

may demand of Taiwan with regard to easing those tensions.

So I will encourage my friend again from Wyoming to pursue the resolution that is before this body that unfortunately we were unable to bring up tonight because of objection on the other side. I would again hope that some of my colleagues on the other side who have raised these objections would come before this body so that we might enter into a discussion, because obviously, if there are issues that the Senator from Alaska is not aware of that are appropriate, why, they should be considered.

If it is objection for the sake of objection, why, indeed, that is an unfortunate set of circumstances. I hope my friend from Wyoming will renew the request on the next vehicle. I will certainly look forward to joining him.

Mr. President, I yield the floor. I see some of my colleagues seeking recognition.

Mr. BUMPERS addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arkansas.

BALANCED BUDGET DOWNPAYMENT ACT, II

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

AMENDMENT NO. 3524

Mr. BUMPERS. Mr. President, if I could have the attention of the Senator from Alaska.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. BUMPERS. I was curious about two things. No. 1, has the Senator offered his amendment that would require the Federal Government to buy back from the Alaskan salmon industry \$23 million worth of Alaskan salmon?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I have no idea where the Senator from Arkansas came up with that interpretation. The answer is, absolutely no.

What the Senator from Alaska has proposed is an amendment that would eliminate a mandatory inspection by the Department of Agriculture on salmon sold into the Department of Agriculture's food give-away program, as opposed to the inspections that exist for all other salmon that is canned in salmon canneries throughout the United States. All other salmon is canned, is inspected under State and Federal regulations, and ends up on the shelves of Giant or Safeway where it is available to all consumers. There is absolutely no reference to a mandate to buy any Alaska salmon in this amendment.

Mr. BUMPERS. It does not require the Federal Government to spend anything for Alaskan salmon?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. It requires the Federal Government to stop insisting on a dual inspection process mandated only by USDA for salmon that is purchased under their program. It does not require purchase of one can of salmon.

Mr. BUMPERS. All the amendment says is, if any salmon is purchased, it would eliminate the dual inspection?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. No, it says if salmon is purchased by the USDA for its Federal programs, that it does not require a special inspection, which is the current requirement.

Mr. BUMPERS. Let me ask a couple questions, if I may.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Happy to respond.

Mr. BUMPERS. The Food and Drug Administration's inspection, for example, of canned salmon is for the purposes of determining its safety, that is, that it is clean and edible; is that correct?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I think, as a matter of fact, that the process recognized by the FDA—but is actually performed by the State, does assure wholesomeness. However, in doing so it also assures the level of quality that you and I might find in our favorite store. It is my understanding that the safety standard is uniform under the State as well as Federal requirements for the inspection before the salmon can end up on a Safeway shelf or a Giant Food shelf, or available to any retail or wholesale purchase. The USDA cannot explain when we get into a discussion why it should use a completely different standard than the one considered good enough for everyone else.

I hope my friend from Arkansas can perhaps enlighten me as to why a dual inspection would be necessary above and beyond the existing inspection that is required for domestic retail and wholesale sales and to put product on store shelves in the United States for the homemaker.

Mr. BUMPERS. Let me ask the Senator from Alaska who, in his opinion, would inspect this salmon for quality—not for safety, but for quality? Some of it is graded, I guess No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, No. 4. Who does that inspection?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Traditionally, as the Senator may know, we have five types of Pacific salmon. Obviously, there is a quality differential. The buyers would inspect the salmon by lot inspections. In other words, each can of salmon carries on the lid a special code. That code says where it was packed. It identifies a date, a type, and a quality.

A buyer will go into the warehouse—they do not buy from the canneries in Alaska or Washington or Oregon. They go to a warehouse in Seattle and make a determination of what quality they want. Do they want pink salmon? Do they want skin or bone? Do they want red or sockeye or silver or chum? So the buyer makes that choice.

The inconsistency here is if the USDA will buy your salmon, they demand you have an inspector in your cannery even before they say they are willing to buy. It is just the USDA. The question is, why?

Mr. BUMPERS. If the amendment of the Senator only eliminates the necessity for what he has described as a double inspection of salmon—

Mr. MURKOWSKI. In effect, that is correct.

Mr. BUMPERS. Does it apply to anything else except salmon?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I am concerned with canned salmon.

Mr. BUMPERS. It would not apply to anything except salmon?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Well, it would apply to other canned seafood, but it is directed primarily at salmon. There may be a requirement for tuna. Tuna is not one of the fisheries in the northern part of the west coast, so I am not as familiar with it. I do not really think it makes a difference.

There is an inspection process—both State and Federal, a mandatory requirement, in order for the product to be placed on the shelf of the grocery stores. That applies to other types of fish in a can, as well—mackerel, tuna, perhaps.

Mr. BUMPERS. Can the Senator assure the Senate that his amendment would eliminate the necessity for two inspections? Specifically, an inspection by the Department of Agriculture that would apply to all commodities bought by the Department of Agriculture, for example, for the School Lunch Program, it would apply to all canned seafoods?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Certainly, it is the intention of the Senator from Alaska not to exclude any. My interest just happens to be in salmon.

The rationale behind that is, we have a considerable amount of salmon that is canned in our State and in the State of Washington, and we look to find relief in selling a portion of that to the USDA in their food program. Much to our chagrin, we find out unless that particular pack has an additional inspection, we cannot break into that market. It is pretty hard to explain why there should have to be an additional inspector in a cannery above and beyond the inspections that are required to put it on the consumer shelf.

Mr. BUMPERS. Senator, what is the purpose of the amendment? Why do you want to eliminate the Department of Agriculture's right to determine the quality of the fish?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. That is not an issue in this regard. They can make a determination of what quality they want. They do that as a buyer. This involves a specific inspection. No other industry has to pay extra for a dual inspection to sell into the USDA program, to my knowledge, except the fish products industry. I do not believe it is required in the chicken producing areas.

I know my friend from Arkansas well enough to know that he is concerned about ensuring that there is nothing more in the amendment from the Senator from Alaska than trying to get rid of something that no one has been able to give a satisfactory explanation for. That is, why the USDA should demand an inspection for only the purchases they make as opposed to the inspections that are good enough for the consumer and buyers that represent the consumer. If Safeway or Giant come in and buy a carload of salmon, they pick it out by quality. They pick

it out by looking through the lots to determine the various quality, doing samples and so forth. It has to meet a Federal and State inspection process to ensure that it is suitable to go to the commercial ventures.

That is fine, but the USDA says, "We will not buy it and put it out in our programs unless it has been through yet another process—and a very expensive one for the producers. And it seems that the bureaucracy of the USDA want to keep government inspectors on the job and active. But if other systems are good enough for every one else, why should this particular program have to have special exception? That is the justification for the amendment.

Mr. BUMPERS. The Department of Agriculture is strenuously opposed to the Senator's amendment. Do you know what their opposition is?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I assume their opposition is that there will be less inspectors around. They will have to find something else to do, with perhaps retraining. It would certainly save the Government some money. I am certainly sensitive to the inquisitiveness of my friend from Arkansas. The question is if we have adequate inspections of the product, why is it necessary that a Federal agency deems that it must have its own special requirements? I have met with them, I add to my friend from Arkansas, and they have no explanation. They say they have always done it. We said, "Well, it defies logic. The product meets all Federal and State standards of cleanliness, of quality; otherwise, it could not go on the shelves." Do we need more? Obviously, no.

Mr. BUMPERS. Senator, let me tell you what my concern is. I do not want to belabor this. I know that Alaska had a very bountiful salmon harvest, and we are all grateful that you did have such a bountiful harvest. But a bountiful harvest in salmon, as it does with rice, soybeans, and everything else, sometimes has a down side, where the market is glutted, the price is low, and the number of customers decline, because they have more than they want.

Now, the Department of Agriculture tells me that they have a lot of salmon on hand from 1991 and 1993. I think the way the Senator's amendment has been represented to me was that the Senator steadfastly denies that, and I certainly accept his explanation. It is his amendment. I have immense respect for him, and I applaud him for trying to do something for his constituents. We all try to take care of the economic interests of our States.

But I am concerned about two things. No. 1, I do not understand why the Senator wants to eliminate an inspection procedure which has been as traditional as the Sun coming up in the morning, and No. 2, why the Senator would want to eliminate that inspection which, it is my understanding, goes to the heart of the quality of the product. We all know you have sock-

eye, you have silver, chum, you have a lot of different kinds of salmon. I assume that when that salmon is being canned, it is also graded for safety to make sure it is safe to eat, and second, for quality.

My guess is that if Giant Food were going to buy a shipload of silver or sockeye salmon, they would want to have some idea about the quality of it. Unless the Department of Agriculture is permitted to make that determination, nobody knows what the quality is.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Well, the Senator is incorrect in that assumption. First of all, the Senator from Alaska does not know anything about the chicken business, but I do know something about the salmon business. I assume the Senator from Arkansas knows an awful lot about the chicken business. We are both concerned with quality control, because you are not going to sell your chicken, and I am not going to sell my salmon, unless we have quality control and the assurance that the purchaser receives the highest quality product. Now, that is the case that exists currently in the canned salmon industry, and as far as I know, in the canned fish industry as a whole. The fish must pass inspections that are set out by the State and Federal Government. That seems to be good enough for the consumers of the product, except the USDA, which requires—only on their purchases—not the purchases of the Safeway or Giant—an extra inspection process. They want a person in the cannery—and the canneries are not located in Juneau; they are located out in the hinterland where the fish actually come in.

Now, a Federal inspector works 8 hours a day. It is not good enough to have just one in a plant because your plant may be working 14 hours a day. If there are no fish, you still have to pay for that inspector, because he has to be there.

What has occurred here is that a giant bureaucracy has developed. I support the position of the Senator from Arkansas for quality control, maintenance, and so forth. But what we have under the program is an industry check, a State check, a Federal check, and then in the warehouse, a spot check of the entire pack that is going out for sale, where they randomly open certain cases and look at the quality, look at the wholesomeness of it, actually do a test on a portion of the lot, because no one can afford to put a product on the market that does not meet the Food and Drug Administration's safety standard of wholesomeness—just like the chicken industry in the Senator's State simply cannot afford this.

If you were in a situation where everybody was buying Arkansas chicken and it met whatever your State requirements were, and your Federal requirements, and suddenly the USDA said, "Well, for the chicken we are going to buy, that is not good enough.

We have to have another inspector in all of your plants, or we are not going to buy any of your product." That is the situation we are in today.

Mr. BUMPERS. Does the Senator assure me and the other Senators here that there is nothing in this amendment that would require USDA, or any other Government agency, to buy any salmon in any amount?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I have the amendment in front of me. I would be happy to read it to the Senator.

Mr. BUMPERS. The Senator is familiar with his amendment.

Mr. MURKOWSKI. I am familiar with it. It does not mandate a purchase of any specific amount of salmon.

Mr. BUMPERS. The answer to that question is yes or no?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. The answer is no.

AMENDMENT NO. 3525

Mr. BUMPERS. Second, that is all I wanted to know. We took a long time to do that. With the second amendment the Senator is offering, is that the Greens Creek land exchange?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. The Senator from Alaska has filed a Greens Creek land exchange amendment. It is my understanding, since we both share a committee assignment relative to some 40 bills that are being held up, that there is also an intent to clear tonight some seven or eight bills that are currently being held in the House, and we hope that they could come over tonight and be accepted. I think Senator BRADLEY has been involved in directing as to whether or not that process will be cleared. I might add to the Senator from Arkansas that the Greens Creek amendment is also in that package. I might also add that the administration happens to support the Greens Creek amendment. I know of no opposition.

Mr. BUMPERS. I supported it. Has it been reported out of our committee?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Yes.

Mr. BUMPERS. Is it on the calendar?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Hopefully, it will be. Hopefully, it could go through tonight. It depends on the clearance.

Mr. BUMPERS. I support it and will support it here.

I am curious. I had a bill. I wanted to put a land exchange in Arkansas on your Greens Creek exchange. I was told that the Senator from Alaska, as chairman of the committee, did not want to do that because it had not been reported out of committee. My question was, has the Greens Creek exchange been reported out of committee?

Mr. MURKOWSKI. Yes, it has. It is at the desk now. It could go through tonight.

I find myself picking up the habit of my friend from Arkansas. I was reminded by my staff that I am wandering around to the extent of my cord. So I had better crawl back.

I thank the Senator.

Mr. BUMPERS. That habit will never get the Senator from Alaska in trouble.

I thank the Senator from Alaska.

Mr. JOHNSTON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

TAIWAN RESOLUTION

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, there has been some conversation here on the floor which I caught on my television as I went home about the so-called Taiwan resolution.

Since I was the one who put an objection into the unanimous-consent consideration of that resolution, I wanted to tell my colleagues what my problems were with that issue and why I object to the unanimous-consent consideration of that resolution.

Mr. President, with the thrust of the resolution, I have no problem. I do not agree, really, with all of the wording of it. But you never can always embrace every jot and tittle in words and mood swings. But with the general thrust—which is to strongly condemn the People's Republic of China for, in effect, saber rattling in the Strait of Taiwan—Mr. President, with that I have no problem.

But, Mr. President, we have gotten into a situation where the United States now has two of our largest aircraft carriers in the Strait of Taiwan. We have the largest country in the world, one of the fastest growing countries in the world, soon to be the largest market in the world, clearly the linchpin of stability in all of Asia, and we are in a very dangerous situation with them.

How in the world did we get there, Mr. President? We got there, in my judgment, because of the fault of the United States Congress, because of the fault of the People's Republic of China, because of the fault of this administration, and because of the fault of Taiwan and their President Li Teng-hui.

The fact that this fault is shared does not diminish or ameliorate the fact that we have two carrier groups in the Strait of Taiwan in a situation that could lead, probably not to war, but, Mr. President, it could lead to great difficulties. It could lead to an incident—two ships bump in the night, a rocket goes astray and hits on Taiwanese territory. And there will be those in the Congress who would say, "Let us go. Let us attack. Let us get the smell of grapeshot. Boy, the blood is running. Let us go over and fight."

Mr. President, we are playing with fire with the largest country in the world. I am old enough to remember when we egged on the people in Hungary to revolt. Remember those broadcasts? Some of you will remember. They went across the border. We wanted them to revolt, and they revolted. They wanted to know where the United States was, and we were nowhere to be found. I remember women pulling open their shirts in front of tanks and daring them to shoot.

Mr. President, before we get our macho up too much, I believe we ought to rationally consider this question. I believe we ought to consider the basis

of our relationships with China and with Taiwan and cool our rhetoric a little bit—and yes; condemn the People's Republic of China for what they are doing, but at the same time realize that it is the Shanghai Communique with its reaffirmations which was begun by President Richard Nixon, to the applause of Republicans, to the applause of Democrats, and to the applause of the country back in 1972, and reaffirmed by five Presidents. We have to understand that that communique, a one-China policy, two systems, peaceful reunification, is the basis of our relationship with China.

My problem with this resolution is not that it condemns the People's Republic of China, for saber rattling. I agree with that. But it misstates, I believe, the basis of our relationship with China.

In paragraph 5 on page 2, it says, "Relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China rest upon the expectation that the future of Taiwan will be settled solely by peaceful means." As far as that goes, it is correct. It has always been our expectation that it be by peaceful means, and we ought to reaffirm that. But by leaving out the Shanghai Communique we are suddenly shifting ground.

Mr. President, I believe anyone who thinks that we can shift ground from the Shanghai Communique, the one-China policy to which Taiwan has repeatedly adhered and stated that they were for, that anyone who thinks we can go to a two-China policy and independent Taiwan without a great deal of difficulty does not know anything about the Far East and about what is going on.

If we are to do that, Mr. President, let us do it with our eyes wide open, and let us also do it with our pocket-books wide open because here comes the new cold war if we are going to do that.

That is my objection to this, Mr. President. It is a subtle shift.

I asked the author, could we put in some words there, keep everything the same and just put in some words that say, in effect, we recognize the Shanghai Communique. The author told me he had no objection. But the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Mr. HELMS, does, and other Members on that side of the aisle have objection to that. You see, that is the problem.

There is an intention in this body to shift ground to retreat from the Shanghai Communique, to go to a subtle recognition of Taiwan as an independent country. That is why I voted against the visit of Li Teng-hui to this country, Mr. President. I was the only Member of either body to vote against that visit. Oh, it was a sentimental return to his alma mater, Cornell, and we like Li Teng-hui. I met him, and I like him very much. I find him to be a very attractive leader. He is entitled to a lot of credit. He has brought Taiwan to a democratic system. It is a prosperous country. They do business with my State. I am for him. I think he is great.

But anybody who thinks that was an innocent little visit to the old alma mater and that is all it was about, Mr. President, did not read the press. You know he promised no press conference. But they put out the word subtly that, "If you reporters will be hiding behind the bushes when he walks around the Elipse, you just may be able to get an answer to your questions."

When he campaigns in Taiwan, he is stating things that, on the one hand, are ambiguous and, on the other hand, are promoting or moving his country in the direction of independence.

Maybe, Mr. President, at some time this body will consider that question and come to a different answer. I do not think so. I think if we had hearings and fully considered the question, we would say that President Nixon was right, President Carter was right, President Ford was right, President Bush was right, President Reagan was right, and now President Clinton is right. Indeed, Taiwan was right to go along with the Shanghai communique.

Mr. President, I do not propose to fight this resolution because to fight the resolution itself would be to indicate that I somehow have some approval of what the People's Republic of China is doing in the strait.

I do not. I think it ought to be condemned. When Vice Foreign Minister Liu was here 3 days ago and the distinguished Senator from California and I had a luncheon for him and had a long discussion with 10 Senators there, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs Liu made it clear that the friendship of the United States and Taiwan is indelible, there should be no cause for alarm. China does not mean to go to war. But the United States needs to understand, Vice Minister Liu said, that independence for Taiwan is inadmissible, that all other issues are simple compared to this issue.

I think it bears repeating every time we have a chance that we should not by indirection allow ourselves to get into a situation where we are shooting out there in the strait of Taiwan and people are scratching their heads and saying, "How did we get there?"

Now, I said the administration was at fault, and they were because they indicated to Foreign Minister Qian Qichen that there would be no visit by Li Teng-hui, and they changed, and after the Congress almost unanimously agreed with the resolution inviting Li Teng-hui to the United States we might understand that, but the Chinese, frankly, did not, because they had been assured, they thought, that there would be no such visit.

I believe the Congress was at fault, even though I am the only one apparently, only one who voted that way and one of only a few who shared the view that I thought it was a political visit because Li Teng-hui treated it as a political visit, the world treated it as a political visit, and indeed the Foreign Relations Committee chairman and other members there have put in resolutions saying that we ought to admit