

hard to serve the public, it only takes one incident such as this to continue the undermining of public confidence with the Internal Revenue Service.

Now, Carole Ward had the courage to go into the public arena and fight the Internal Revenue Service, but many American taxpayers are intimidated from responding when the IRS abuses take place.

I am hopeful that last week's Federal court decision will prompt the Internal Revenue Service to recommit itself to serving the public responsibly and to weed out those agents and employees who abuse their power. I hope they think about their relationship with the taxpayers, not one to make criminals out of taxpayer citizens in this country, but to assist them in filling out their forms and meeting the requirements of the law.

Again, I encourage all employees of the Internal Revenue Service to look at their added responsibilities and their added responsibility in relation to dealing with the taxpayers and make sure that everybody pays their fair share of taxes and nothing more.

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

#### HISTORIC ADDRESS BY TAIWAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, we live in a time when so many United States leaders, both in and out of Government, are apprehensive lest the so-called People's Republic of China be offended at the slightest suggestion that the basic principles of justice, human rights, and freedom should be applicable to the actions of the Communist leaders in Beijing as well as to all the rest of us.

Mr. President, are the American people supposed to live in fear and nervous anticipation when even the barest questions about Communist China's conduct are raised? Are we supposed to pretend that the gross violations of trade by Communist China are not happening every day? Are we supposed to cringe in fear when the leaders in Beijing threaten the destruction of San Francisco?

Surely the greatness of America is not to be diminished by the bullying threats flowing from mainland China.

Mr. President, these thoughts came to my mind over the weekend when I received from a prominent and respected American the text of an address delivered on May 22, less than 3 weeks ago, before the European Parliament in Brussels, Belgium.

Who delivered it? It was delivered by an honorable and distinguished gen-

tleman, John Chang, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China on Taiwan. My purpose in being here this afternoon is to express my hope that every Senator will read the text of Mr. Chang's remarks, and, while doing so, compare his rhetoric with that flowing constantly from mainland China.

For that reason, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of Mr. Chang's address be printed in the RECORD.

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

#### TEXT OF JOHN CHANG'S ADDRESS IN BRUSSELS

Mr. Chairman Spencer, distinguished members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Security and Defense Policy, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Thank you all so much for inviting me to speak to you at this very very prestigious forum today. It is truly a great honor not only for my humble self, but also for my government, the Republic of China which is now located on an island called Taiwan. Allow me first of all to convey to each and every one of you the warmest greetings and gratitude from 21.3 million people living in Taiwan. We deeply appreciated this opportunity that our story can finally be directly told and better understood to our respectable members of the European Parliament.

I was told that over the past years, the Dalai Lama of Tibet, Mr. Arafat of PLO and Mr. Mandela of ANC etc., all had been invited to this forum to exchange views with you over their issues. The situation that the Republic of China on Taiwan faces today is totally different from theirs, but there is one thing in common, it is that we all need the fair attention of the world and we all have to appeal to international justice.

It took me about 20 hours to fly over from Taipei to Brussels, the day before yesterday, yet it has taken my government, the Republic of China, more than twenty-five years to be finally given an important international platform like this today to have our voice heard, to have our humble views shared, and to have our story faithfully told.

It is sad to point out that our freedom of speech as a sovereign state, has long been deprived of from almost all international organizations since 1971, the year when we were forced out of the UN, simply because of mainland China's untrue position that there is but one China on earth, which is the People's Republic of China, and the Republic of China on Taiwan is one of their provinces. The sheer existence of one able, prosperous, vigorous and democratic government called the Republic of China, has been for nearly a quarter-century, veiled in thick political fog of world politics. The truth about my country, the truth about my people have all been flagrantly distorted and badly twisted. And the rights of my government as a sovereign state have subsequently been brutally neglected, ignored and even totally denied in the world affairs arena for decades.

The Republic of China was established in 1912 by a successful revolution led by Dr. Sun Yet-sen, which overthrew the Ching Dynasty. Dr. Sun Yet-sen was educated in the United States, and he had widely toured the European continent and did his research at the British Empire Library in London for a number of years before he returned to China to lead the revolution. Europe has evidently very much to do with the birth of a modern China. Actually the link between Europe and China, I mean the ancient China, was forged centuries ago.

When any scholar talks about the early contacts between Europe and Cathay, he can never afford to forget to mention two prominent European figures, one is, of course, Marco Polo, the other, Matteo Ricci. Both of them are Italians, the former a legendary merchant, the latter a Jesuit missionary, and they were 300 years apart. Marco Polo traveled with his father and uncle from Venice to China in 1271, when Mongolians were ruling China. He had spent 24 years in China. Matteo Ricci came to China under Ming Dynasty in 1583, he lived in China for thirty years and died there. The great differences between the two great Italians lie in the fact that the trader Marco Polo succeeded in introducing the old Cathay to Europe, yet the missionary Matteo Ricci did things another way around, he introduced Europe to China, not only her culture, science, but the religion of Christianity. The most important contribution that Marco Polo ever rendered was his bringing back to Europe such Chinese inventions as the compass, paper-making, paper money and printing. Many historians believe that Marco Polo's book entitled "Description of the World" may have influenced many explorers, including Christopher Columbus. By citing this portion of history, I intend simply to stress that how close once we were together in the past, and we certainly would be even closer in the future.

A few minutes ago I pointed out that the Republic of China was established in 1912 after a revolution strongly motivated by a new tide of political thought of Europe. It was the first Republic in entire Asia. The ensuing thirty years for the new Republic were all turbulent and chaotic. Only after the end of World War II, the new Republic got a very short breathing period. But it was already too late, the entire nation became fully exhausted by the eight-year Sino-Japanese war from 1937 to 1945. The Chinese Communists seized the opportunity to engage a civil war against the nationalist government of KMT led by late Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. The Communists won the war in 1949, consequently, the government of the Republic of China was then moved from the Chinese mainland to the island of Taiwan with her Constitution which was promulgated in 1947.

In 1949 when the government of the Republic of China was relocated on Taiwan, she remained to be the legitimate government of whole China with a majority of nations in the UN supporting this claim diplomatically, the number was 47 out of 59. As the membership of the UN grew up to exactly 100 in 1960, the number of nations which maintained diplomatic ties with the Republic of China on Taiwan was 53, still a majority support in the world organization. Her diplomatic relations reached a peak ten years later in 1970 with 67 nations formally recognizing her, and the membership of the UN was 126, yet the following year in 1971, a drastic down-turn took place, because of the change of attitude of the US vis-à-vis her relationship with the PRC. The seat of a founding member of the UN, the Republic of China was unprecedentedly replaced by a relatively young regime, the People's Republic of China which was created in 1949, 38 years junior to the ROC. What was truly in question as an issue at the UN in 1971 was not the Republic of China's legitimacy as a sovereign state which was so challenged and defeated, but it was her representation right which she insisted, should cover the entire China, including the Chinese mainland over which she was not exercising jurisdiction. It was her "representation right" that she lost, not her sovereignty as a state. Around the end of 1971, after the UN fiasco, the number of states which recognized Republic of China on Taiwan dropped from 67 to 54. It was an admitted failure for the Republic of China in her battle with the People's Republic of China over the so-called

"Chinese representation right" issued in the UN. Yet this does not mean at all as the PRC has ever so alleged that the Republic of China has lost in the battle at UN together with her statehood. This allegation is absolutely groundless, untrue and absurd in accordance with international law.

There is no denial that after our forced departure from the United Nations, the Republic of China on Taiwan has become more and more isolated internationally. Yet the frustration on the international front has never hampered the iron will and firm determination of the people and government of the Republic of China to move on forward to effectively develop our economy and to enhance our democracy.

Twenty years ago, in 1976, our total trade volume was \$15.6 billion US dollars; last year, 1996, our export import trade volume reached \$217.2 billion US dollars, with a surplus \$14.7 billion US dollars. The Republic of China has been fortunate and had a 6% annual growth for the past ten years, bringing our per capita gross national product to \$12,000. Exports have made our economy. Today the Republic of China is a leading producer of electronics, computers and other industrial products. Today we are selling the world disk drives, monitors, notebooks and modems. To give you an example: last year, we had \$11.6 billion in computer-hardware production. We are the largest computer manufacturer in the world after the United States, Japan and Germany.

Our trade with the European Union has grown rapidly in a very encouraging way in the past three years. The volume grew from \$23 billion in 1994 to \$29.5 billion in 1995 and \$31.3 billion in 1996.

Of our European trading partners, Germany enjoys the highest volume of \$8.6 billion, followed by the Netherlands with \$5.2 billion, UK \$4.6 billion, France \$4.2 billion and Italy \$2.6 billion. And Belgium is our 7th trading partner with a volume of \$1.32 billion, after Switzerland of \$1.75 billion, ahead of Sweden of \$1.13 billion. My government has attached great importance to our trade with the European Union as a whole in the past; we will continue to do the same in the future.

Our focus on high technology and electronic exports has been a success. In less than 50 years, Taiwan ranks as the world's 20th largest economy with a gross national product of \$275 billion. We are the 13th largest trading nation in the world and have accumulated world's third largest reserves of foreign exchange. Yet we are not a member of the UN.

We have come a long way in terms of political achievements. It was not very long ago that "Martial Law" was still in effect and minimal contacts were allowed between us and our compatriots on the Chinese Mainland. In 1987, just 10 years ago, the late president Chiang Ching-kuo lifted the marshal law and allowed the major opposition party—Democratic Progressive Party—to form. President Chiang also eliminated the restrictions and bans on newspapers, public assembly and demonstrations.

President Chiang's decision to lift martial law laid the foundation of a series of additional political reforms beginning in the early 1990s. President Chiang passed away in 1988, and was immediately succeeded by President Lee Teng-Huei in accordance with our Constitution. It was President Lee who charted all those extremely important reforms in the 90's. The National Assembly amended our Constitution to allow the government to hold all-Taiwan elections to replace Assembly members and lawmakers who had not faced their electorate for more than 40 years. In 1991, the first all-Taiwan National Assembly was elected, seating 325

members. The Assembly further amended the Constitution in 1992 and 1994 to shorten the terms of office of the president and Assembly members from six years to four. Most importantly, the amended Constitution allowed our President to be elected by all voting age citizens in the ROC's jurisdiction in 1996. On March 23, 1996, Dr. Lee Teng-Huei defeated three other presidential rivals and became the first popularly-elected President of the Republic of China. In the five thousand years of Chinese history, this was the first time that the Chinese people were able to elect their head of state directly. The legitimacy of the government of the Republic of China on Taiwan was rightfully strengthened. The fact that the government of the Republic of China is fully exercising her sovereignty and jurisdiction over the area of Taiwan island has become absolutely indisputable in whatever *de jure* sense.

President Lee Teng-Huei has rapidly transformed Taiwan's old single-party government into a working democracy. He has successfully orchestrated a quiet revolution, bringing new freedoms to his people. This transformation was achieved in quiet manner. There have been no class confrontations, no military coup and no political suppression in Taiwan. The process of reform in Taiwan was unique and unprecedented.

Taiwan now has a multi-party system and has realized the ideal of popularly-elected government. We have a total respect for individual freedom and this is clearly the most free and liberal era in Chinese history. Free speech is fully protected; all types of government controls over society have been relaxed or eliminated. We are now an open, pluralistic and free society. Our government has taken upon itself to defend and protect the fundamental human rights of every citizen. But unfortunately, many countries in the world still indulge themselves in the lie brazenly told by the PRC that the government of the Republic of China does not exist.

Despite our economic strength and political liberalization, we have formal diplomatic ties with only 30 nations in the world, even though we enjoy substantive relations with all major countries. We feel hurt and neglected, because we have not been accorded proper recognition by the world community. Since the late 80's we have been pragmatic in our foreign relations. We try to hold on to our friend and seek new friends and new "connections" whenever possible. So far this new pragmatism has served us well. I have to emphasize here that this new approach on our foreign relations has nothing to do with the so-called "Independence of Taiwan". Taiwan is the name of an area or the name of a province where the government of the Republic of China is situated. Taiwan is not a name of a nation, nor the name of my government. It's simply a geographical term. Since on the island of Taiwan or in the area of Taiwan, there has long been a sovereign government called the Republic of China, there is absolutely no sense for us to try to create another state on Taiwan. What we have been seeking for in the international community is a better recognition of the government of the Republic of China which she deserves to have.

It is true that the People's Republic of China maintains that there is one China, and so do we. Yet we have different interpretation of the "One China". Our position is rather simple that the One China was divided in 1949, which remains divided now. The international community should recognize the fact of a divided China and treat the ROC government as a sovereignty with effective jurisdiction over Taiwan and the offshore islands under its control. The spirit of our diplomacy of pragmatism is based on the acceptance of the fact that PRC is the political

entity which has firm and effective control of the Chinese mainland area, and at the same time Taiwan area is under the tight control and legal jurisdiction of my government. We will not compete with the PRC on the "representation right" issue. On international relations, they may well represent the mainland, and we represent Taiwan area. Hence, one China with two separate political entities is a reality no one can deny and a fact that the world must deal with realistically.

Just as East and West Germany enjoyed simultaneously membership in the United Nations before their reunification, Republic of China should be allowed to participate in the world organizations with the PRC. A membership for Taiwan would definitely bring about more peaceful contacts between Taiwan and the mainland and further help pave the way for the reunification of a "One China". In short, like Korea, PRC and ROC on Taiwan deserve recognition. While developing our relations abroad, we hold no hostility with PRC at all, any move in expanding our breathing space in the world community is not aiming at mainland China at all. We simply want to be treated as what we are. We want to be treated no more than what we deserve to have.

Mr. Chairman, as the Republic of China's foreign minister, I would like to stress and also clarify a few points, which might be of interest to you and to your colleagues:

1. Both the Republic of China on Taiwan and the People's Republic of China on mainland believe in One China. The government of the Republic of China, and the political party in power, KMT, repudiates Taiwan independence.

2. One China does not mean the People's Republic of China. Beijing argues that "there is only one China and only the PRC has sovereignty rule over China; therefore Taiwan is part of PRC." We believe that PRC leaders represent a political authority, not single China. Communist China does not equate to the China. China is still now divided and governed by two separate governments; the PRC and the ROC, each having its own jurisdiction and sovereignty over its own areas.

3. Beijing should openly renounce the use of force against Taiwan and resume talks and dialogues with us. Beijing must give peace a chance. All issues can be discussed. President Lee has indicated his willingness to travel to Beijing or anywhere else to hold talks with Communist leaders.

4. Both Chinese societies can benefit from more direct economic, social and cultural exchanges. In fact our investments in the mainland in the last ten years have amounted to more than \$25 billion. Our investments have enabled the mainland to build foreign exchange reserves and created jobs. Influx of our capital has improved living standards and relieved poverty and backwardness among the mainland Chinese population.

5. Beijing should accept us as an equal partner. We seek to have better relations with the mainland. We do not want to see Chinese fighting Chinese, not in Taiwan Strait, nor on international arena, but rather Chinese helping Chinese. Our compatriots on the mainland and we share a common ethnic bond.

6. In Taiwan there is no support for a reckless or precipitate reunification with the mainland at the moment, certainly not under the terms of formula set forth by the PRC, such as the so-called "One State, Two Systems" Formula, which definitely is inapplicable and unacceptable to ROC on Taiwan.

7. We will continue our "pragmatic diplomacy" which means that we will seek friends and allies everywhere and want the world to know that we exist. We will seek to expand

our trade and cultural offices in over 150 countries and regions, in addition to the 30 nations that have formal ties with us. We will also seek to join international organizations, including the UN, and her peripheral organizations, because we have so much to contribute to the world;

8. Our ultimate goal is for the world to recognize us as a full member of the international community. We are well aware how important and difficult the process of reintegration into the international community will be for Taiwan. However, we have the resources and commitment that will allow us to make our positive contribution to peace, prosperity and good will in the world.

9. We will take full responsibility for our own destiny, but we believe that as an economically prosperous and democratically free nation seeking its proper place in the world, we can expect the nations of the world, particularly the European nations to assist us in this task.

10. We are prepared, too, to shoulder our share of responsibility for helping and assisting other nations, including mainland China, not in the spirit of paternalism or dominance but mutual cooperation and respect.

Looking forward towards the 21st century, I foresee a vibrant Republic of China actively promoting economic and trade cooperation with all regions around the world, but with emphasis on two areas—members of the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN) and the mainland China. This type of economic and trade cooperation will strengthen the regional economic infrastructure and will stimulate the flow of resources throughout the region, leading to further economic growth as we seek to become an Asia-Pacific regional operation center by the year 2000.

While pursuing economic growth and strength, the perfection of our democratic system remains to be our most cherished and most urged goal in our national policy. We firmly believe that no country could ever become a truly great country until it becomes fully democratic.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, with your understanding, sympathy and genuine support, as a democratic and sovereign state, in the midst of challenges, unfair, unequal treatments and tests of all kind, we, the Republic of China on Taiwan, shall rise up again.

I thank you all so much.

#### THE VERY BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, at the close of business Friday, June 6, 1997, the Federal debt stood at \$5,352,776,809,883.07. (Five trillion, three hundred fifty-two billion, seven hundred seventy-six million, eight hundred nine thousand, eight hundred eighty-three dollars and seven cents)

One year ago, June 6, 1996, the Federal debt stood at \$5,139,284,000,000. (Five trillion, one hundred thirty-nine billion, two hundred eighty-four million)

Twenty-five years ago, June 6, 1972, the Federal debt stood at \$427,810,000,000 (Four hundred twenty-seven billion, eight hundred ten million) which reflects a debt increase of nearly \$5 trillion—\$4,924,966,809,883.07 (Four trillion, nine hundred twenty-four billion, nine hundred sixty-six million, eight hundred nine thousand, eight hundred eighty-three dollars and seven cents) during the past 25 years.

#### RICHARD AND JANET CONES—SOUTH DAKOTA SMALL BUSINESS OWNERS OF THE YEAR

Mr. DASCHLE. Mr. President, I was privileged to meet earlier this week with Richard and Janet Cone, owners of Cone Ag-Service, Inc., in Pierre, South Dakota. They were recently designated the South Dakota Small Business Owners of the Year by the Small Business Administration.

This award is a testament to the Cones' drive and business acumen over the last 30 years, during which they have provided high quality, liquid fertilizer to South Dakota farmers. Like many small businesses, they began at the kitchen table and have grown into a business that employs eight full-time and six part-time employees.

The Cones' success story also includes timely and appropriate assistance from a Federal agency, the Small Business Administration. This agency joined with a local lender to help finance the Cone Ag-Service at a crucial point in its growth, proving that even the best business idea may need financial backing to come to fruition.

But, the most important measure of Cone Ag-Service's success is its customers, who loyally return year after year. The Cones can rely upon the word-of-mouth communication by their customers to generate new business. This type of advertising can't be bought with money; rather, it takes a good product and responsive customer service.

Nearly 200 years ago, the expedition of Lewis and Clark set in motion a great westward expansion of settlers across America. As many of these pioneers made their way up the Missouri River, one can only imagine what entered their minds as they climbed atop the river bluffs and gazed out over the limitless plains of Dakota Territory. Surely, there was very little to remind them of the comforts they had left behind or of the riches they dreamed lay ahead. But there were opportunities to be found, hidden amidst the prairie grass, and a few adventurous souls dared to settle here and make South Dakota their home.

That frontier spirit still runs through the veins of South Dakotans today, but the horizons that await us are no longer hidden. Small businesses like Cone Ag-Service are being created to take advantage of the commercial opportunities our State holds. They are the pioneers of today and I salute them.

#### TRIBUTE TO SENATOR STROM THURMOND

Mr. SHELBY. Mr. President, I rise today to join with many of my colleagues in saluting a great friend, patriot, and statesman—the senior Senator from South Carolina, STROM THURMOND. Listening to the debate recently, I realized that many were speaking of their personal experiences

while serving with Senator THURMOND. I, however, would like to share with my colleagues the greatest story I know about Senator THURMOND—the true story of his life. To me it illustrates one key thing: that the hallmark of STROM THURMOND's life has been his dedication to serving others.

Senator THURMOND was born in 1902 and raised in Edgefield, SC. Following his graduation in 1923 from Clemson University, young STROM THURMOND began his career, first as a teacher and coach, then, at the age of 21, as an officer in the U.S. Army Reserve. Eventually, Senator THURMOND went on to become the county superintendent of education, city attorney, county attorney, State Senator and circuit judge of South Carolina. From 1942 to 1946, Senator THURMOND, along with millions of other brave young men, served in World War II. For his service in the American, European, and Pacific theaters, Senator THURMOND earned 5 battle stars and 18 decorations and medals, including the Legion of Merit with oak leaf cluster, the Purple Heart, and the Bronze Star for valor. Upon his return to South Carolina, STROM THURMOND was elected to serve as Governor of South Carolina. During his tenure as Governor, Senator THURMOND was a candidate for President of the United States. Five years later, in 1954, STROM THURMOND was elected as a write-in candidate for U.S. Senator and has served with distinction in this body as chairman of two prestigious committees, as well as serving as the President pro tempore.

The many personal sacrifices that Senator THURMOND has made over the past nine decades demonstrate his respect for our institution of government and our Nation's history. He knows all too well that when one fails to stand for his principles, those principles will perish. And STROM THURMOND, as a young paratrooper, as a Presidential candidate, and now, as a U.S. Senator, stands—sometimes all alone—for the greatest principles on which America was founded.

STROM even had to switch parties—not once, but effectively, twice, to keep advancing his strongly held principles and ideals. In a sense, though Senator THURMOND has been a Dixiecrat, a Democrat and a Republican, he has always been, most of all, a proud American.

STROM THURMOND has witnessed incredible growth and change in our Nation and our world, and his knowledge of our past and vision for our future is crucial to our present. The Senator's strong leadership, patriotism, dependability, and devotion to duty is inspiring—and his stamina is legendary. The people of South Carolina are fortunate to have such an able gentleman represent them; we here in the U.S. Senate are lucky to stand with him; and all Americans should be grateful for Senator THURMOND's 41 years of service in the Senate and proud of his 94 years of service to this country.