagree that the Congress should enact Superfund reform this year. No one is happy with the status quo—not industry, not environmentalists, not insurers, not State and local governments, not even the EPA and other Federal agencies.

Superfund reform is No. 1 priority of my committee in 1996.

Senator SMITH introduced S. 1285, the Accelerated Cleanup and Environmental Restoration Act, last September 29. This reform package represents a remarkable improvement over the status quo, and it is deserving of widespread support. I am a cosponsor.

Since introduction, Senator SMITH and I have met with the minority members of the subcommittee and administration for countless hours to explain the bill, make technical changes, and clarify its intent where needed. We have solicited the views of interested outsiders. As a result of these discussions, we have incorporated numerous changes, large and small, into the bill. These negotiations, which are still continuing, have been productive, and I hope and expect that they will lead to a bill that garners widespread bipartisan support in the Senate, a bill that satisfies the President's often-stated desire to fix this program, a bill that he can and should sign.

At this point in our process, as our negotiations move into some of the more difficult issues, Senator SMITH and I agreed that it is important to give members of this body, as well as those outside parties interested in Superfund reform, an opportunity to look at, and comment upon, the results of our negotiations to date. The document, a staff draft that will be printed in today's CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, represents a snapshot of the current status of our negotiations. In a few moments, Senator SMITH will offer more detailed comments on this new draft of the Superfund bill.

All sides in our negotiations have justifiably reserved final judgment until negotiations are complete and important constituencies have had the

chance to analyze and comment on the final product.

As we move forward, we want to provide opportunities to receive formal comments on the bill. In the next few days we will schedule hearings on the bill to occur as soon as possible after the Easter recess. We hope that we can reach substantive agreement on a bipartisan bill by that time, or else use the hearings to further explore the remaining areas of difference. We plan to move on to a markup and prepare the bill for floor action as soon as we can this spring.

I want to express my appreciation the ranking member of the committee, Senator BAUCUS, and the Superfund Subcommittee, Senator LAUTENBERG, for their contributions to the process. I also want to thank the administration for their efforts in these negotiations.

Most of all I would like to thank Senator SMITH for the many hours he and his staff have devoted to keeping Superfund reform on-track and moving forward. This is no easy task. Superfund is a complex and controversial program, and progress is always difficult in the best of circumstances, not to mention in a Presidential election year. We have a very good chance to enact Superfund reform this year, and if we do, a great deal of the credit should go to Senator SMITH.

SUPERFUND LEGISLATION

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, I want to thank my friend and colleague from Rhode Island, Senator CHAFEE, for working with me to enact a comprehensive Superfund reform measure. As Senator CHAFEE outlined, on September 29, 1995, I introduced S. 1285, the Accelerated Cleanup and Environmental Restoration Act. This legislation, which was cosponsored by Senator CHAFFEE and nine other members, was an effort to provide comprehensive reform of this troubled program.

I would like to thank Senator CHAFEE, the chairman of the Environment and Public Works Committee for his strong support in this effort. Over the last year, he and I have worked cooperatively to reform this program, and it is because of his assistance that I believe that this legislation can be passed this year.

As Senator CHAFEE has mentioned, he and I are here today to continue the process toward making sure that reasonable Superfund reform legislation will reach the floor this Spring. To achieve this goal, our respective staffs have spent more than 150 hours with Democrats on the Senate Environment Committee as well as representatives of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Justice Department, and the White House working toward achieving a bipartisan consensus toward reauthorizing the Superfund Program.

In a few moments, I will ask to be entered into the RECORD a copy of a staff discussion draft outlining changes that Senator CHAFEE and I are willing to