

expanded, but freedom of thought and expression had not. "But this is precisely your goal," Wei wrote to China's president. "Widespread cultural ignorance is the foundation for dictatorship."

The contrast Wei noted during his brief field trip from jail underlies Washington's current debate over extending most-favored-nation (MFN) trading status to China and, more broadly, U.S.-China relations. Which is the more significant portent for China's future, the skyscraper or the bookshop?

Those who favor MFN extension point to the skyscraper, arguing that economic modernization inevitably will lead to political liberalization—that if you get enough skyscrapers, eventually you'll get books and newspapers, too. This has been the pattern in South Korea and Taiwan, after all, where a rising middle class eventually insisted on democratic rights. Even in China, where authoritarian rulers maintain tight political control, market reforms have brought new freedoms—to choose one's place of work and residence, to live private and personal lives.

Yet a South Korea-style progression is not inevitable. Nazi Germany proved that a totalitarian political regime can comfortably co-exist with capitalism—with private shopkeepers, big corporations, a developed middle class.

Ah, but the advent of the information age has changed all that, the argument continues. Knowledge is the essential commodity of tomorrow's economies, and no nation that limits its flow can prosper.

It's a seductive argument, and it may be true in the very long run. The demise of the Soviet Union, where even a copying machine was considered subversive, gave currency to the view. But totalitarian regimes can use information technologies as well as be undermined by them as George Orwell realized some time ago. China's regime so far has proved far more adept than the Soviet Union at attracting commercial knowledge and technology from outside while controlling the political debate inside—intimidating print media in Hong Kong, monitoring Internet access in China, whipping up nationalistic fervor to promote its own survival.

So China might become more democratic; it also might become more fascist, a danger to its neighbors and to U.S. interests, too. Given that uncertainty, the debate shifts: Can other nations do anything to steer China toward the first outcome? Supporters of MFN extension argue that trade sanctions won't work; China "has steadfastly resisted efforts to link its commercial interests to its behavior in other areas," Laura D'Andrea Tyson, President Clinton's first term economic adviser, wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* last week.

This isn't quite right either. In the few years after the Tiananmen Square massacre, when China's leaders believed Congress would impose serious sanctions, they released political prisoners and allowed a leading dissident to go into exile. Once President Clinton "delinked" trade and human rights, the concessions stopped.

Yet trade sanctions are surely an imperfect tool. Are there others? Tyson argues that "with the limited means at our disposal, we can try to shape the kind of great power China will become and the path it will travel to get there." She doesn't say what those means might be, but in 1994 the Clinton administration produced a long list of possibilities. The United States would no longer use MFN as a lever, Clinton said then, but it would prod China in many other ways: supporting "civic society," pushing human rights issues in international forums, working with U.S. businesses to develop voluntary principles for operating in China and more.

Unfortunately, most of these resolutions fell by the wayside, some right away, some after a few years. Clinton's promise to use non-trade methods to "try to shape" China, in Tyson's words, proved to be more spin than policy, so the concept was never really put to the test. As a result, political freedoms in China are, if anything, more restricted, and many in Congress see MFN as the only way to send a message.

Wei is back in prison and unavailable for comment on this turn of events. In his prison letters, though (recently published in this country), Wei maintained that a peaceful evolution toward democracy would be almost impossible for China unless other nations pushed in that direction, supporting those Chinese who share their values.

"One way to minimize losses and setbacks for all sides is for countries with related interests to exert pressure and help bring about internal progress and reform," Wei wrote in 1991. Six years later, Wei undoubtedly is still waiting.

The writer is a member of the editorial page staff. •

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 50

At the request of Mr. FAIRCLOTH, the name of the Senator from Alaska [Mr. MURKOWSKI] was added as a cosponsor of S. 50, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a non-refundable tax credit for the expenses of an education at a 2-year college.

S. 89

At the request of Ms. SNOWE, the name of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DURBIN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 89, a bill to prohibit discrimination against individuals and their family members on the basis of genetic information, or a request for genetic services.

S. 92

At the request of Mr. KERRY, the name of the Senator from Washington [Mrs. MURRAY] was added as a cosponsor of S. 92, a bill to amend title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to establish provisions with respect to religious accommodation in employment, and for other purposes.

S. 191

At the request of Mr. HELMS, the name of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. HUTCHINSON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 191, a bill to throttle criminal use of guns.

S. 232

At the request of Mr. HARKIN, the name of the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY] was added as a cosponsor of S. 232, a bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to prohibit discrimination in the payment of wages on account of sex, race, or national origin, and for other purposes.

S. 263

At the request of Mr. MCCONNELL, the name of the Senator from Hawaii [Mr. AKAKA] was added as a cosponsor of S. 263, a bill to prohibit the import, export, sale, purchase, possession, transportation, acquisition, and receipt of bear viscera or products that contain or claim to contain bear viscera, and for other purposes.

S. 332

At the request of Mr. HARKIN, the name of the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. WELLSTONE] was added as a cosponsor of S. 332, a bill to prohibit the importation of goods produced abroad with child labor, and for other purposes.

S. 350

At the request of Mr. THURMOND, the name of the Senator from Maine [Ms. SNOWE] was added as a cosponsor of S. 350, a bill to authorize payment of special annuities to surviving spouses of deceased members of the uniformed services who are ineligible for a survivor annuity under transition laws relating to the establishment of the Survivor Benefit Plan under chapter 73 of title 10, United States Code.

S. 358

At the request of Mr. DEWINE, the names of the Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN] and the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT] were added as cosponsors of S. 358, a bill to provide for compassionate payments with regard to individuals with blood-clotting disorders, such as hemophilia, who contracted human immunodeficiency virus due to contaminated blood products, and for other purposes.

S. 387

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the names of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. KERREY], the Senator from Texas [Mr. GRAMM], the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. LAUTENBERG], and the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBB] were added as cosponsors of S. 387, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide equity to exports of software.

S. 389

At the request of Mr. ABRAHAM, the names of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. FAIRCLOTH], and the Senator from Maine [Ms. COLLINS] were added as cosponsors of S. 389, a bill to improve congressional deliberation on proposed Federal private sector mandates, and for other purposes.

S. 405

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the names of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. FORD], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. HAGEL], and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. DODD] were added as cosponsors of S. 405, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to permanently extend the research credit and to allow greater opportunity to elect the alternative incremental credit.

S. 406

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the name of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. KERREY] was added as a cosponsor of S. 406, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide clarification for the deductibility of expenses incurred by a taxpayer in connection with the business use of the home.

S. 433

At the request of Mr. BROWNBACK, the names of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. FAIRCLOTH] and the Senator

from Texas [Mrs. HUTCHISON] were added as cosponsors of S. 433, a bill to require Congress and the President to fulfill their Constitutional duty to take personal responsibility for Federal laws.

S. 460

At the request of Mr. BOND, the names of the Senator from Kentucky [Mr. MCCONNELL], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. COATS] were added as cosponsors of S. 460, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to increase the deduction for health insurance costs of self-employed individuals, to provide clarification for the deductibility of expenses incurred by a taxpayer in connection with the business use of the home, to clarify the standards used for determining that certain individuals are not employees, and for other purposes.

S. 496

At the request of Mr. CHAFEE, the names of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BREAU], the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. KERREY], and the Senator from Colorado [Mr. ALLARD] were added as cosponsors of S. 496, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to provide a credit against income tax to individuals who rehabilitate historic homes or who are the first purchasers of rehabilitated historic homes for use as a principal residence.

S. 529

At the request of Mr. GRASSLEY, the name of the Senator from Washington [Mr. GORTON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 529, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to exclude certain farm rental income from net earnings from self-employment if the taxpayer enters into a lease agreement relating to such income.

S. 578

At the request of Mr. DASCHLE, the name of the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT] was added as a cosponsor of S. 578, a bill to permit an individual to be treated by a health care practitioner with any method of medical treatment such individual requests, and for other purposes.

S. 599

At the request of Mrs. BOXER, the name of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. TORRICELLI] was added as a cosponsor of S. 599, a bill to protect children and other vulnerable subpopulations from exposure to certain environmental pollutants, and for other purposes.

S. 621

At the request of Mr. D'AMATO, the name of the Senator from Utah [Mr. BENNETT] was added as a cosponsor of S. 621, a bill to repeal the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, to enact the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1997, and for other purposes.

S. 643

At the request of Mr. DURBIN, the name of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. WYDEN] was added as a cosponsor of S.

643, a bill to prohibit the Federal Government from providing insurance, reinsurance, or noninsured crop disaster assistance for tobacco.

S. 657

At the request of Mr. DASCHLE, the name of the Senator from North Dakota [Mr. DORGAN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 657, a bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to permit retired members of the Armed Forces who have a service-connected disability to receive military retired pay concurrently with veterans' disability compensation.

S. 673

At the request of Mr. BREAU, the name of the Senator from Nebraska [Mr. KERREY] was added as a cosponsor of S. 673, a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and Employee Retirement Income Security Act of 1974 in order to promote and improve employee stock ownership plans.

S. 678

At the request of Mr. LEAHY, the name of the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBB] was added as a cosponsor of S. 678, a bill to provide for the appointment of additional Federal circuit and district judges, and for other purposes.

S. 713

At the request of Mr. DODD, the name of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. HUTCHINSON] was added as a cosponsor of S. 713, a bill to amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to allow for additional deferred effective dates for approval of applications under the new drugs provisions, and for other purposes.

S. 731

At the request of Mr. BUMPERS, the name of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COVERDELL] was added as a cosponsor of S. 731, a bill to extend the legislative authority for construction of the National Peace Garden Memorial, and for other purposes.

S. 755

At the request of Mr. CAMPBELL, the name of the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. LIEBERMAN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 755, a bill to amend title 10, United States Code, to restore the provisions of chapter 76 of that title—relating to missing persons—as in effect before the amendments made by the National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 1997 and to make other improvements to that chapter.

S. 771

At the request of Mr. MURKOWSKI, the name of the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. FAIRCLOTH] was added as a cosponsor of S. 771, a bill to regulate the transmission of unsolicited commercial electronic mail, and for other purposes.

S. 772

At the request of Mr. SPECTER, the names of the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. SANTORUM] and the Senator from Ohio [Mr. DEWINE] were added as cosponsors of S. 772, a bill to establish an Office of Religious Persecution Monitoring, to provide for the imposi-

tion of sanctions against countries engaged in a pattern of religious persecution, and for other purposes.

S. 781

At the request of Mr. HATCH, the names of the Senator from Texas [Mrs. HUTCHISON], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. LOTT], the Senator from Kansas [Mr. ROBERTS], and the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] were added as cosponsors of S. 781, a bill to establish a uniform and more efficient Federal process for protecting property owners' rights guaranteed by the fifth amendment.

S. 800

At the request of Mr. ABRAHAM, the name of the Senator from Georgia [Mr. COVERDELL] was added as a cosponsor of S. 800, a bill to create a tax cut reserve fund to protect revenues generated by economic growth.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 29

At the request of Mr. GORTON, the names of the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO] and the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DURBIN] were added as cosponsors of Senate Concurrent Resolution 29, a concurrent resolution recommending the integration of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

SENATE RESOLUTION 92

At the request of Mr. LAUTENBERG, the names of the Senator from New Jersey [Mr. TORRICELLI], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KENNEDY], the Senator from Maryland [Mr. SARBANES], the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND], the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN], the Senator from Michigan [Mr. LEVIN], the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. HUTCHINSON], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. ROTH], the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. KERRY], the Senator from New York [Mr. MOYNIHAN], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. BREAU], the Senator from Iowa [Mr. GRASSLEY], the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. WELLSTONE], the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. LIEBERMAN], the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DURBIN], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. REID], the Senator from Delaware [Mr. BIDEN], and the Senator from New York [Mr. D'AMATO] were added as cosponsors of Senate Resolution 92, a resolution designating July 2, 1997, and July 2, 1998, as "National Literacy Day."

AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

THE FAMILY FRIENDLY
WORKPLACE ACTBAUCUS (AND OTHERS)
AMENDMENT NO. 361

(Ordered to lie on the table.)

Mr. BAUCUS (for himself, Mr. KERREY, and Mr. LANDRIEU) submitted an amendment intended to be proposed by them to the bill (S. 4) to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to