

women, children and families in all of our Southern California Districts.

Both categories of women and children programs provide intensive substance abuse treatment as well as strong support services and childcare for infants and children of women in treatment. Families depend on these programs to become healthy and self-sufficient. In addition, invaluable outcome data is collected and analyzed at the completion of the five year grants. This information is shared with other treatment programs to ensure that the best modalities of treatment are replicated in other regions of the country.

We are concerned that you will continue to direct certain women and children treatment programs to close down as you did last fall, despite the congressional intent to fully fund these programs in the Continuing Resolution for fiscal year 1997. To ensure that these programs will not be forced to shut down, we would like to receive your written confirmation indicating that when Congress appropriates these funds for all of the women and children programs, you will distribute this money to the thirteen Residential Women and Children and eleven Pregnant and Postpartum Women and Infants programs.

All of the CSAT Knowledge Development and Application grants are key to ending the vicious cycle of addiction. The PPWI programs, in particular, give women a second chance and their children the healthy start they need to break this cycle.

Thank you in advance for providing us with written assurance that CSAT will enforce the legislation passed by Congress and signed by President Clinton, and that none of these programs for women and children will be shut down in fiscal year 1998.

Sincerely,

JUANITA MILLENDER-MCDONALD,
Member of Congress.
BRAD SHERMAN,
Member of Congress.
LUCILLE ROYBAL-ALLARD,
Member of Congress.
HOWARD BERMAN,
Member of Congress.

CASA FAMILIAR: 25 YEARS OF COMMUNITY SERVICE

HON. BOB FILNER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 1, 1997

Mr. FILNER. Mr. Speaker, and colleagues, I rise today to pay tribute to an organization in my district which has made innumerable contributions toward improving the lives of everyday citizens in the community of San Ysidro. Today, I ask all my colleagues to join me in recognizing the 25th anniversary of Casa Familiar.

In 1972, Casa Familiar was formed by the San Diego Chapter of Trabajadores de la Raza, a group of local citizens, who were motivated by shared concerns for the residents in their community. Casa Familiar was founded to primarily serve Spanish-speaking residents, but today, it makes these services available for all the residents of south San Diego County.

Casa Familiar provides numerous services to enhance the quality of life for its residents. Through its education department, Casa Familiar not only provides classes for teens and the elderly, it also serves as an advocate for

quality education for both youth and adults. As part of its commitment to the community, Casa Familiar, provides counseling, case management, translation, and citizenship assistance to neighborhood residents.

Casa Familiar recently began to offer programs to promote affordable housing. Casa Familiar has developed innovative partnerships with owners of multifamily complexes to provide safe, decent, and affordable shelter. These partnerships have resulted in rental referral programs, which are vital in helping people search for housing. The transitional housing program has been successful in providing local residents an opportunity to achieve the American dream—a home.

Casa Familiar is located in San Ysidro, at the southern end of San Diego County—adjacent to the United States-Mexico border. The community consists of working families and new immigrants who contribute their share to the greatness of our Nation's economy. San Ysidro is California's gateway to international trade and commerce.

In our community Casa Familiar is known as a leader, a voice for our community. Since its inception, Casa Familiar has remained true to fulfilling its mission of building the community by advocating on behalf of community interests.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that my colleagues will join me in saluting Casa Familiar's 25 years of community service.

CHINA'S MFN STATUS

HON. BOB SCHAFFER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 1, 1997

Mr. BOB SCHAFFER of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, China will indefinitely enjoy its most favored nation trade status with the United States. The designation means fewer barriers to trade between the two nations.

Despite weeks-long debate in Congress, MFN for China was never really in doubt. The only thing tested was the will of Congress to send a firm message to Chinese Communist leaders about human rights, terrorism, drug trafficking, weapons sales, military aggression, tampering with United States elections, et cetera.

The President ultimately decides whether to extend MFN, and President Clinton did just that with respect to China. Congress then has the option of challenging the President's designation by repealing it.

Congress did, in fact, consider a bill to revoke MFN for China, but rejected the idea. I voted for the repeal. Yet, had the bill to repeal actually prevailed through the House and Senate, the measure would have still required Clinton's signature. He assured a veto. Again, MFN for China was never really questionable.

I had hoped to achieve a few important objectives throughout the debate. First, I had urged a delay of the House vote—perhaps by only a few weeks.

Second, I had hoped the House would have considered, at the same time of the MFN vote, various sanctions against China targeting the specific problems we have with the nation, thereby allowing the trade issue to stand alone.

Third, I had suggested the House request certain commitments on these topics from the

Chinese Government in exchange for continuing MFN status.

Unfortunately, there was a rush to force a vote on MFN prior to a handful of key events that might have improved America's standing with China. Since that time, a number of reports have been published exposing serious questions about our relationship with China.

One of my colleagues from California, for example, cited the following four specific documents in a recent letter to each Member of Congress.

Religious Persecution: "Nearly one month after the vote on MFN for China, the State Department's report on religious persecution has been made public. It was on June 23 when U.S. News and World Report revealed the report would not be released before the vote on MFN as had been expected. In The New York Times, Steven Erlanger writes in "U.S. Assails China Over Suppression of Religious Life," that the report is highly critical of the Chinese regime for its wanton disregard of religious freedom and its persecution of those practicing non-sanctioned religions. This includes Catholics who believe in Papal authority. In his column, "On My Mind," New York Times Columnist A.M. Rosenthal expounds on the State Department report."

Proliferation: "The Chinese government continues to ignore international agreements and, in some cases, arms our enemies with weapons of mass destruction. These actions place American servicemen and women at risk. Tim Weiner of the New York Times reveals who is buying what in his July 3rd article: "China is Top Supplier to Nations Seeking Powerful, Banned Arms."

The China Trade Deficit: "The Commerce Department reported the U.S. trade deficit with China widened by 9.1 percent in May to \$3.76 billion from \$3.45 billion in April. The gap was the highest since October 1996. The trade deficit with China surpassed that of Japan, for the third time.

"Also in the New York Times, A.M. Rosenthal writes about Chinese abuses running the gamut from human rights to nuclear weapons in The Connecting Line."

John N. Stafford, the Reagan administration's chief Department of the Interior judge, recently wrote in his well-respected international investment newsletter about the tremendous extent to which China influences the U.S. bond market. Stafford recently wrote, "We are providing funding for our own self-destruction, especially when money is being used to facilitate efforts to build up China's military and provide weapons of mass destruction to known terrorist countries and sworn enemies of the U.S."

To be clear, I have no doubt that China's markets are attractive to our agricultural and manufacturing interests in Colorado. In fact, the president of the Colorado Farm Bureau testified in a recent debate that I sponsored in Fort Collins, that most of our expansion in foreign markets could occur in China over the next few years. Clearly, I do not want Colorado to miss out on that, and improving our relationship with China is something I believe we should definitely do.

But extending MFN the way the White House did, simply missed a golden opportunity to make meaningful progress in China.

The very purpose of MFN status should be to foster more open trade with partners who act fairly and demonstrate good-faith policies. According to United States Customs Department testimony, Communist China continually violates United States copyright and intellectual property laws by the mass pirating and sale of American-made software, films, books, music and other media and technologies. These unscrupulous acts

have cost American businesses, shareholders, workers, and families billions of dollars every year in stolen revenues.

Not only does China violate United States trade law, but they violate the conscience of the American people with human rights abuses. The practices of China fuel an economy of mass slave labor and the persecution, torture, and killing of political and religious objectors—replete with documentation.

Yet recent events indicate that the MFN question, if raised properly, as I had hoped, would yield demonstrable results in China. In 1990, the mere threat of revoking MFN led the Chinese Government to release 600 political prisoners from slave labor and prison camps.

There are still more items to consider. China will soon begin deploying an advanced intercontinental-range ballistic missile, called the Dong-Feng 31, giving China accurate nuclear capacity eastward, including the Western United States.

China is guilty of shipping Soviet-style AK-47's and other legal weapons to United States gangs, drug runners, and other criminal elements. These guns are manufactured by the Chinese firm Norinco, and Chinese agents have also marketed for sale in the United States, rocket-propelled grenade launchers, light armored vehicles, and shoulder-fired surface-to-air missiles.

Moreover, Beijing has routinely facilitated the spread of weapons of mass destruction to other rogue nations disposed to using them against U.S. personnel and our allies. The Chinese Government is clearly using proliferation as part of its campaign to intimidate the United States and undermine our influence in the Western Pacific.

V.I. Lenin once predicted that "capitalists will sell us the rope with which we will hang them." I hope he is wrong.

For those who claim MFN will "engage" China and encourage mutual resolution of these serious problems, I ask a simple question. Why hasn't MFN for China worked so far? China has enjoyed MFN status since February 1980. Chinese trade barriers, our trade deficit with China, China's casual approach to trade agreements, and blatant human rights abuses all have come about during that time.

The United States annual trade deficit with China now stands at more than \$35 billion, leaving China with approximately \$100 billion in foreign reserves according to United States Trade Representative reports, most of which goes toward its growing military program.

While China will continue to enjoy MFN status, Colorado should, in fact, push for broader trade markets there. Actually, trade markets would have continued to exist under tariff laws had MFN been revoked, just as they did before 1980. But the leverage MFN could have provided is lost and we must now look to the next set of issues relative to China.

Consequently, I am supporting a package of legislation designed to address specific Chinese issues. Initiated by the Republican Policy Committee, upon which I serve, these proposals will encourage responsible behavior by the Chinese with respect to United States interaction.

1. Sanctions for PLA Enterprises. The Communist Chinese People's Liberation Army directly or indirectly controls a large congeries of commercial enterprises. Such enterprises have been involved in proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, arms smuggling, economic espionage, use of forced labor, piracy of intellectual property, and misappropriation of militarily sensitive technology. As state-owned enterprises, all operate on more or less noncommercial terms, conducting their affairs for such non-

market reasons as military or prestige considerations or the advancement of Chinese foreign policy. And even when operating for commercial motives, their profits subsidize the Chinese military establishment.

H.R. 2188 denies MFN status to the 3-million-man People's Liberation Army and enterprises it controls. This targeted MFN revocation is thoroughly consistent with free trade principles, since the PLA does not trade with the United States for purely commercial reasons. Rather, the PLA's commercial activities serve also to provide it with off-budget financing, thus directly subsidizing the potential military threat to the United States. H.R. 2188 also includes a "truth in trade" provision requiring the annual publication by the Defense Intelligence Agency of a list of PLA-owned enterprises exporting products to or operating in the United States.

2. Tighter Prohibition on Laogai Slave Labor Product. Import of "convict made goods" is currently banned under United States law, but products made in Communist China's vast archipelago of Laogai, reform through labor, camps continue to flow to the United States. The Laogai system is a gruesomely sinister aspect of Chinese Communist totalitarianism. Some 6 to 8 million people are currently captive in the Laogai. According to the latest official statistics, the Laogai operates 140 export enterprises. Laogai products are sold to over 70 nations abroad. Forced labor is responsible for producing key commodities, including graphite, rubber, and asbestos. One-third of Chinese tea is grown by Laogai prisoners.

H.R. 2195 will more effectively implement the ban on slave-labor goods. It authorizes \$2 million in additional funds for State Department and Customs Service personnel to monitor Chinese slave-labor products. Presently, only two U.S. officials in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing are assigned to slave labor monitoring—and they also are charged with monitoring widespread piracy of intellectual property rights. In addition, to make this monitoring meaningful, the legislation expresses the sense of the Congress that the President should replace the current Memorandum of Understanding on Prison Labor between the U.S. and the PRC with one providing for stricter monitoring. Under the current MOU, Communist China largely determines what prison labor camps international monitors visit. The legislation will call upon the President to negotiate a tightening of the monitoring regime.

3. Improving Radio Free Asia. Radio Free Asia/Voice of America broadcasting to China is a desperately needed and cost effective way to promote basic Chinese freedoms and promote better United States-China relations. Currently, Radio Free Asia's Chinese broadcasts are only 5 hours a day in the Mandarin dialect and 2 hours a day in Tibetan, while VOA broadcasts 10 hours a day in Mandarin and 3½ hours in Tibetan.

Chairman SMITH offered an amendment to the Foreign Policy Reform Act authorizing \$20 million in increased funds for RFA and \$10 million for VOA, as well as \$10 million for the Broadcasting Board of Governors to complete construction of a transmitter on Tinian Island. The amendment passed on a voice vote. H.R. 2232 provides a more significant authorization in a stand-alone bill. The added resources will accommodate 24-hour-a-day broadcasts to China in the major Chinese dialects of Mandarin, Cantonese, and Tibetan, as well as other major dialects such as the dialects spoken in Xinjiang. It further requires the President to report, within 90 days of enactment, on a plan to achieve continuous broadcasting in Asia.

4. Annual Report on PRC Intelligence Activities and Active Measures in the U.S. In-

creasingly well-known Community Chinese attempts to manipulate the American political process, to direct political, military, and economic espionage against the United States, and to suppress or distort information provided to or about Communist China within the United States require a direct remedy that MFN denial cannot provide.

In 1985, then-Rep Gingrich introduced legislation requiring the State Department to produce classified and unclassified annual reports on Soviet active measures in the United States, legislation repealed at his request in 1993. Pursuant to this law, the State Department, in consultation with the CIA, NSA, DoD, DoJ, Treasury, and other appropriate agencies, provided annual classified and unclassified reports on Soviet active measures in the U.S.

To deal with the most egregious PRC covert operations in the United States, H.R. 2190 requires similar reports by the Director of Central Intelligence concerning Communist Chinese political, military, and economic espionage; intelligence activities designed to gain political influence; efforts to gain direct or indirect influence through commercial or non-commercial intermediaries; and PRC disinformation and press manipulation.

Cutoff of Loans from International Financial Institutions. China has had remarkable access to the world's private capital markets—including the United States capital markets. Despite its extraordinary success at attracting foreign investment, however, Communist China still benefits from soft loans from the World Bank's poverty fund, the International Development Association, on the premise that it is a developing nation. The PRC also receives subsidized capital through the IMF and the Asian Development Bank.

Chairman SOLOMON introduced legislation in the 104th Congress to address this inequitable situation. Because Congress cannot direct the votes of U.S. representatives in international organizations, the legislation urged, though it did not direct, the President to instruct U.S. representatives to vote against loans for the PRC in these international financial institutions.

Subsidies from U.S. taxpayers are unlike the extension of MFN—free trade, after all, abhors subsidies. Accordingly, H.R. 2196 cuts United States contributions to international financial institutions by the amount constituting the American share of the subsidies given to Communist China.

6. Theater Missile Defense Sales to Taiwan. In both 1995 and 1996, the PLA blockaded Taiwan's two largest ports by missile "tests," which also interfered with United States commercial shipping and aviation. The United States was forced to respond by sending two carrier battle groups to the Taiwan Strait during the crisis.

Sale of theater missile defense components to Taiwan is directly responsive to these threats. Because such systems are purely defensive, they pose no threat to any nation in the region, and by nature will only contribute to stability in the region. As defensive weapons, their sale is consistent with the Taiwan Relations Act. And, because such weapons would be purchased from the United States, no U.S. foreign aid is required for the transfer.

The bill to be introduced shortly requires the administration to develop plans for missile defense systems capable of defending the territory of Taiwan as soon as reasonably possible, and calls on the President to approve their sale to Taiwan.

7. Accession of Taiwan to the WTP Prior to Communist China. WTO working groups are currently negotiating with Taiwan and the PRC over their respective bids for accession to the WTO. Taiwan is applying for membership in the WTO as a special customs region,

a status that does not connote nationhood. Hong Kong, for example, will retain its separate WTO membership as a special customs region following the July 1, 1997 handover.

Taiwan, our eighth largest trading partner, is currently far closer than the PRC to concluding an accession agreement. The PRC still has a long way to go to meet the free market norms of the WTO. Some 100,000 state-owned enterprises are currently operating in the PRC, accounting for over a third of Communist China's total industrial production, and employing two-thirds of the urban work force.

Unlike the PRC, Taiwan does not seek accession as a developing country, a status that would permit it to delay revocation of a variety of unfair trading practices. Yet the PRC, and its proxies on the Taiwan-WTO working group, insist that Taiwan's accession be linked for political reasons to that of the PRC.

A provision of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act authored by Representative ROHRBACHER, and supported by the Clinton administration and Representative HAMILTON, states that the United States should support Taiwan's application for WTO membership. It passed the House on June 4, 1997. Representative GEPHARDT has introduced more aggressive language, constitutionally suspect, that attempts to require the United States to oppose the PRC's accession to the WTO in the absence of a variety of policy changes. Because the Constitution gives the President, not Congress, the authority to direct the votes and negotiating posture of U.S. representatives in international forums, this vehicle is flawed.

House Concurrent Resolution 190 strengthens the Foreign Relations Authorization Act provision concerning Taiwan's admission to the WTO, but avoids the constitutional problems of the Gephardt approach. It states Congress's support for Taiwan's WTO application and urges that Taiwan be admitted ahead of Communist China, which is not ready for WTO accession.

8. Fighting Missile Proliferation. The Gore-McCain Iran-Iraq Arms Non-Proliferation Act of 1992 requires the President to sanction nations that transfer "destabilizing numbers and types" of advanced conventional weapons to these outlaw nations. Yet when the China National Precision Machinery Import-Export Corporation transferred 60 C-802 cruise missiles to Iran, the administration declined to apply the act's sanctions—despite the fact that 15,000 U.S. troops are stationed within range of the C-802 missiles acquired by Iran, and the fact that the State Department itself has found that "[t]hese cruise missiles pose new, direct threats to deployed United States forces." Indeed, 37 American sailors were killed during Operation Desert Storm when the *U.S.S. Stark* was struck by a cruise missile in the Persian Gulf. And on June 17 it was further reported that Iran and China are jointly developing a new short-range ballistic missile with a 105-mile range.

H.R. 188 expressly finds that the delivery of the C-802 missiles violated the 1992 act, and urges the Administration to obey the law.

9. Free the Clergy Act. International Relations Committee Chairman GILMAN introduced H.R. 967 on March 6, 1997. The bill's findings outline the religious persecution perpetrated by the Communist Chinese against Tibetan Buddhists, Catholic, and other Christian clergy and worshippers. H.R. 967 states it as congressional policy that religious freedom should be a major facet of the President's policy toward China. H.R. 967 prohibits (1) issuance of visas and (2) the use of American funds appropriated for the Department of State, USIA, or AID to pay for the travel of Communist Chinese officials in-

volved in the Patriotic—government-approved churches—in the PRC, or in the formulation or implementation of policies to repress free worship.

10. Opposing Forced Abortion in China. The abhorrent pattern of forced abortion and sterilization countenanced under the state-imposed "one-child policy" is a grisly phenomenon with implications both for religious liberty and for basic human rights. The China policy bill recently introduced by Senator ABRAHAM provides that United States visas shall not be issued to Chinese officials implementing this form of "population control." The bill to be introduced contains this prohibition as a stand-alone piece of legislation.

11. Helping Chinese Political Prisoners in the Laogai. Dissidents—not only well-known individuals such as Wei Jingsheng and Wang Dan, but literally hundreds of thousands of others—are imprisoned without trial or even formal charges. Wei himself has recently been sentenced to a second 14 years, without any semblance of due process. That glaring injustice led two former U.S. Attorneys General to offer to defend him at his December 1995 show trial—an offer Beijing forbade.

The bill expresses America's contempt for this aspect of China's current autocratic rule. The bill authorizes increased funding to permit six diplomats to monitor human rights to be assigned to the Beijing Embassy, and at least one diplomat dedicated to monitoring human rights to be assigned to each U.S. Consulate in China. Currently, only one official in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing is assigned to human rights, and none in U.S. Consulates in the PRC.

12. Encouraging China to Engage in Good-Faith Trade Negotiations. The Chinese Government has thus far failed to propose the kinds of meaningful reductions in trade barriers necessary for it to enter the World Trade Organization. H.R. 1712, introduced by Representatives Bereuter and Ewing, combines a carrot and a stick to motivate China to make the necessary concessions to enter the WTO. The bill requires the President to impose "snapback"—pre-Uruguay Round—tariffs on selected Chinese goods if he determines that the PRC is not "according adequate trade benefits to the United States, including substantially equal competitive opportunities for the commerce of the United States," and "taking adequate steps or making significant proposals to become a WTO member." In addition, bill provides permanent MFN status for Chinese goods if China accedes to the WTO.

On July 31, 1997, I signed a letter to President Bill Clinton responding to reported plans for the White House to certify the 1985 Nuclear Cooperation Agreement between the U.S. and China. The action is anticipated for the fall of 1997.

According to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, the United States must have a bilateral agreement for nuclear cooperation with any country it seeks to provide with the technologies, materials and services required to build nuclear powerplants or other nuclear facilities. In 1985, such an agreement was negotiated with China.

But before it is implemented, the President must certify to Congress that China has become a reliable and responsible party to the international nonproliferation regime by halting all exports of nuclear technology to nations with unsafeguarded nuclear facilities. No President has thus far been able to certify this for China.

In fact, in February, 1996, it was reported that China had sold 5,000 ring magnets to Pakistan for use in Pakistan's uranium enrichment facility. In the 1980's China secretly constructed a nuclear reactor in Algeria capable of producing nuclear weapons.

China finally confessed to the project when confronted with aerial photographs in 1991.

I mention all of these examples of initiatives I am pursuing in Washington because I believe the people of China need a strong partnership with the United States. Without question the United States will profit greatly from such an association and our humanitarian objectives could also be achieved. The only thing standing in the way has been the Chinese Government.

Obviously, the MFN question is one upon which I devoted considerable time. In the end, after evaluating these and other factors I came to the conclusion that the vote to revoke MFN for China was, without question, in the best interest of Colorado's Fourth Congressional District, and the United States. I will continue to do all I can in my official capacity to see the relationship between China and the United States improved, and the prosperity of our citizens enhanced by it.

PATHWAYS TO FREEDOM BUS TRAGEDY

HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, August 1, 1997

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a moment to comment on the recent tragedy in Emporia, VA, on July 29, 1997. A bus carrying students and chaperones with the Pathways to Freedom program crashed, leaving one person dead and two seriously injured.

Pathways to Freedom is a program started through the Rosa and Raymond Parks Institute for Self Development which helps young people learn the values of those who risked their lives for freedom during the Underground Railroad and civil rights movements. The students and chaperones came from all over the United States and the Bahamas to learn where we have been in order to know where we are going. In the words of Lila Cabbil, past president for Institute, those on the bus were not on a field trip, but on one leg of a lifelong journey.

Adisa Foluke, 25, was the sole life lost in this tragic accident. He was extremely dedicated to the Pathways to Freedom program. In the words of Adisa's mother, "He embodied the spirit of the movement. He connected with the children in an exceptional way, and was committed to carrying on Mrs. Parks' legacy."

On a personal note, Adisa regularly stopped by my office, during which time we had many conversations concerning the program and other civic projects in the Detroit area. It was an inspiration to me to see the next generation taking a leadership role in educating others on the importance of remembering the struggle for civil rights.

Pathways to Freedom has made a special effort to ensure that the program will continue its outstanding work of educating young people on American civil rights history. The children want to continue, as they have been inspired by Mrs. Parks, from whom they learn to live their lives differently because of struggle, instead of stopping their lives in the face of adversity.