

however, I believe that the problem is much more fundamental than those issues.

The core problem in U.S.-Sino relations is that we lack a coherent and clearly articulated foreign policy. Unfortunately, the phrase "Clinton foreign policy" is an oxymoron. Instead, of having clear proactive policy goals, and making them and our strong commitment to them known to the countries concerned, this administration drifts from reaction to reaction. The pitfalls of this kind of reactive policy are clearly apparent in what's been going on in Bosnia; and they are clearly apparent in our relationship with the PRC.

In my view, for there to be a viable foreign policy between, say, country A and country B, you should be able to ask officials from A what its policy towards B is, ask B what A's policy towards B is, and get pretty close to the same answer from each. According to the Chinese, however, our policy towards them is one of containment. According to our State Department, it is one of "constructive engagement." You can see the problem here—there is a very large conceptual gap between these two.

"Constructive engagement" seems to me, and others I have spoken with, to be a bit vague. The administration describes it this way. Say there are 1,000 different individual issue strands that make up our over-all bilateral relationship. On some of the issues we're in complete agreement, others in partial agreement, and others in complete disagreement. So, we'll work on those areas where we might expect some progress, and not press those where we conflict. The administration calls this a policy. In my view, though, this is no policy at all, but 1,000 separate conflicting little policies. From what I hear from the Chinese, both officially and unofficially, they find it rather confusing as well.

This confusion is made worse by the domestic climate in each respective country. First, in the United States, there are the complications caused by the fact that nature, and the Congress, abhor a vacuum. When Congress perceives a lack of leadership on the foreign policy stage, it has traditionally been quick to step in and supply its own. This often leads to conflicting policies between the two branches and sends confusing signals abroad. A clear example is the visit of President Lee. The administration stated categorically that it would not issue a visa for Lee to pay a private visit to the United States. Both houses of Congress, on the other hand, made clear by overwhelming votes that he should be admitted.

In the P.R.C., the ongoing jockeying for power in the soon-to-be-post-Deng-Xiaoping era has also accentuated the problems in the bilateral relationship. In times of political flux in China, one of the tried and true ways of establishing one's conservative communist bona fides is to be stridently xenophobic. To be seen as coddling the United States, or giving in to its "demands," can thus be the functional equivalent of political suicide. As a result, during periods of transition such as this Chinese reaction to incidents it considers provocations is often overblown for domestic consumption. I hate to keep coming back to Taiwan as an example, but I strongly believe the PRC's overreaction to our admitting President Lee—for an unofficial visit well within the parameters of the three joint communiqués—is a direct result of its leadership courting the political support of the conservatives in the PLA.

So, ladies and gentlemen, given all these problems I believe that the time has come to reevaluate and restructure our China policy, and that reevaluation needs to start with the very core premise upon which it is built. I'm

sure if you've ever listened to administration or PRC officials, read the Congressional RECORD or the People's Daily, or spoken with a variety of public policy figures, you have heard the oft-repeated statement that our two countries need to be good friends, or need to return to being good friends, or shouldn't let present frictions stand in the way of what should be our close friendship.

I would love for the U.S. to be close friends with China, but expecting us to be close friends at this point in history overlooks a fundamental problem: the PRC is a totalitarian state, a communist dictatorship; the United States is a democracy. Almost by definition, a close friendship between two such diametrically opposed systems is impossible. Friendships are based on shared aspirations, shared goals, shared dreams; but our most fundamental views of politics and human freedoms are poles apart. This is not a pessimistic view, or the view based on some anti-China bias, or a Republican view, or a conservative view; it is a reality. The Chinese are rightly fond of their proverbs, and I would invoke one here to illustrate my point: "Hu lu bu tong xiong"—"Tigers and deer do not walk together." To delude ourselves into thinking that as countries we will be anything near close friends is just that, a delusion.

I think both we and the Chinese government have to recognize that there are certain fundamental issues upon which, under our present political systems, we will never agree and which realistically preclude the kind of relationship we have with other countries in the region such as Japan. Having said that, however, I would note it does not mean that we can't establish a constructive working relationship with them based on areas where we have shared interests. I think that it's the difference between the friendship among close personal friends and a friendship based on, say, a business relationship. For example, it's the difference between my friendship with fellow Wyoming Senator Al SIMPSON and my friendship with Chinese Ambassador Li Daoyu. I grew up in Wyoming with Al, went to the same high school; the two of us have shared experiences and ideals that have made us the best of friends. Ambassador Li and I have a different friendship. I enjoy our meetings, I find our contacts helpful and informative, but our friendship is primarily business-based; there is not that closeness, nor would we either of us expect that there would be.

What our two countries need to do, then, is start over from that point, and work to reshape the very nature of our bilateral relationship. We need to build that relationship around a core of mutual respect and our shared goals. We need to state what the parameters of the policy are, and then we need to stick to them. In that way there are no surprises, no unmet expectations, no confusion on either side.

The most obvious area where we share interests is in the economic sphere. It is a symbiotic relationship; we have the technological know-how and the products, they have the desire to expand their economy and the almost unlimited market. This is probably our most stable and dependable commonality, problems with the rule of law and intellectual property rights aside. This stability is illustrated by the fact that during the recent downturn in our relationship, our economic ties remain relatively unscathed. Consequently, trade would probably be a good place to start to restructure the basis of the relationship. Secondly, we both have a general interest in maintaining a stable Asia. Instability endangers markets, endangers both our national security interests, and alienates and endangers our relationships with other countries in the region.

This provides another base from which to build.

There will continue to be areas of real disagreement between us. But I believe that by mutually redefining our relationship (and I do not mean here, for the benefit of the Chinese government, in any way redefining our commitment to the three communiqués or the "one China" policy) we can perhaps minimize the effect those disagreements have on our bilateral relationship. I think that by being a bit more realistic about what kind of friendship we can have, we will somewhat lower our mutual expectations. When expectations in a relationship are lowered, blows to that relationship tend to have less of a disruptive impact.

Let me note in closing that I am not an Asia expert. Many of you in this room this morning have been pursuing Asian affairs for decades. I do not pretend to know all the nuances and eddies and currents of this part of the world. But let me quote once again a Chinese proverb: "Dang ju zhe mi, pang guan zhe qing"—"Observers can see a chess game more clearly than the players." Perhaps it is time for a fresh approach.

#### THE BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, before discussing today's bad news about the Federal debt, how about "another go," as the British put it, with our pop quiz. Remember? One question, one answer.

The question: How many millions of dollars does it take to add up a trillion dollars? While you are thinking about it, bear in mind that it was the U.S. Congress that ran up the Federal debt that now exceeds \$4.9 trillion.

To be exact, as of the close of business yesterday, September 25, the total Federal debt—down to the penny—stood at \$4,949,968,824,497.45, of which, on a per capita basis, every man, woman and child in America owes \$18,790.17.

Mr. President, back to our pop quiz, how many million in a trillion: There are a million million in a trillion.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

##### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives announced that the Speaker has signed the following enrolled bills:

H.R. 1817. An act making appropriations for military construction, family housing, and base realignment and closure for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1854. An act making appropriations for the Legislative Branch for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1996, and for other purposes.

The enrolled bills were subsequently signed by the President pro tempore (Mr. THURMOND).

#### EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-1471. A communication from the Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report entitled, "Arms Control, Nonproliferation and Disarmament Studies Completed in 1994"; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

### PETITIONS AND MEMORIALS

The following petitions and memorials were laid before the Senate and were referred or ordered to lie on the table as indicated:

POM-305. A resolution adopted by the Senate of the Legislature of the State of Alaska; to the Committee on Armed Services.

#### "SENATE RESOLVE NO. 3

"Whereas the closure of the Naval Air Facility in Adak, Alaska, is anticipated to occur in 1995; and

"Whereas the land and existing infrastructure of the facility could be used after the closure to benefit people and businesses in the state, as well as to serve the long-term interests of the state and the federal government; and

"Whereas the closure of the facility presents a unique opportunity to develop a new community for the western Aleutians, to promote commercial ventures, and to use the existing land and infrastructure for community purposes; and

"Whereas, unless appropriate steps are taken immediately to preserve the buildings and other infrastructure from damage by wind and moisture, the future use of the existing infrastructure and the development of the Adak community will be jeopardized; be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate supports the conversion of the Naval Air Facility in Adak, Alaska, into a facility that can be used beneficially by the citizens of the western Aleutians; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Senate respectfully requests the United States Department of Defense to

(1) take effective and timely measures to preserve the infrastructure that constitutes the Naval Air Facility in Adak, Alaska;

(2) work closely with all federal and state agencies, the Department of the Navy, and the Aleut Corporation regarding the future use of the facility after its closure;

(3) designate in a timely manner an authority, preferably the Aleut Corporation, for developing the future use of the property constituting the facility; and

(4) arrange for the transfer of the property that constitutes the facility to the Aleut Corporation as part of the corporation's entitlement under 43 U.S.C. 1601-1641 (Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act)."

POM-306. A resolution adopted by the Cable Television Board of Campbell County, Kentucky relative to telecommunications; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

POM-307. A resolution adopted by the Senate of the Legislature of the State of California to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

#### "SENATE RESOLUTION NO. 21

"Whereas, rail passenger service provided by the National Rail Passenger Corporation (Amtrak) is energy-efficient and environmentally beneficial, consuming less energy per passenger-mile than airlines and causing less air pollution; and

"Whereas, Amtrak provides mobility to citizens of many smaller communities poorly served by air and bus services, as well as to senior citizens, disabled people, students,

and persons with medical conditions that prevent them from flying, who need trains as a travel option; and

"Whereas, travel by Amtrak is safer than driving, on a passenger-mile basis, and Amtrak operates even in severe weather conditions; and

"Whereas, Amtrak travel rose 48 percent from 1982 to 1993, and Amtrak dramatically increased the amount of its operating cost paid from revenues; and

"Whereas, the expansion of Amtrak service by using existing rail rights-of-way would cost less and use less land than the construction of new highways and airports, and would further Amtrak's energy-efficiency advantage; and

"Whereas, Federal investment in Amtrak has fallen in the last decade while it has risen for airports and highways; and

"Whereas, while states may use highway trust fund money as an 80-percent federal match for a variety of nonhighway programs, they are prohibited from using those moneys for Amtrak projects; and

Whereas, Amtrak pays a fuel tax that airlines do not pay; Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Senate of the State of California*, That the President and the Congress of the United States are respectfully memorialized to do all of the following:

"(1) Maintain or increase federal funding for Amtrak.

"(2) Extend to Amtrak the same exemption from fuel taxes that is afforded airlines.

"(3) Allow states to use federal highway trust fund moneys for Amtrak projects if they so choose.

"(4) Include a strong Amtrak system in any plans for a National Transportation System; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-308. A joint resolution adopted by the Legislature of the State of California; to the Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation.

#### "ASSEMBLY JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 28

"Whereas, the future success of California's economy and the future welfare of its citizens rests upon its ability to increase the employment skills and competitiveness of its people and to stimulate economic growth; and

"Whereas, the improvement of California's employment capabilities and competitiveness of its people requires high quality education supported by an advanced telecommunications and information infrastructure; and

"Whereas, increases in the productivity and competitiveness of California's education and public library system are essential to upgrading the quality of the existing education system; and

"Whereas, the development of an advanced state-of-the-art telecommunications and information infrastructure, utilizing modern information processing technology in California's education and library system, linked locally, nationally, and internationally to businesses, residences, and other public and private services, is essential for achieving a quality educational system in a cost-effective manner; and

"Whereas, the development of an advanced state-of-the-art telecommunications infrastructure in California is essential to promoting the economic competitiveness of the state, improving the literacy and employment skill level of its citizens, and ensuring

the future vitality of its educational and library systems; and

"Whereas, California must ensure that the state benefits from telecommunications infrastructure advances and ensure universal access to information and education resources for all residents of the state; and

"Whereas, California must assume a position of economic leadership and national prominence in the information age by funding school and library information infrastructure in a manner which is technology and provider neutral; and

"Whereas, California will attain a superior technology and provider neutral school and public library information and telecommunications infrastructure by utilizing and integrating, on a nondiscriminatory basis, the technology and services of numerous state-of-the-art providers; and

"Whereas, current funding mechanisms may not provide California's schools and public libraries with the funds needed to construct the infrastructure necessary to take advantage of telecommunications technologies and services, to purchase those services, or to provide the education, training, and information needs they are intended to serve; and

"Whereas, the current Congress has expressed its belief in the concept that the individual states are better able to determine their individual needs and are better positioned to determine how moneys should be spent to address those needs; and

"Whereas, the Federal Communications Commission is charged with the responsibility of administering the radio frequency spectrum as a national asset for the benefit of the American public; and

"Whereas, the Federal Communications Commission is currently conducting an auction of radio spectrum that will be used by winners of that auction to provide personal communications services; and

"Whereas, the Federal Communications Commission auction has generated moneys in excess of seven billion dollars which is approximately three billion dollars more than the approximately four billion dollars that has been earmarked for budget deficit reduction, and that this approximately three billion dollars should be shared with the individual states so that they may accelerate development of their telecommunications infrastructure by using public institutions

such as schools and public libraries as catalysts: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the Assembly and Senate of the State of California, jointly*, That the Congress of the United States enact whatever laws are necessary to allow each state to share in the proceeds of the current Federal Communications Commission auction of radio spectrum for purposes of funding their schools' and public libraries' telecommunications and information infrastructure; and be it further

*Resolved*, That revenues received as a result of this resolution be efficiently expended in a technology and provider neutral manner using California's schools and public libraries as catalysts to accelerate the development of the state's telecommunications and information infrastructure; and be it further

*Resolved*, That the Chief Clerk of the Assembly transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and to each Senator and Representative from California in the Congress of the United States."

POM-309. A resolution adopted by the City Council of Puyallup, Washington relative to spent nuclear fuel; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

POM-310. A resolution adopted by the Assembly of Fairbanks North Star Borough,