

Mr. LEAHY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to the motion to recommit proposed by Mr. THOMPSON to the joint resolution Senate Joint Resolution 21, *supra*; as follows:

In lieu of the proposed instructions, insert the following: with instructions to report the resolutions back to the Senate forthwith with an amendment as follows: That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States;

“ARTICLE —

“SECTION 1. No person shall be elected to a full term as a Senator more than twice, or to a full term as a Representative more than thrice; no person who has been a Senator for more than three years of a term to which some other person was elected shall subsequently be elected as a Senator more than once; and no person who has been a Representative for more than a year of a term to which some other person was elected shall subsequently be elected as a Representative more than twice.

“SECTION 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.”

“SECTION 3. A member of the Senate serving a term of office on the date of the ratification of this article, who upon completion of that term will have served two or more terms in the Senate, may complete that term. A member of the House of Representatives serving a term of office on the date of ratification of this article, who upon completion of that term will have served six or more terms in the House of Representatives, may complete that term.”

LEAHY AMENDMENT NO. 3702

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. LEAHY submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by him to an amendment to the joint resolution Senate Joint Resolution 21, *supra*; as follows:

In the language proposed to be stricken, strike all after the words “Section 1” and insert the following:

“No person shall be elected to a full term as a Senator more than twice, or to a full term as a Representative more than thrice; no person who has been a Senator for more than three years of a term to which some other person was elected shall subsequently be elected as a Senator more than once; and no person who has been a Representative for more than a year of a term to which some other person was elected shall subsequently be elected as a Representative more than twice.

“SECTION 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.”

“SECTION 3. A member of the Senate serving a term of office on the date of the ratification of this article, who upon completion of that term will have served two or more terms in the Senate, may complete that term. A member of the House of Representatives serving a term of office on the date of ratification of this article, who upon completion of that term will have served six or more terms in the House of Representatives, may complete that term.”

NOTICES OF HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I would like to announce that the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs has rescheduled the business meeting that was originally scheduled for 9 a.m. on Tuesday, April 23, 1996, to 9:30 a.m. on Tuesday, April 23, 1996.

Those wishing additional information should contact the Committee on Indian Affairs at 224-2251.

COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I would like to announce that the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs will conduct a joint hearing with the Subcommittee on Native American and Insular Affairs of the House Committee on Natural Resources during the session of the Senate on Thursday, April 25, 1996, on S. 1264, a bill to provide certain benefits of the Missouri River Basin Pick-Sloan Project to the Crow Creek Sioux Tribe, and for other purposes. The hearing will be held at 9:00 a.m. in room 485 of the Russell Senate Office Building.

Those wishing additional information should contact the Committee on Indian Affairs at 224-2251.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENTS

TAX FREEDOM DAY

• Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise today to recognize the novel approach one business in my State has undertaken to educate the public about the high Federal tax burden suffered by working families in our country.

The Lockwood Companies, based in Bingham Farms, are a group of seven construction, housing-material procurement, and development services firms. In the past 50 years, Lockwood has built more than \$1.25 billion of housing in Michigan, including affordable and luxury multifamily housing, as well as independent living, assisted, and skilled care communities. In the previous 2 years, Lockwood has been Michigan's leading apartment builder.

In early 1995, Lockwood management was discussing the high, unfair tax burden imposed upon average employees. Someone observed a major problem in our country is the general lack of public awareness as to how high our tax rates actually have risen. A suggestion was given that some sort of creative effort be made to highlight Tax Freedom Day.

Tax Freedom Day is determined each year by the Tax Foundation, a nonpartisan, nonprofit, public policy research group based in Washington, DC. Tax Freedom Day is estimated to be the day average Americans must work to from January 1 just to pay their Federal, State, and local taxes for that year.

To exemplify just how much taxes have risen over the years, I point out that in 1944, the year Lockwood was founded, Tax Freedom Day would have

been March 30. In 1995, Tax Freedom Day was May 7, more than 5 weeks later.

To draw attention to this situation, Lockwood management devised the idea of an employee strike on Tax Freedom Day, and declared it a paid company holiday. Lockwood's protest last year drew significant media coverage, both local and national.

Encouraged by the positive response, Lockwood will again this year publicize Tax Freedom Day giving its employees a paid day off. Among the other Michigan companies that have been persuaded to join in this year's protest and do likewise are Sartech Distribution & Building Supply, Jordan Oliver Building Systems, and Schneider & Smith Architects.

In announcing Lockwood's repeat observance of Tax Freedom Day, President Rodney Lockwood said his firm has, “helped start more than 10 new woman- and minority-owned companies by awarding them contracts, supplying funding, or training their workers . . . If the tax situation were more favorable, we could help even more companies because we'd have more money available for that kind of discretionary spending.”

Undoubtedly, countless other job providers in Michigan and the rest of the country would appreciate tax relief that would allow them to assist fledgling small businesses as well.

The Lockwood Companies' unique manner of protesting high levels of taxation deserves to be recognized. Increased awareness of the oppressive tax burden on American families can only yield positive results. The Lockwood Companies, and those who will strike alongside with them this year, are providing an invaluable public education, and I commend their efforts.●

CHINA: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE

• Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I recently delivered a speech to the World Affairs Council of Los Angeles. I took the opportunity to lay out some of the areas in which I believe the United States needs to improve its policy toward the People's Republic of China. I thought my colleagues would find this speech to be of interest. I ask that the full text of the speech be printed in the RECORD.

The speech follows:

CHINA: WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

(Remarks of U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein to World Affairs Council, April 11, 1996)

It is a great pleasure to be in the City of Los Angeles. And it is my honor to be introduced by such a distinguished resident of this great city.

I'm delighted to be at the World Affairs Council, I've had the privilege of speaking at the World Affairs Council in San Francisco on several occasions, but never in this major capital city, so I'm delighted to be here.

I want to share with you today some candid thoughts that I have about what I believe to be one of the most important issues for peace and stability in the world today: The

current crisis in negotiations on Sino-American relations, and to discuss for a moment how we can forge a new, and better, era in this important relationship.

One hundred years from now, I have no doubt that when historians look back, the remarkable rise of China as a world power will be considered one of the most important international events of the latter half of the twentieth century.

More than the tragic war in Bosnia, more than the unsteady march toward peace in the Middle East, more even than the collapse of the Soviet Union, China's ascendance as a great power—and the content and quality of U.S.-Chinese relations—will shape the direction of global history in the Pacific Century.

Following what the Chinese view as a "century of humiliation" at the hands of western imperial powers, and fifty years of war-lord rivalries, revolution, and economic stagnation, China today is poised at the brink of a remarkable renaissance.

For close to two decades the Chinese economy has grown by a staggering 10% a year. China is now the world's 11th largest exporter—that's where Japan was in 1980—and moving up fast. By most estimates, by early in the next century China will have the world's largest economy.

In a little more than a decade, U.S. trade with China has grown from some \$1.2 billion to over \$50 billion per year. China has emerged as a major presence on the world stage.

It is a shame that we do not have the benefit of the hindsight that our children and grandchildren will have, because I believe that most Americans—including many policymakers—do not understand the magnitude or breadth of the changes currently underway in China and what they mean for the future peace and stability of Asia and, yes, the world.

#### U.S. POLICY MISSTEPS

This fundamental lack of understanding is unfortunate—and could turn out to be tragic—because how we manage our relationship with China will have a greater effect on stability in Asia and peace in the world than nearly anything else we do.

In recent months U.S.-China relations have reached perhaps their lowest level since President Nixon's historic trip to China in 1972. Our relationship is plagued by tensions in nearly every area in which we interact: a large trade imbalance; China's failure to curb pirating of U.S. intellectual property; China's transfers of sensitive weapons, nuclear materials and technology to Pakistan, Iran, and others; clashing visions of human rights; most importantly, U.S. concerns about Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Tibet, these are perceived as deep threats to Chinese sovereignty.

This situation is made even more complicated by domestic politics in both countries.

In the U.S., the relationship between China and the U.S. has been buffeted by the vicissitudes of a Presidential election year and provocative Congressional actions. For example, the recent Department of State Authorization Conference Bill contains ill-advised policy mandates, including an invitation for a 1996 visit by Lee Teng-hui to the U.S. "with all appropriate courtesies," and an elevation of the Taiwan office in Washington.

In China, the lingering of Deng Xiaoping has prevented, in a sense, the cementing of new leadership, resulting in jockeying and in-fighting among China's political hierarchy. It is difficult for any Chinese leader to take bold action to improve relations with the United States for fear of being accused of weakness.

Fundamental to the worsening of relations between our two countries is the lack of any

conceptual framework or long-term strategy on the part of the U.S. policy with respect to China—a strategy which sets specific goals for the relationship five and ten years down the road.

Instead, U.S. policy has been reactive and "event-driven," responding to whatever happens to be the current revelation, which generally concerns human rights. This calls into question our entire relationship with China each time we lurch from crisis to crisis.

A whole host of events have contributed to the current downward spiral in our relations: Tiananmen Square, the sale of F-16's to Taiwan, Congressional opposition to China's bid for the Olympics, U.S. opposition to the construction of Three Gorges Dam project, and Taiwan President Lee Teng-hui's visit to the United States last year.

Each of these events has helped create the current atmosphere. Let me say a few words about why these events were so important.

Americans were understandably horrified by the globally-televised scenes of Chinese tanks advancing on unarmed civilians at Tiananmen Square in 1989. Unfortunately, those images have come to color our perception of nearly every aspect of the U.S. relationship with China. For most Americans Tiananmen Square is all they know of the China of today.

In the wake of Tiananmen, the U.S. made a number of policy decisions that further antagonized China. In 1992, for example, President Bush, who understands China better than most Americans, made what, I believe, was an unfortunate decision to sell 150 F-16 aircraft to Taiwan.

The sale, announced during an election campaign, was made without strong evidence that Taiwan faced a significantly enhanced threat from China that made these advanced military planes necessary. For China, the sale was a violation of the "One China" policy which has been the bedrock of Sino-American relations since 1972.

China put forth an extensive effort to host the Summer Olympic games in 2000: they built a large stadium, apartments and several other facilities, and made a strong pitch to the International Olympic Committee. This was going to be China's introduction to the world—a moment of great national pride.

But, the U.S. reaction was distinctly negative. The House of Representatives passed a resolution urging the IOC not to give the games to Beijing and a majority of U.S. Senators sent a letter urging denial to the IOC. The IOC decided, by one vote, to give the games to Sydney, Australia, and, again, China felt the sting of humiliation.

Another American effort to thwart Chinese development, from China's perspective, has been our reaction to the Three Gorges Dam project. This massive undertaking, designed to generate power for the enormous Chinese market, is considered a critical step in China's economic development program.

Anyone that has been to Beijing has seen the choking clouds of high sulfur coal dust and lacking sufficient power for the basic necessities of life for millions of its people, the Three Gorges Dam represents an important national priority for the Chinese. But the United States has criticized the project, on environmental grounds and last year the Administration indicated it would oppose multilateral and U.S. financing of Three Gorges.

The current crisis in U.S.-China relations came to a head last year with the U.S. decision to allow Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui to visit the United States last summer to receive an honorary degree at Cornell University.

The Administration had told the Chinese—as late as May of last year—that allowing the visit would be inconsistent with the United States' longstanding "One China"

policy. Congress then voted overwhelmingly—myself included—to allow this "private" visit, and the Administration changed its policy about the visa.

The Chinese President, Jiang Zemin, learned of the decision by reading it in the newspaper, as he told me when I visited him in August. You can imagine what the impact was.

President Lee's visit, although billed as a private visit, turned out to be much more than that. Members of the Senate met him, he spoke at Cornell and spoke about opportunity for representation in the United Nations. Again generating a deep visceral reaction within the Chinese leadership, not only within the leadership, and this is what Americans must come to understand, but within the Chinese people itself. And this gave rise to a new wave of nationalism among its people. The Chinese showed their anger by overreaction—engaging in missile tests and live ammunition war games in the Taiwan Straits just prior to the Taiwanese elections.

These provocative and unnecessary actions prompted President Clinton to place two carrier groups in the immediate area, sending a clear message that the U.S. would not tolerate military action against Taiwan.

It is clear that none of us fully understood the depth to which Taiwan presents a deep and fundamental sovereign imperative to China. We must understand this if we are to deal directly with China.

These events, occurring against a background of little dialogue between our two nations and constant criticisms in the American press, added to the strain and distance.

The Chinese, for their part, have contributed to the downward spiral in our relations by failing to carry out commitments made. For example, China's failure to carry out last year's Intellectual Property Rights agreement signed last May has cost American copyright-holders over \$2 billion in 1995, and less than full compliance with nuclear Non-Proliferation and violations of missile reduction treaties are areas which have drawn considerable and legitimate U.S. concern.

#### THE COSTS OF U.S. MISSTEPS

The consequence of this confused and reactive relationship is that—precisely at the time when we should be doing everything we can to strengthen and encourage reform in China by increasing relations with the West—some in China believe that the U.S. is intentionally encouraging China's increasing hardline attitudes with the purpose of pushing China toward an adversarial posture reminiscent of Cold War years with the Soviet Union.

As you know, a long, drawn-out leadership struggle has been going on in China for the past several years as the elderly Deng Xiaoping has disappeared from public life. Although a new leadership is in place, competitive forces within that leadership appear to be growing stronger. Hardline actions are more prevalent.

For example, China's provocative war games in the Taiwan Straits leading up to the Taiwanese election.

China's continued provision of sensitive nuclear and missile technology to Pakistan.

The increasingly strong rhetoric toward Hong Kong, such as announcing that the elected Legislative Council will be dissolved and that Hong Kong civil servants will be required to take an oath of loyalty to Beijing.

And just last week, when Chinese police tried to stop fundraising for Chinese orphanages at a dinner attended by U.S. Ambassador James Sasser and prevented Chinese-American author Amy Tan from delivering a speech.

Additionally, U.S. policy has not enabled those within the Chinese leadership who favor greater cooperation with the West to advance their program. In my conversations with President Jiang Zemin and Executive Vice Premier Zhu Rongji, I have become convinced of their genuine desire to reach out to the United States and build a much more cooperative relationship. In fact, Deng Xiaoping himself, empowered Jiang Zemin to be in charge of American relations and this was ratified by the 14th People's Congress.

But to do that, they need our help. They need to be able to engage in a genuine dialogue with U.S. leaders, at the very highest levels. Our President and the President of China need to be able to sit and talk face-to-face, and to pick up the phone and call one another on a regular basis. But they do not yet have that kind of relationship.

When the Administration decided not to invite President Jiang Zemin to Washington for a state visit, I believe we lost a valuable opportunity to give "face" and support to a moderate, pro-Western leader, thereby enabling the Chinese to see greater value in increased ties and pro-Western views.

#### MOST-FAVORED NATION STATUS

In approximately two months, Congress will consider whether to grant the President's request to renew China's Most-Favored Nation trading status. I believe this issue will spark a definitive debate in the Congress on the future of the United States' China policy.

The political implications of revoking MFN for China are great, and dangerous. Revoking MFN would be seen, I believe, as a complete break in U.S.-Chinese cooperation.

For a country such as China, where face and respect are such central issues, revoking MFN—a trading status the U.S. grants to all but a handful of rogue nations—would be seen as tantamount to the United States telling China that we no longer accept them as a member of the family of nations. More importantly, thousands of businesses and millions of jobs in this country and in China who are now dependent on MFN status would be lost. To deny it would be shooting ourselves in the foot. Also, our ability to work with the Chinese on other trade issues, on Asian security, on non-proliferation, on Taiwan, and on human rights would be severely diminished, if not incapacitated.

#### WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Many of you may be wondering if there is anything we can do to repair a relationship that many feel has already been irreparably harmed. As a Chinese proverb goes, "Laughter cannot bring back what anger has driven away." But there is another Chinese proverb that is perhaps more relevant—"By hard work one can succeed in moving two mountains to open a road."

First, we must elevate the importance of the relationship with China. President Clinton, Secretary Christopher and high officials must become much more directly involved. With China, in many cases, the messenger is as important as the message.

Most Americans know little of China and less about the importance of this relationship. The President must speak to Americans directly of the importance of this relationship and make the case for an improved relationship to the American people. He has not done so thus far. It must be done.

Secondly, Secretary Christopher who has visited China only once, must devote to this relationship the same time and energy as he has so effectively applied in the Middle East.

Third, we must realize that despite recent tensions, China and the United States have many more common interests than is generally realized, and we must build on those common interests.

Four areas in which our shared interests outweigh our differences include: Taiwan, trade, security and nuclear non-proliferation, and improving the quality of life for people.

**Taiwan:** The role of the United States in constructing a relationship between China and Taiwan must, by necessity, be supportive. We should not attempt to impose a solution on either party. The United States can, however, provide the underlying stability for Chinese-Taiwanese cooperation by continually and publicly reaffirming our commitment to a "One China" policy.

We must also continue to encourage China to refrain from aggressive military actions and rhetoric. The key to a solution remains peaceful reunification. How and when that takes place is up to the two parties involved. Our interest must be to see that peace is maintained, to encourage the two sides to talk, to be an honest broker.

Both Taiwan and China should be encouraged to restart the Cross-Strait Initiative that was conducted by China's Association for Relations across the Taiwan Strait and Taiwan's Strait Exchange Foundation. This dialogue showed much promise until it was derailed last summer. Even at the nadir of relations earlier this year, Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng renewed President Jiang Zemin's offer from last year for a Taiwan-China summit. And the Chinese offer to begin direct air, sea, and postal service with Taiwan can only be beneficial.

**Trade:** Trade issues have all too often become flashpoints in U.S.-China relations, with blame to be shared by both sides.

This past January, while I was in Beijing, Executive Vice Premier Zhu Rongji, who is in charge of Central Economic Planning, told us that, effective this month, China will lower tariffs by 34% across the board and bring its tariff rate schedule in line with the average of developing countries within two years.

Our Trade Representative, Mickey Kantor, told me that he is now reviewing this proposed schedule. The U.S. should work with China to increase U.S. exports to China, now growing at a rate of 17% per year. China states it wants to increase U.S. exports, and this would lower our trade deficit with China. The U.S. should also review provisions of our laws which restrict high value exports.

At the same time, the United States should continue to insist that China live up to fair trade policies, in particular, its agreements to protect U.S. intellectual property rights. For example China must prevent the illegal production of pirated CDS, CD-ROMs, and Lds.

The best way to accomplish this goal is the development of joint ventures between U.S. copyright holders and Chinese manufacturers, which could transform factories from illegal to legal operations with little job cost. In January, I presented to both the President, the Executive Vice Premier and to the Trade Minister, a letter from the Recording Industries of America containing a proposal that six major American copyright holders are prepared to enter into such joint agreements.

As I left China and was in Hong Kong, I noted that a Chinese representative said, "but we already have these joint ventures." And that is exactly the key, the joint ventures are not with the copyright holders, and in order to carry out the intent of the law the venture must be with the U.S. copyright holder.

As the world's 11th largest exporter and moving up fast, China's entry into the World Trade Organization is strongly in the United States' interests and holds the best promise for preventing trade disputes from escalating

into major conflicts. Although it will take time, we need to continue to work with China to help them develop the commercial legal structure and fair trade policies that are necessary for their membership in that organization.

**Security:** It is vital that China be engaged in a new security partnership, one that is cooperative rather than confrontational. With more than a fifth of the world's population, a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council, and an arsenal of nuclear weapons and intercontinental ballistic missiles, isolating China is a very dangerous course.

Such a partnership suggests that China be encouraged to become an active and responsible party to international organizations, treaties, and regimes. As such, China should be granted an equal say in setting the "rules of the game." The corollary of this, of course, is that China must agree to abide by those rules.

One area that immediately suggests itself as a testing ground for this type of partnership is the threat of nuclear proliferation in South Asia. China was helpful in preventing nuclear proliferation in North Korea, a situation that still remains problematic.

It is also clearly in the interests of both China and the United States to ensure that tensions are de-escalated in the highly unstable India-Pakistan relationship. Both India and Pakistan have the ability to launch 10 to 20 kiloton nuclear devices, that is twice the size of Hiroshima, in a matter of weeks. Both countries are on China's Southern border, and both suffer from major internal instability. Acting alongside other local and regional powers, the United States and China must work together to de-escalate growing tensions between these two countries.

**Quality of Life:** Finally, despite the bad press that China has received in this country of late regarding human rights, I believe that here too there is opportunity for progress. However, to believe that China will change its ways merely to please America is naive. The real key to change is convincing China that it is in China's interests to change.

We have tried lecturing China on individual human rights cases, and have found that method to be unsuccessful. A more productive approach would be to work with China to develop an independent judicial system that can guarantee due process and the rule of law—an area in which China has asked for our help.

By engaging China in a larger dialogue about good governance, through exchange programs, assistance in the drafting of criminal and commercial codes, and in establishing an independent judiciary with due process of law, we will do much more to advance the cause of human rights in China in the long run than through constant castigation.

Even without our help, China is moving in this direction. Last month, the National People's Congress enacted legislation that provides individuals greater protection from arbitrary punishment by police and government agencies, which sets stricter standards on government agencies for imposing fines and fees, and which requires the ruling State Council to secure the approval of the People's Congress before declaring martial law.

Evidence of the past twenty years suggests that China is changing. You must remember back to the 1960's, when 10-15 million people were harmed or lost their lives. When I first went to China in 1979, it was impossible to have an open political discussion. People were simply too afraid.

Last month, international journalists openly interviewed ordinary Chinese citizens

on the street about their views of the Taiwanese elections. Some supported the government's response, others did not. This change should not be underestimated. It is the unavoidable result of improving conditions and interaction with the West.

One has but to look back at the Cultural Revolution of 35 years ago to see the contrast and improvement in freedoms, in the increasing standard of living, wages and savings, and better education of the people, to know that things are changing and improving. As Minister of Trade Wu Yi said to me, "It isn't easy to go from a China which has been ruled by man for 5000 years to a China ruled by law." And that is what is happening.

With the Taiwan elections behind us, we now have the opportunity to move past some of the events that soured Sino-American relations earlier this year.

To do this, President Clinton must immerse himself fully in the details of this most delicate and critical of American relations. In the final analysis, the goal of American policy must be to encourage China toward a full and active relationship with the West and to work together toward a China that is able to take its role as a stable leader of peace and security in Asia, and an America that can be her ally. •

#### NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR DEMOCRACY TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT LEE TENG-HUI, PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

• Mr. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I rise today to call my colleagues' attention to a recent event hosted by the National Endowment for Democracy honoring the first popularly elected President of the Republic of China, Lee Teng-hui. I was honored to serve as a cosponsor of this event with Senator LIEBERMAN.

It is entirely appropriate that this reception was organized by the National Endowment for Democracy [NED]. The recent direct, free and fair multiparty election for President in Taiwan is a model example of the activities supported by NED. I want to use this occasion to congratulate the NED for its continued involvement in encouraging free and democratic institutions throughout the world through private sector initiatives. A copy of the National Endowment for Democracy's tribute to President Lee is included at the end of my statement.

Americans everywhere should congratulate the people of Taiwan in casting ballots to complete their transition to a democracy during trying times—the first such transition in Chinese history. It is a tribute to the people's spirit and determination that bullets did not deter people from casting their ballots. And President Lee, who received 54 percent of the vote, can proudly take credit for having led Taiwan to this important juncture. He has set an example in leading his countrymen in deciding that the leadership of Taiwan will forever more be settled at the ballot box.

His victory on March 23 culminated a series of reforms—including lifting martial law, deregulating the media, legalizing opposition parties, and hold-

ing popular elections for all parliamentary seats—that have taken place in a peaceful and prosperous environment. This is an accomplishment for which all the free world should be proud.

President Lee deserves not only our well-wishes, but also our continued support as he now moves forward to map out Taiwan's destiny. As Taiwan continues to emerge as a force for democracy, freedom, and stability in Asia, I believe the United States should encourage their efforts to be represented in international organizations such as the World Trade Organization. The United States should also do what it can to encourage dialog between Taiwan and Beijing, and to contribute to peace and stability in the region.

I join my many friends in Taiwan in celebrating President Lee's triumph as Taiwan marks a milestone in civilization's march down the road of self-determination leading to liberty, human dignity, and personal and societal fulfillment.

I ask that a statement from the National Endowment for Democracy be printed in the RECORD.

The statement follows:

#### TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT LEE TENG-HUI

(By the National Endowment for Democracy, April 16, 1996)

The election of Lee Teng-hui on March 23, 1996, as the first popularly elected President of the Republic of China was the culmination of a 10-year process of transition which The Encyclopedia of Democracy has called "a political miracle in twentieth-century Chinese politics, making Taiwan the first Chinese democracy." President Lee was the central figure and driving force behind this remarkable political transformation.

From the moment he assumed the presidency on January 13, 1988, becoming the first native-born Taiwanese to hold this office, he devoted himself entirely to the historic task of democratic transformation launched by his predecessor Chiang Ching-kuo. The process was at once swift and methodical, with each bold step coming in the proper sequence, laying the foundation for each subsequent advance.

Acting in the Confucian tradition of governance through consensus, he initiated the process with a conference on national affairs that achieved a political reconciliation between his own Nationalist Party and the opposition Democratic Progressive Party. There followed an agreement to establish a memorial and pay compensation to the victims of the uprising of February 1947; the elaboration of an approach to the issue of unification which became the basis for a new, pragmatic policy toward the People's Republic; the election of a new National Assembly representing only the voters of Taiwan that amended the constitution, preparing the way for the popular election of the president and vice-president by 1996; the voluntary retirement from the government of the party elders from the generation of Chiang Ching-kuo; and the first election for provincial governor and for mayors of Kaohsiung and Taipei, the race in Taipei being won by a member of the DPP who was a former political dissident.

This stunning process of change, leading ultimately to President Lee's election and the establishment of the first Chinese democracy, was all the more significant because it took place against a background of mounting threats from the mainland—which

fears a Chinese model of democracy—and skepticism emanating from some capitals to the effect that democracy is a Western system unsuited to Asian cultures.

But it is precisely on this point, having to do with the roots of Chinese democracy in Confucian culture, that President Lee has spoken with unusual power and eloquence. At the conference on third wave democracy sponsored last August by the Endowment and the Institute for National Policy Research, President Lee expressed his confidence that "by injecting into our modern democratic order the political precepts long inherent in Chinese culture—of exalting the people's will and claiming that the government and the people form a unity—we can infuse democracy with a new vitality."

Lee Teng-hui is thus a unique figure in Chinese history, an individual with the wisdom to understand the need to integrate the two competing camps of contemporary Chinese political thought: the Confucianists and the advocates of Westernization. In so doing, he has embodied the Confucian ideal of ren, described in the entry on Confucianism in The Encyclopedia of Democracy as "cultivating benevolence, developing one's faculties, sublimating one's personality, and upholding the right to education, the right to subsistence, and the right to social and political mobility without distinction according to class." Ren, according to the Encyclopedia, represents "a new democratic ideal of society."

It is this ideal which President Lee Teng-hui has sought for his country and for the Chinese people. The National Endowment for Democracy is therefore proud to honor President Lee by presenting him with an embossed four-volume set of The Encyclopedia of Democracy, which recognizes his extraordinary contribution and confirms his philosophical vision. We do so in the belief that his message of democracy and reconciliation, rooted in Chinese history and culture, have an enduring relevance for China's future. •

#### CITIZENSHIP U.S.A. DAY IN CHICAGO

• Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, our Nation's immigrant heritage is exemplified best in the city of Chicago. Generations of immigrants, from Europe, Latin America, and more recently Asia and Africa have chosen to come to Chicago and have contributed immensely to the vitality and fabric that makes it such a great city.

Recently, the city of Chicago sponsored a naturalization ceremony for 1,200 new citizens at historic Navy Pier with the Immigration and Naturalization Service Chicago District Office.

To help immigrants fully integrate into our city and our society, Mayor Richard M. Daley established a citizenship assistance council to help thousands of immigrants complete the often complicated naturalization process. The council has attracted leaders from various ethnic communities and corporate leaders from Fannie Mae, United Airlines, and First Chicago. Through the citizenship council, Mayor Daley has committed to sponsor several large scale citizenship ceremonies with INS in the coming months.

The naturalization program in the city of Chicago is truly a joint effort between the Federal and local government. I applaud Mayor Daley's effort