

like he did. He supported environmental coverage," said Scauzillo, whom Totter hired exactly 11 years ago Monday to cover the environment.

Totter is survived by his wife, Shirley; daughter Cheri Cox; son-in-law Steve Cox; grandsons Bret and Chad; brother George Totter of Joliet, Ill.; and sister Audrey Totter-Fred of Westwood.

Funeral arrangements are pending. In lieu of flowers, the Totter family requests that contributions be sent to donors' favorite charity.

#### A LIFE IN NEWSPAPERS

The following shows highlights in the newspaper career of Al Totter:

1951.—Started selling advertising for The (Joliet) Herald News. The Korean War intervened and Totter joined the Air Force and was stationed at Edwards Air Force Base.

1953.—Discharged from the service and joined the Daily News Tribune in Fullerton as classified manager.

1955.—Helped organize merger of three weekly newspapers into The Tribune and joined new company as classified ads manager.

1959.—Appointed president of the Southern California Classified Managers Association.

1961.—Appointed business manager and elected vice president of The Tribune when it is sold to Brush-Moore Newspapers, based in Canton, Ohio.

1968.—Appointed publisher upon The Tribune's sale to Canada's Thomson Newspapers, which grew to become one of the world's largest newspaper companies.

1971.—Named president of the California-Nevada Associated Press Association.

1977.—Elected president of Western Newspaper Industrial Relations Bureau.

1982.—Helped arrange the purchase of the Whittier Daily News.

1988.—Elected to board of the California Newspaper Publishers Association.

1990.—Helped arrange Thomson's purchase of the Pasadena Star-News.

1992.—Retired.

#### TRIBUTE TO DR. RICARDO M. KHAN

#### HON. DONALD M. PAYNE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to bring to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives notice that Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey will on this day confer on Mr. Ricardo Khan the honorary degree of Doctor of Fine Arts.

Ricardo Khan is the co-founder and artistic director of Crossroads Theatre Co. Founded in October 1978, the company has been propelled by a mission to promote and develop African American theater for its artistic and social value. Crossroads has emerged as a World Theater that, in the words of one critic, "sets out, consciously and consistently, to engage and illuminate the wider world."

Crossroads, which is approaching its 20th season next year, was established in a century-old former garment factory in New Brunswick, NJ. Audiences climbed up steep, narrow stairs to a small second-floor theater space where some nights there were more actors on the stage than patrons in the seats. Mr. Khan kept his vision and developed through the years a close connection to his community-based audience while continuing to present

exciting and inspiring dramas, comedies and musicals. During the 1991-92 season, the company entered a new era when it moved from the factory to a new, \$4 million, 264-seat facility in downtown New Brunswick.

While managing the artistic and business challenges of a burgeoning professional theater company, Mr. Khan provided opportunities to a new generation of theater artists who work in front of and behind the scenes, from directors, actors, and choreographers to designers of sets, lighting, sound, and costumes.

Productions from Crossroads have been seen in theaters across the country and in many foreign lands. "Sheila's Day" was presented in London, in South Africa and in New York City and toured the U.S. Following a production of Leslie Lee's "Black Eagles" at the Ford's Theater here in Washington, the members of the cast and artistic team of the show were invited to the White House where they were publicly congratulated by then-President George Bush and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Colin Powell. "Black Eagles" is a dramatization of the heroic exploits of the African-American pilots who fought during World War II.

Mr. Khan's vision has become a showcase for plays by young playwrights as well as for the critically acclaimed productions of works by Pulitzer Prizewinner August Wilson, former U.S. poet laureate Rita Dove, Leslie Lee, Pearl Cleage, Ruby Dee, Ossie Davis, and many other prominent American playwrights. In addition, Mr. Khan has always remembered his own dreams as a young graduate of the Mason Gross School of the Arts at Rutgers and is committed to providing opportunities to aspiring students of theater. Through the African American College Initiative Program [AACIP] which connects Crossroads to the theater programs at many prominent colleges and universities, each year several students are awarded internships to learn from their practical experience at Crossroads.

Mr. Khan is an educator who has taught acting at Rutgers University and has been a guest lecturer for the American Theater Association, Actors' Equity Association, the League of Chicago Theaters, Harvard University, University of Massachusetts, the Tisch School of the Arts at NYU, Brown University, and at Wayne State University.

Mr. Khan is also a prominent spokesperson on the issues current in American theater. He has served as co-chair of the Theatre Advisory Panel of the National Endowment of the Arts. Currently, he serves as president of the Theater Communications Group, the national organization of the American theater. He is also a member of Actors Equity Association, Screen Actors Guild, American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, and the Society of Stage Directors and Choreographers.

Though Dr. Khan's motivation in establishing Crossroads Theatre Co. may have been to create a forum for the creation and nurturing of dramatic expressions of the African-American experience, he has accomplished much more. Crossroads has become a holy place in the struggle among the races; at Crossroads, people of all races are as one, sharing the human experience through dramatic expression.

I'm sure my colleagues in the House of Representatives join me in extending both congratulations and thanks to Dr. Ricardo M. Khan.

MFN TRADE STATUS IS OUR BEST TOOL FOR IMPROVING HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHINA

#### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 22, 1997

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, the President recently announced his intention to recommend the extension of most favored nation [MFN] trade status for China, a decision which I strongly support. A failure on America's part to extend MFN would be a grave error which would harm Chinese citizens, the very people MFN opponents want to help. The United States has numerous areas of conflict and disagreement with the Chinese Government, but all of these issues will be addressed more effectively in the context of maintaining normal trade relations. It is important for us to remember that, in the last 15 years, China has witnessed a dramatic improvement in its standard of living. Such improvement is due in no small part to the free-market economic reforms which are supported by our expanding trade relationship.

As the House begins the annual debate on China's MFN status, I want to call Members' attention to an excellent article by Congressman DAVID DREIER, Vice Chairman of the Rules Committee and a leader on trade matters in the House. Congressman DREIER makes a strong case in favor of promoting normal trade relations with China. The article, which was published in the May 19 issue of Insight magazine, discusses the benefits that economic reform has brought to the Chinese people and illustrates the dire need for this reform to continue.

[From Insight, May 19, 1997]

SANCTIONS WOULD UNDERMINE THE MARKET REFORMS THAT HAVE INITIATED POSITIVE CHANGE

(By David Dreier)

Fostering freedom and human rights around the world is a universal foreign-policy goal in Congress. That was the case in 1989, when I joined nearly a dozen of my colleagues, Democrats and Republicans, in a march to the front door of the Chinese Embassy to protest the brutal massacre of student protesters in Beijing's Tiananmen Square. It remains a bipartisan priority today because support for freedom and democracy is part and parcel of what it means to be American.

The current debate in Congress is not about the goal of ending human-rights abuses in China but about the effectiveness of economic sanctions as a means to achieve that goal. It would be a mistake for China's leaders to interpret this debate as a weakening of our resolve.

In looking at conditions in China during the last 20 years, the path to democracy of numerous countries around the globe and the effectiveness of unilateral economic sanctions to improve human rights for people living under the boot of other repressive regimes, it becomes unmistakably clear that such sanctions will not improve human rights in China. If anything, economic sanctions will set back the cause of freedom.

Achieving greater human freedom in China is an important priority if for no other reason than the fact that one-fifth of the human race lives in that vast country. Today, the Chinese people lack individual rights, political freedom and freedom of speech, religion,

association and the press. Even the most basic human freedom of childbearing is regulated by the authoritarian national government.

When looking at repression in China, however, I am reminded of the ancient saying that, in the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king. It does no good to evaluate progress toward freedom in China by comparing it with the United States or any other democracy. Instead, a historical perspective is needed.

While China offers a 4,000-year story of political repression, some of its bleakest days have come in the last generation. More than 60 million Chinese starved to death during Mao Tse-tung's disastrous Great Leap Forward, and another million were murdered by the Communists during the international isolation of Mao's Cultural Revolution. The Chinese were scarred by those brutal events, and no one wants to return to the terror of economic calamity and starvation.

Stapleton Roy, the former American ambassador to China, put the current conditions in China in the following perspective: "If you look at the 150 years of modern Chinese history . . . you can't avoid the conclusion that the last 15 years are the best 15 years in China's modern history. And of those 15 years, the last two years are the best in terms of prosperity, individual choice, access to outside information, freedom of movement within the country and stable domestic conditions."

Today, the Chinese economy is the fastest growing in the world. While many Chinese remain poor peasants, few go hungry, and hundreds of millions of Chinese have seen their lives substantially improved through economic reform. Many enjoy greater material wealth and a greater degree of personal economic freedom. Market reform is the single most powerful force for positive change in China in this century and possibly in the country's long history. The recent economic progress, which significantly has improved living conditions in China, is a profound moral victory. Fostering further positive change is a moral imperative as well.

As reported in the March 4 New York Times, Zhu Wenjun, a woman living outside Shanghai, has seen her life improve dramatically due to economic reform. Zhu, 45, quit a teaching job that paid \$25 a month to work for a company that exports toys and garments that pays \$360 a month. "It used to be that when you became a teacher, you were a teacher for life," Zhu was quoted as saying. "Now you can switch jobs. Now I am talking with people overseas and thinking about economic issues."

Economic reform in China has helped to lift hundreds of millions of hardworking people from desperate poverty, giving them choices and opportunities never available before. Hundreds of millions of Chinese have access to information and contact with Western values through technologies spreading across the country, thanks to economic reform and the growth it created. This is a tremendous victory for human freedom.

Americans are justified in their outrage about the Chinese government's policy methods of population control. This has led many Chinese families to abort female babies with the hope of having a son. Here again, moral outrage and economic sanctions will not be enough to end this violation of basic human rights.

The New York Times reported another encouraging story from inside China that shows how economic reform undermines repression, including China's one-child policy. Ye Xiuying is a 26-year-old woman who runs a small clock shop in Dongguan, a small town in Guangdong province. Through her own entrepreneurial spirit and energy, she

rose from a \$35-per-month factory worker to running her own business and earning up to \$1,200 a month. Along with buying a home and looking forward to traveling to the United States, Ye used \$1,800 to pay the one-time government fine so she could have a second child.

The hopeful stories of Zhu and Ye have been repeated many, many times across China during the last 15 years. That is why Nicholas Kristoff, former New York Times Beijing bureau chief, said, "Talk to Chinese peasants, workers and intellectuals and on one subject you get virtual unanimity: 'Don't curb trade.'"

The Chinese are learning firsthand one of the great truths of the late 20th century: Market-oriented reforms promote private enterprise, which encourages trade, which creates wealth, which improves living standards, which undermines political repression.

While full political freedom for the Chinese may be decades away, other hopeful signs of change exist. Today, 500 million Chinese farmers experience local democracy, voting in competitive village elections in which winners are not Communist candidates. The Chinese government also is recognizing that the rule of law is a necessary underpinning of a true market economy. Furthermore, the Chinese media, while strictly censored, increasingly are outside the control of the party and the state. In particular, the spread of communications technology throughout China, including telephones, fax machines, computers, the Internet, satellites and television, is weakening the state's grip on information.

The evidence that market reforms are the main engine driving improved human rights in China is mirrored around the globe. South Korea, Taiwan, Chile and Argentina all broke the chains of authoritarian dictatorship and political repression during the last 25 years primarily because their respective governments adopted market-based economic reforms. As a result, each country grew wealthier and more open and each eventually evolved into democracies.

The cause of human freedom advanced in those instances in which the United States did not employ economic sanctions against dictatorships. In contrast, decades of American economic sanctions against Iran, Iraq, Libya and Cuba, while merited on national-security grounds, only have led to greater economic and political repression.

The real-world failure of economic sanctions to result in human-rights gains has left proponents of sanctions groping for new arguments. The argument du jour is that China is our next Cold War adversary, and since the United States used trade sanctions against the Soviet Union in a successful Cold War campaign, the same strategy should be applied to China.

This line of thinking is fundamentally flawed. A Cold War with China is unthinkable absent the support of our international allies, and the simple reality is that a Cold War strategy would garner no support. During the Cold War with the Soviet Union, the world's democracies by and large saw an aggressive military opponent bent on undermining democracy around the world. Today, China is not viewed as a similar threat to democracy nor to international peace and security. China's neighbors, while concerned with that country's evolution as a major economic and political power, do not advocate Cold War-style confrontation. The United States' closest allies in Asia—Japan, Korea, Australia and Thailand—strongly oppose economic warfare with China. They see economic reform as a condition of peace and security in the region.

The unwillingness of our allies to join us in a crusade against China largely is based on

the fact that China has not earned international enmity. The Soviet Union conquered its neighbors in Eastern Europe and imposed puppet regimes on previously independent countries. They invaded Afghanistan and instigated violent insurrections throughout Africa, Latin America and Asia. The Soviet Union earned the Ronald Reagan label, "evil empire." Chinese foreign policy, even with its distressing proliferation policies, is in a different league altogether.

The national-security rationale for anti-China sanctions is as weak as the human-rights arguments. Just as economic engagement consistently has proved to be the best human-rights policy, Cold War-style economic sanctions are national-security fool's gold. Imposing economic sanctions on China would throw away the real progress of the last 15 years and send 1.2 billion people to the darkest days of Maoism. When Reagan called on Mikhail Gorbachev to "tear down this wall," he demanded freedom for Eastern Europeans to mingle with the West—just the opposite of the spirit of trade sanctions against China, which attempt to erect new walls around the Chinese people.

Economic sanctions, especially when imposed unilaterally, are not an effective tool to promote human rights. Economic sanctions against China would undermine the market reforms that have been the single most powerful force for positive change in that country. They could shatter the hopes and dreams of 20 percent of the human race seeking to rise above the poverty and oppression that have been staples of Chinese history.

#### THE BENEFITS OF VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

**HON. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Thursday, May 22, 1997*

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to ask Americans to give our children a choice of educational opportunities. I am a strong supporter of college education, but our children should have a wider range of post-high school educational choices in addition to college education. We should include the trade and technical school education as one of our national education priorities.

With the growth of technology and our commitment to international commerce trade and technical training education is vital to our society. This type of specific vocational/technical education is indispensable to the expansion of career opportunities in the United States. While college and post-graduate programs are appropriate avenues for many students, many other students would benefit greatly from the opportunity to orient their education toward acquiring specialized technical or trade skills (e.g., electrician, computer programming and repair, graphic arts). Technical and vocational careers are just as important—and in some instances vital—to the welfare of our society as are professional, white-collar careers. Technical and vocational careers pay well.

I urge all of us to recognize the need for technical education in high school curricula and for more colleges to have courses of study related to technological and trade school career choice. Our education agenda should include vocational education as an alternative to high school students.