

The MMIW crisis is a heart-wrenching problem impacting Indian country. Over recent decades, thousands of American Indian and Alaska Native ("AI/AN") women have disappeared. The Center for Disease Control and Prevention reported that murder is the third-leading cause of death among AI/AN women and that rates of violence on reservations can be up to ten times higher than the national average.

This crisis is plaguing Washington State at an alarming rate. A 2018 report by the Urban Indian Health Institute found that Washington State ranked second in the nation for the number of MMIW cases (71 cases). Further, the study determined that Seattle was the city with the highest number of MMIW cases (45). This is extremely concerning for the Tribe considering we are located less than 30 miles from Seattle.

While there is no single cause for the high rates of MMIW, experts suggest several explanations, including jurisdictional barriers; lack of cross jurisdictional communication and planning; failure to adequately fund tribal justice systems; and the targeting of Native women by sex traffickers.

Legislation pending in the Judiciary and Natural Resources committees, including Savanna's Act (H.R. 2733) would help address the MMIW crisis. Savanna's Act, introduced by Representatives Norma Torres, Deb Haaland, and Dan Newhouse, would increase coordination among all levels of law enforcement; increase data collection and information sharing; and empower tribal governments with the resources needed in cases involving MMIW.

In closing, the Muckleshoot Indian Tribe strongly encourages the Committee on the Judiciary and Committee on Natural Resources to conduct a joint field hearing in the State of Washington on the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women epidemic and related legislation.

Respectfully,

JAISON ELKINS,
Chairman,
Muckleshoot Indian Tribe.

Mr. NEWHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, these letters outline the importance to both our Native communities in Washington State and the futures of indigenous people around the country.

To quote from the Yakama Nation, Chairman Goudy's letter: "As the Yakama Nation testified in Olympia, there needs to be a genuine response to the reports of missing and murdered Native women and girls across Tribal lands."

Chairman Goudy continues: "Also, all new legislation needs to be guided by a clear strategic framework and principles to move beyond the current conditions endangering the lives and future generations of Native women and girls."

The unique perspective of Native communities like that of the Yakama Nation are invaluable, Mr. Speaker, as we continue to debate the best policies moving forward that will actually provide solutions to this crisis. So I respectfully repeat my invitation to the House Committee on the Judiciary and Committee on Natural Resources to come to my congressional district in central Washington, and I can promise all those members and chairmen the insight they will gain will help them realize how this crisis truly affects our friends and neighbors on and off Tribal lands.

Mr. Speaker, you have heard tonight how this devastating crisis affects Tribes, States, and congressional districts across the country. It is easy to focus on these heartbreaking statistics, but these women are more than just numbers. They are mothers, daughters, sisters, aunts, neighbors, and friends.

There are those who are missing, like:

18-year-old Rosalita Longee, who was last seen in Wapato in 2015;

37-year-old Roberta Jean Raines, last seen in Toppenish in 2001;

29-year-old Daisy Mae Tallman, who went missing in October of 1987; Daisy's backpack and keys were found northwest of White Swan;

29-year-old Karen Louise Johnley, who was last seen by a friend at the Lazy R Tavern in Harrah, Washington in 1987;

16-year-old Janice Hannigan, who, in 1971, went missing after she was discharged by the hospital on Christmas Eve. She never arrived home and has never been heard from again.

Then there are also the unsolved murders, including:

31-year-old Rosenda Strong, who was last seen alive in Wapato on October 2 of last year. Her body was found in July outside of Toppenish, and no arrests have been made;

23-year-old Destiny Louise Lloyd, who went missing on Christmas Day 2017. She was found days later south of Harrah;

31-year-old Minnie Andy. Minnie was assaulted in Wapato in July 2017. She died from her injuries;

39-year-old Linda Dave, whose remains were found in Toppenish in February of 2017 under a bridge;

33-year-old mother of eight, Naoma George. She was beaten to death in an alley in Wapato in the fall of 2013;

44-year-old Barbara Celestine. Barbara died of blunt trauma to the head in 2005;

30-year-old Shari Dee Sampson Elwell of Wapato. Shari was found dead in White Swan in 1992;

44-year-old JoAnne Betty John. The mother of 11 had been missing for 2½ years before her remains were found in 1992. She was identified by her dental records;

13-year-old Rozelia Sohapp, who was last seen New Year's Eve in 1988. Her remains were found outside of Brownstone;

20-year-old Jenece Wilson of Toppenish. She died of a severe blow to the head in the summer of 1987;

26-year-old Babette Crystall Green, a member of the Warm Springs Tribe in Oregon. Her remains were found in 1987 near Wapato;

25-year-old Clydell Alice Sampson, who, after being missing for 2 years, was found in 1986 by hunters outside of Granger. She died of a shotgun blast to the head;

33-year-old Mavis Josephine McKay. Mavis' remains were found in 1957 in Satus. Mavis was a citizen of the Umatilla Tribe.

These are just some of the women with open cases from on or near the Yakama Nation reservation in central Washington, and this does not even begin to cover the number of open cases in other parts of the country.

This is not an issue we can ignore, Mr. Speaker. The Native communities we represent deserve action. Congress must, as to provide answers to their friends, families, and loved ones, act to deliver justice to missing and murdered indigenous women across the country.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

UKRAINE AND IMPEACHMENT INQUIRY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2019, the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. KAPTUR) is recognized for 60 minutes as the designee of the majority leader.

Ms. KAPTUR. Mr. Speaker, the people of Russia have never known real freedom.

During the 20th century, over the course of 70 years, Joseph Stalin, the Soviet Union's henchman and regime leader, and that of his successors were responsible for the brutal murder of millions upon millions of innocent people inside Ukraine, Russia, Poland, and many other Central and Eastern European countries that became familiarly known as the Captive Nations.

During World War II, American soldiers never really made it east of Germany when they liberated camps in Germany, and so much of the truth about what happened behind what was called the Iron Curtain, the edge of Soviet rule, was largely unknown to the West.

Russia's wretched rule included:

Forced famine, starving millions of her own people to gain the acquiescence of others;

Gulags, where individuals were sent to work in work camps and died. They died of starvation. They died of overwork. They died of disease;

Genocide, the wiping out of ethnic groups that didn't fit the perfect image of the ruler of Russia;

Ethnic cleansing and a horrific world war launched in collaboration with Nazi Germany, where Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union divided up Europe as they saw fit.

Not all Europeans have experienced the same history. I am interested to read some press reports now about Eurocentric people. Well, let me tell you, the history of Nazi Germany and the history of occupied Ukraine or occupied Poland are completely different.

There was little value for human life by the Soviet regime and, certainly, no value for liberty.

Americans remember, some do, the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 after the free world had labored since 1946 to allow that moment to happen and the hope that it brought to millions of subjugated people beyond that

Iron Curtain who dreamed of a better way of life—not only across Europe, but, in fact, the entire world.

The fall of the Berlin Wall was symbolic, and its anniversary is celebrated this year, 30 years since the fall of the Berlin Wall that ushered in a new order, a world that said liberty could still prevail over tyranny, even in the face of impossible odds in some of the most forgotten places in the world.

□ 1700

Images of East and West Germans ascending the old Berlin Wall that divided freedom from tyranny stood as that symbol. And those individuals who had lived in West Germany and East Germany who climbed that wall and met for the first time in decades serves as one of the most powerful symbols of freedom in human history.

As families were reunited, new democratic institutions rose from the ashes, where tyranny once dominated.

The United States became a beacon of light to those people in an ever-growing free world following the rebuilding of Europe in the post-World War II climate and then, over four decades later, the Soviet Union's demise.

The World War II Memorial that stands here in Washington, D.C., in fact, is testimony to the 20th century's greatest achievement, the victory of liberty over tyranny.

Yet, in the ashes of the Soviet regime, the seeds of tyranny survived in the memories of its most ardent lieutenants and supporters. And one of them, the current Russian President, Vladimir Putin, who for years served as a Soviet spy in the KGB, is orchestrating Russia's vengeful march to restore its former empire.

Today, Ukraine represents the scrimmage line in the fight for liberty on the European continent. And why does it matter to America? Because those allies in Europe have democratic republics like ours. They are our closest political allies on the face of the Earth.

We do not live alone on this Earth. America does not live alone on this Earth, but, rather, we have a security system that was established following World War II that has held together the leaders of the free world.

Vladimir Putin's greatest fear is an economically successful and democratic Ukraine at Russia's borders. A free Ukraine would undermine Putin's fragile, corrupt rule based on stealing—stealing land, stealing money from the people of Ukraine, and lining his pockets and those of his cronies.

A free Ukraine sends a message, too, to the Russian people, a people who have never known liberty in their own right, that freedom is also attainable for them.

For this reason, Putin would go to any length, and is—assassinations, poisonings, war, torture—to steal from the Ukrainian people their right to choose their own destiny—40 million people—40 million people at the stepstone to all of Europe, the largest

landmass nation in all of Europe. They have a right to choose their own destiny.

In the aftermath of World War II, the United States, alongside our allied partners in the then newly formed North Atlantic Treaty Organization, more familiarly called NATO, created precious institutions to build solidarity and security among the war's transatlantic allied victors—institutions that had never existed before.

America invested trillions of dollars in programs, beginning with the Marshall Plan, to build vigilant networks to stymie and, ultimately, reverse the spread of state-imposed communism.

The American people, in a very war-worn country after World War II, rebuilt Europe through the Marshall Plan. Wow.

Western-funded programs worked to rebuild Europe, and, though the Nazis were defeated, millions still found themselves trapped under dictatorial rule behind that Iron Curtain east of the Berlin Wall.

Ukraine was one of those nations forced to exist under Soviet occupation until Ukrainian citizens declared their own independence after the fall of the Berlin Wall in a democratic, nationwide referendum in 1991, the only such referendum by any former Soviet republic.

An astounding 84 percent of their voting-age population participated in that referendum, and more than 90 percent of them voted to separate from the Soviet Union and chart their own national course.

That was a new page that turned in world history. Even in the eastern portions of Ukraine, in Crimea, a majority voted to be part of independent Ukraine. In one voice, the Ukrainian people decisively voted for and favored liberty over tyranny. What a dramatic moment in world history as liberty attempted to move eastward.

But, even then, the struggle for liberty in Ukraine was far from over. It was only beginning. And we can see it in real time even until today.

In 2014, the Ukrainian people rose up in the Ukrainian revolution of dignity against leaders in Ukraine that had become utterly corrupt, the pro-Russian leader then, President Viktor Yanukovich, after he rejected—why did they rise up? Because he rejected an association agreement with the European Union.

And at whose behest did he do that? Vladimir Putin's.

Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian protesters immediately moved to occupy the central plaza of their capital city, Kiev, Ukraine. Clashes between those protesters and the riot police became violent and resulted in the deaths of nearly 130 civilians. Most of them died from government-ordered sniper fire.

As tensions rose, Yanukovich fled—guess where?—to Russia to take cover. And, on that same day, by a vote of 328–0, their congress, their parliament,

voted that Yanukovich be removed from office.

The fight for liberty is being lived in real time. The world can see it—not just the Ukrainian people; the American people, the leader of the free world, for heavens' sake.

In that very same year, Vladimir Putin mobilized Russia's vast military machine, one of the largest on Earth, to illegally and without provocation invade Ukraine at its Crimean edge and launch a not-so-covert war on Ukraine's eastern flank, a clear effort to rewind history and reimpose his dreamed neo-Soviet empire.

Over 5 years later, Ukraine remains in an heroic struggle to preserve its hard-fought freedom and sovereignty. Its people have bravely faced down artillery barrages and live sniper and machine gun fire carried out by pro-Russian forces coming across the border, including Putin's little green men.

While the country, Ukraine, is not yet a member of the European Union or NATO, which it so wishes to be, its men and women, including civilians, have bravely fought and died defending Europe and their own fragile democracy.

Put yourselves in their position. What would you do if that happened in the United States of America?

In the 5 years since the war started, 14,000 Ukrainians have been killed, 30,000 have been wounded, and nearly 2 million internally displaced in the conflict with Russia.

It is a war that groans on with little notice but enormous consequences for liberty in this modern era.

As Ukraine's defense forces crumbled due to years of corruption and mismanagement, the Ukrainian people took up the cause to defend their own nation. They have been seriously underequipped. And their heroism and, I might add, sheroism shines. Courageous women from the invisible battalion left their college studies and took taxis to the frontlines to thwart Moscow's war.

It was like a David and Goliath struggle. Indeed, it has been the strength of the Ukrainian people that has fought Russia to a standstill for a moment.

Just as we and our allies fought Soviet aggression in the 20th century, the Ukrainian people are in the trenches fighting Russian aggression in the 21st.

They have more than earned the respect and continuing support of the United States and the free world.

When the Soviet Union collapsed, one-third of the Soviet nuclear arsenal remained in Ukraine. There are two countries in the world that have nuclear weapons aimed: Russia, at us; and the United States, prepared to take them down if they would ever dare send them in this direction.

But one-third of what the Soviet Union held in terms of nuclear strength remained in Ukraine, de facto providing Ukraine the world's third largest nuclear weapons arsenal.

But, in 1994, by signing the Budapest Memorandum, Ukraine agreed to give up the nuclear weapons in its territory in return for security assistance by the United States, Russia, and the United Kingdom. Think about that.

A promise was made. Ukraine's independence, national sovereignty, and borders would be respected. By annexing Crimea and waging a devastating war on the eastern side of Ukraine called the Donbas, Russia has severely violated the terms of this foundational security agreement.

Lest we forget, Russia retained its nuclear arsenal, and their weapons remain aimed at us, the United States of America, and our NATO allies in Europe.

The list of violations goes on. The basket one provisions of the Helsinki Accords, which the Soviet Union signed in 1975, along with the United States, Canada, and more than 30 European countries, as well as bilateral agreements that the Russian Federation signed with Ukraine in 1997, have effectively been thrown to the wayside.

In addition, Russia's forcible annexation of Crimea and sponsorship of a hot war in Ukraine's east since 2014 violates numerous United Nations agreements that Russia, the Ukraine, the United States, and other countries have signed going back to the organization's founding in 1945.

While it would be convenient to only blame Russia for the destabilization of this region, I must say, President Trump's recent illegal block of more than \$391 million in military aid to Ukraine was not only a blow to Ukrainian security and to its new president, but to our own.

Russia on the march does not serve the security interests of the United States. The United States and NATO have a vital interest in stopping the Kremlin's aggression in Ukraine. That Trump did so, in denying military assistance, in delaying military assistance to Ukraine, in pursuit of a personal political agenda for 2020, makes it not only a betrayal of U.S. security interests but, also, a legal issue.

It looks like just the sort of perversion of the justice system that Ukraine has suffered for decades.

To date, there are no records detailing President Trump's or his administration's official secret meetings and phone calls with Russian President Putin and his top lieutenants. There is no documentation to date on why President Trump lifted sanctions on key Putin oligarchs and supporters.

If records exist, they, I hope, have not been unlawfully squirreled away somewhere by senior White House staff, similar to actions alleged in the September 2019 whistleblower complaint.

It is clear that Putin has been at war with Ukraine to restore its domination in that neighborhood. The United States should do nothing to make it easier. Tragically, it appears President Trump is accommodating and, perhaps, abetting him.

It is no wonder that our current the President was Putin's preferred candidate in 2016 and remains so for 2020.

Now, Paul Manafort, President Trump's 2016 campaign manager, sits in Federal prison right now for tax evasion, but his crimes are much worse.

□ 1715

He took millions of dollars, millions of dollars to lobby for the pro-Russian, anti-American, Ukrainian President, Viktor Yanukovich, who he mentioned earlier, whose own people drove him out the country.

Yanukovich personally took his orders from Putin, who personally directed Russia's interference in U.S. elections and ordered the war in Ukraine.

Take Rudy Giuliani, President Trump's personal lawyer. He has been carrying out a shadow foreign policy campaign, at the Trump administration's behest, to undermine their political rivals and boost the President's reelection.

Recently, it was confirmed that Trump's personal lawyer, Rudy Giuliani, turned to Manafort, who is sitting in jail, for advice in his efforts to fabricate falsehoods on Vice President Joe Biden. The President and Giuliani even enlisted the support of U.S. Government officials in this scheme, co-opting U.S. taxpayer dollars for personal political gain.

When the United States Ambassador to Ukraine refused to aid and abet their plot, President Trump purged the highly respected U.S. Ambassador, Marie Yovanovitch, who dutifully served our country with distinction throughout her adult life. During her service, Ukraine successfully carried out two democratic elections during a time of war and significant duress and made enormous progress on its anticorruption efforts.

Ambassador Yovanovitch's steady and principled vision, steeped in a long tradition of U.S. diplomatic excellence, was exactly what was needed to shepherd the Ukrainian people along the jagged path toward democratic reform.

Ambassador Yovanovitch represented the United States at the highest levels of her career in other countries facing similar challenges—Armenia, for one, and Kyrgyzstan—under Republican and Democratic administrations. She served Presidents in both parties. It is, indeed, rare for a member of the Foreign Service to serve as an ambassador, let alone three times in very dangerous places. This is a true testament to her diplomatic seasoning, from which I believe our President could learn something.

Tragically, the purging of Ambassador Yovanovitch is but the surface of the contempt that this White House and some of my Republican Congressional colleagues have treated public servants who place their lives at risk serving the American people's love of liberty, day in and day out.

President Trump, let the record show, who dodged service in the U.S.

military, seems to have no understanding of the value of our transatlantic alliances and at what cost they have been won and built. They are the single most important guarantor of our security and freedom. America needs friendly allies who share our democratic values and believe in the rule of law.

Recently, we have learned that while the Trump-appointed U.S. Ambassador to the European Union should have been focused on repairing relations with Europe, as our own President has embarrassed European Presidents and leaders publicly, the Ambassador to the European Union found himself in Ukraine, arranging meetings to conduct opposition research on President Trump's political opponents.

It cannot be overstated just how much the actions of our President and Rudy Giuliani have undermined U.S. strategic interests and the progress Ukraine has made to strengthen its democracy and deter Russian aggression.

Imagine how the young new President of Ukraine felt when the President of the United States said to him that the military aid that was due to have been dispensed in the middle of this summer from the United States would actually be held until that President would do our President a favor related to his own reelection. Wow.

For the Trump-led minions, our government does not serve the people. Rather, unfortunately, it is serving him.

While we continue to seek cooperation with the Trump administration to help our own people here at home in so many ways—the cost of prescription drugs, trying to get an infrastructure bill passed in the House and the Senate, trying to deal with corruption in our own political system—Congress must investigate these deeply troubling episodes abroad. The Constitution demands that we conduct our affairs in a constitutionally mandated role of oversight and the impeachment inquiry, which is ongoing. We must ascertain to what extent the President and his advisers abused their power and held up critical military aid to Ukraine for their own political gain.

Thus far, the President's defense has been complete resistance, not providing the materials necessary for a full congressional investigation in what seems to be an ongoing campaign to intimidate State Department officials from testifying before Congress, which really means before the American people.

The American people have a right to know the truth. This is an open society. We don't need stonewalling from this administration.

We should ask the President what he has to hide. The American people know the difference between truth and fiction.

Mr. Speaker, what a historic defeat for liberty it would be if the West were to squander the sacrifices of the United

States, Ukraine, and our allies by allowing Putin to succeed in his sinister mission.

Despite President Trump's negligence, the United States Congress remains laser-focused on the threat from Russia. It is serious, and it is real.

While Ukraine fights for its very existence, the United States Congress and freedom-lovers everywhere must continue to support Ukraine through military aid, programs to fight corruption, and the development of civil society, which the American people do so well.

Congress must get to the bottom of President Trump's effort to withhold vital defense aid to Ukraine. She is facing a mortal enemy. This is liberty at stake in our lifetimes. Will we meet the challenge?

The abuses of power outlined in the whistleblower complaint underscore the danger that President Trump's decisions pose to American national security and democracy itself. The American people must learn to what extent the President solicited interference from a foreign country in the upcoming 2020 U.S. Presidential election.

From our own FBI, we have learned how many times Russia interfered in the last election and how many times then-candidate Trump contacted Russia during the campaign.

I was thinking about that one night. If I were running for President of the United States, would I be in touch with Russia nearly 200 times? Think about that. How unusual is that?

The American Presidency cannot be a tool for Russia to gain its insidiously destructive power. Above all, the American people deserve liberty first, last, and always in a political system free of malign foreign influence.

Long live a free America, and may the people of Ukraine ultimately gain the freedom they so justly deserve.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to refrain from engaging in personalities toward the President.

CHINA: ONE WORLD, TWO SYSTEMS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 3, 2019, the Chair recognizes the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. HILL) for 30 minutes.

Mr. HILL of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, I certainly enjoyed my colleague's dissertation there, much of which was a criticism of the Chief Executive of our country, when many of the same comments she made could be directed at this House and its investigation of the President—not following the precedents set, not following the precedents set in the Nixon impeachment or in the Clinton impeachment.

The Speaker has not had a vote of this House to commence an impeachment inquiry. That is an open system.

That is the transparency my friend was talking about. That is the kind of accountability the American people would like to see. That should be the policy of this House. Sadly, it is not.

She talks about contacts with Russia by political campaigns. Many of us look forward to the investigation by the Attorney General and by the U.S. attorney in Connecticut on exactly that in the 2016 campaign and how the opposition party, the Clinton campaign, was, in fact, the one digging up activities about the Trump campaign.

So, anyway, I enjoyed that comment about Ukraine, the importance of Ukraine, and the importance of democracy in Ukraine. But all throughout that presentation, one had to endure a lot of supposition and fiction.

Tonight, Mr. Speaker, I would like to talk, not talk about Ukraine, not talk about Syria, but talk about China and where we are in this very important, critical bilateral negotiation between the United States and the People's Republic of China to end China's mercantilistic trade environment, their lack of openness, their failure to police the terrible intellectual property theft that has gone on for over two decades there that has hurt not only American businesses but those elsewhere in Asia and also in Europe.

I commend the President for calling out the challenge that we have had and faced in the West on how to obtain China as a better player for trade. President Trump has worked for nearly 3 years now to change China's outlook, to end its mercantilistic protectionism and join the world trading system truly, not just on paper, Mr. Speaker, but, in fact, completely, and be one with the developed world as it has grown its economy so mightily over those two decades.

I commend the President's point men on this issue: Larry Kudlow at the National Economic Council; Secretary Mnuchin, the Secretary of the Treasury; and Ambassador Robert Lighthizer, who is his U.S. Trade Representative who has the point on trying to work out something that is a major change in that relationship between the U.S. and China, but also China and the rest of the developed world.

At the heart of this trade dispute is the fact that we live in an integrated global economy with deeply connected, multicontinental supply chains. This integrated global economy is based on the extraordinary foundation of the post-World War II reductions in trade barriers, the expansion of the rule of law, and the extraordinary success of the free-market capitalist system that has lifted so many out of poverty around the world since World War II and enlivened the capitalist spirit throughout the world.

Beginning slowly in the 1970s and 1980s, the People's Republic of China was encouraged to open its domestic market, increase economic freedom, better respect human rights and reli-

gious tolerance, and join the global family of nations.

Following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the reunification of Germany, as that freedom breeze finally blew away the shroud of the Iron Curtain, reform in China remained the next great touchstone of the post-World War II agenda.

The 1989 crackdown in Tiananmen Square sidetracked this progress, but China's integration into this world economy began in earnest in the 1990s. That is where this story gets complicated, and that is where the concern of President Trump really begins.

European and American leaders who shared values of economic freedom, religious tolerance, and common national security goals witnessed the historic and extraordinary transition of post-war Japan and the Asian Tigers, those countries of Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and South Korea.

Over the decades, the Asian Tigers had been authoritarian, condemned for their rampant theft of intellectual property and spurning of democracy, so much so that, in 1976, when Jimmy Carter was elected President of the United States, he campaigned on pulling American troops out of South Korea, ending aid to South Korea and writing off South Korea as a failed experiment, that it was going to be an authoritarian dictatorship and never adapt to democracy, never stop stealing intellectual property. Basically, write it off as a failure.

□ 1730

Fortunately, this initiative was shelved and, instead, we witnessed Japan and the Asian Tigers expand their economies, really begin to open their markets, fully embrace democracy and the rule of law, and join in the world global progress.

Policymakers considered China to be next, and they believed that, while a much larger country, under a much more authoritative communist regime, the economic benefits of greater freedom and global transparency would penetrate even the Middle Kingdom.

In 1996, in a column in the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* offering suggestions to the Clinton administration on how to have a more directed China policy, I argued that China, too, must change. I said: "China, as a world power, for her part must recognize that bilateral and multilateral treaties are to be enforced. Lack of compliance with international treaty obligations must produce a known and delivered set of sanctions by the world community. China must clearly understand the consequences of noncompliance."

So, Mr. Speaker, that is what I wrote back in 1996 as a private citizen, former Bush administration official, thinking about what needed to change in America and Chinese relations, China's multilateral relations.

So, despite encouragement and best intentions, China has not changed, Mr. Speaker, but, instead, has grown more