

S. Con. Res. 57. A concurrent resolution expressing the policy of Congress regarding the state visit of President Jiang Zemin of the People's Republic of China; to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 57—EXPRESSING THE POLICY OF CONGRESS

Mr. MACK (for himself, Mr. ABRAHAM, Mr. NICKLES, and Mr. CRAIG) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

S. CON. RES. 57

Whereas at the invitation of President Clinton, President Jiang Zemin of the People's Republic of China is beginning a state visit to the United States which will culminate in a summit meeting with President Clinton on October 29, 1997;

Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China, as detailed in successive annual reports on human rights by the Department of State, routinely, systematically, and massively violates the human rights of its citizens, including but not limited to freedom of speech, assembly, worship, and peaceful political dissent;

Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China routinely, systematically, and massively restricts the ability of religious adherents, including Christians, Buddhists, Muslims, and others, to practice outside of state-approved religious organizations, and detains worshipers and clergy who participate in religious services conducted outside state-approved religious organizations, as well as those who refuse to register with the authorities as required;

Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China routinely, systematically, and massively continues to commit widespread human rights abuses in Tibet, including instances of death in detention, torture, arbitrary arrest, detention without public trial, long detention of Tibetan nationalists for peacefully expressing their religious and political views, and intensified controls on religion and on freedom of speech and the press, particularly for ethnic Tibetans;

Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China routinely, systematically, and massively engages in reprehensible, brutal, and coercive family planning practices, including forced abortion and forced sterilization, resulting in widespread infanticide, particularly of female infants;

Whereas the Government of the People's Republic of China systematically engages in the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and advanced ballistic missile technology;

Whereas the regional and bilateral national security relationships of the United States and the current level of United States military forces in east Asia and the western Pacific region are integral to the maintenance of peace and security in the Asian Pacific region;

Whereas the People's Republic of China employs mercantilist and protectionist trade practices, including the imposition of tariffs and nontariff barriers with respect to United States imports to that country, which result in a market distortion between the United States and the People's Republic of China; and

Whereas there are credible and specific reports that the Government of the People's Republic of China has been involved in calculated efforts to subvert the American political process, and that persons believed to have information about such efforts have fled to the People's Republic of China to

avoid cooperating with official inquiries into these efforts: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (The House of Representatives concurring), That Congress—

(1) declares that it is the policy of the United States with respect to the People's Republic of China—

(A) to encourage freedom and democracy in the People's Republic of China and to deter the Government of the People's Republic of China from engaging in activities that are contrary to the national security interests of the United States and the peace and security of the Asian Pacific region;

(B) to encourage the Government of the People's Republic of China to make progress towards improving overall human rights conditions in China and Tibet, including taking concrete steps to assure freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and freedom of association in compliance with international standards on human rights;

(C) to encourage the Government of the People's Republic of China to channel its emerging power and influence along paths that are conducive to peace, stability, and development in the Asian Pacific region; and

(D) to support integration of the People's Republic of China into the community of nations;

(2) urges President Clinton to communicate the policy of the United States, in the strongest possible terms, to President Jiang during their summit meeting and to demand that the People's Republic of China immediately—

(A) cease persecuting Chinese Christians, as well as members of other religious faiths, and release all persons incarcerated because of religious beliefs, or democracy-related activities, in particular Wei Jingsheng and Wang Dan;

(B) cease coercive population control practices, including forced abortion, forced sterilization, and infanticide;

(C) cease efforts to subvert the American political process and return to the United States persons involved in such efforts;

(D) cease nonreciprocal tariff and nontariff barriers relating to United States imports to the People's Republic of China;

(E) cease resistance to transparency in its trade practices;

(F) cease exports to the United States of products made with prison labor;

(G) cease activities leading to proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and advanced ballistic missile technology (such as C-801 and C-802 cruise missiles); and

(H) cease evasion of United States export controls and other laws; and

(3) reaffirms the policy promulgated in the Taiwan Relations Act (Public Law 96-8) and insists that the Taiwan Relations Act be fully implemented by the President.

Mr. MACK. Mr. President, I rise today to submit a concurrent resolution on the Clinton-Jiang United States-People's Republic of China summit with my colleagues Senators ABRAHAM, NICKLES, and CRAIG. I am compelled to do this for two reasons.

First, let me provide some context for my comments. I traveled to China this past March to address Hong Kong reversion issues, and returned concerned about United States-China relations. My concern grew from what I perceived as the distance between the shared humanity of American and Chinese people, and the distrust of people expressed by the autocratic Government of the People's Republic of China.

My two issues with this summit are these:

First, we know what President Jiang gets from this visit; we do not know what President Clinton will receive in return for the American people.

Second, unfortunately, it seems that the bar has been lowered—the administration has lowered expectations for the summit—in order to more easily achieve the appearance of a successful summit. If the United States abandons realistic and important summit deliverables until a possible 1998 Clinton visit to Beijing, United States values today will be sacrificed for political gain tomorrow.

Let me elaborate on these points. What does Jiang get? He gets more power in Beijing.

He is the leader of the largest authoritarian government in the world. His top priority, as a Communist leader, is consolidation of power and longevity in office.

His overriding goal for the summit, therefore, is to demonstrate that he can deal effectively with the United States. He wants to bring home symbolic proof that the United States views the People's Republic of China, with Jiang at the helm, as a respected global power.

This state visit will deliver the symbolic President Jiang so strongly seeks.

What do we get? We do not yet know because there is not an articulated United States-China policy.

President Clinton has no articulated China policy and will not likely produce one during this summit. This may be the single most dangerous aspect of our relationship with China.

President Clinton this week must deliver a milestone in a clearly articulated policy which supports a coherent and well defined strategy. And he must bring the Congress and American people with him.

To do this, he should attain specific deliverables on human rights, weapons proliferation, and trade.

Therefore, Mr. President, today we are introducing this resolution to articulate our specific expectations. During this summit, the United States should do the following: State United States support for the democratization of China; call for progress on human rights, and the immediate release of prisoners of conscience, including Wei Jingsheng and Wang Dan; call for concrete steps to prevent the proliferation of weapons and weapons technology, including nuclear technology and cruise missiles; call for concrete progress to cease unfair market practices; state United States commitment to maintaining regional peace and security by working with our regional allies; and reaffirm United States policy promulgated in the Taiwan Relations Act.

Mr. President, I hope that President Clinton will not lose this opportunity to gain concrete progress on the vitally important United States-China relationship.

If we solidify Jiang's hold on political power in Beijing, and in return

must wait until a possible Beijing summit next year before the American people get what they desire—trade, human rights, and national security progress—the failure of the summit will not be lost on the Congress or the American people.

Nonaction represents an opportunity cost, Mr. President. My question to President Clinton is this, "What price would you have the people of the United States and China pay for this week's headlines?"

Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise to join my colleagues Senator MACK and Senator NICKLES in cosponsoring Senate Concurrent Resolution 57.

This resolution concerns the imminent state visit of President Jiang Zemin of the People's Republic of China and his summit meeting with President Clinton. It expresses the sense of the Senate that that meeting should address critical human rights and national security issues.

Mr. President, I have come to the floor several times in recent days to express my belief that it would be inappropriate and counterproductive for our President to welcome the Chinese Communist leader at a state visit without insisting on significant progress on the part of the Chinese Government in areas of great concern to our country.

The ceremonial niceties and diplomatic prestige of a state visit in my opinion may, particularly if unaccompanied by substantive action, give the unfortunate impression that the United States approves of the numerous human rights abuses and instances of weapons proliferation undertaken by the current Chinese Government. I joined with Senator FEINGOLD and Senator HELMS in sponsoring a resolution calling on the administration to make this a working rather than a state visit so that the administration might work on the many issues of concern to both our countries without providing undue legitimacy to current Chinese practice.

Let there be no mistake, Mr. President. China is an important player on the world scene. We cannot and should not attempt to avoid dealings with this nation of a billion people. That is why I supported maintaining most favored nation trading status with China. In my view it is critical that we remain engaged with the people of China through greater trade, private investment and openness. But I also am convinced that this administration must do more to add substance to our relationship with the Chinese Government.

Twenty-one gun salutes and red carpets, both used to welcome President Jiang on his landing in Hawaii, are inappropriate, given our serious disagreements on critical issues affecting American national security, human rights, and international peace and stability.

Amidst the champagne toasts of a state visit, we cannot ignore Chinese sales of weapons of mass destruction and nuclear technology to countries like Iran, Iraq, and Pakistan.

We cannot ignore Chinese Government restrictions on the ability of Christians, Buddhists, Muslims, and others to practice their religions outside of state-controlled organizations and the common practice of detaining worshipers and clergy who practice their religion through their own organizations.

We cannot ignore the People's Republic of China's massive, routine, and systematic human rights abuses in Tibet, including arbitrary arrest, torture and even death for those who seek to peacefully practice their religion and/or work for expanded political and human rights.

We cannot ignore the Chinese Government's routine, systematic, and massive program of coercive family planning practices, including forced abortion, forced sterilization and even infanticide.

We must forcefully raise these issues with President Jiang. We must insist that they be addressed, and that progress be made toward greater respect for human rights and the requirements of international peace and stability.

Toward that end, Mr. President, I believe it is crucial that this be made a substantive, rather than merely a ceremonial visit. That is why I am happy to join Senator MACK and Senator NICKLES in introducing this Sense-of-the-Senate Resolution, outlining a concrete agenda for the Jiang-Clinton summit.

Specifically, this resolution declares that it is the policy of the United States to uphold the Taiwan Relations Act, and insist that President Clinton fully implement that important agreement. This act provides the framework for strong economic and security relations between the United States and the democratic Government of Taiwan. Full implementation will protect an important ally and show our commitment to freedom in the Asian-Pacific region.

Further, this resolution declares our policy to encourage freedom and democracy in the People's Republic of China and to deter the Government of that country from engaging in activities contrary to the national security interests of the United States, and the peace and security of the Asian Pacific region.

The resolution encourages the Chinese Government to take concrete steps to assure freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of association in compliance with international standards of human rights. It also declares that United States policy should encourage the Government of the People's Republic of China to channel its emerging power and prestige along paths conducive to peace, stability and development in the Asian Pacific region.

Mr. President, this resolution is intended to move President Clinton to communicate this country's resolve to defend freedom, democracy, and inter-

national stability, as well as our commitment to encouraging the People's Republic of China to integrate itself peacefully into the community of nations.

It also calls on President Clinton to make a number of specific demands, including:

First, that the Chinese Government dismantle tariff and nontariff barriers to American exports to China and stop its export to the United States of products made with prison labor;

Second, that the Chinese Government cease persecuting Chinese Christians, as well as members of other religious faiths, and release all persons incarcerated for their religious or other human rights related activities, in particular Wei Jeng Sheng and Wang Dan.

Third, that it end its coercive population control practices, including its practice of forced abortion, forced sterilization, and infanticide;

Fourth, that the Chinese Government stop its activities leading to proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and advanced ballistic missile technology, and

Fifth, that the Chinese Government stop its evasion of United States export control and other laws.

Mr. President, by making these demands on the Chinese regime, the President would put in place the structure needed for a coherent China policy; a policy aimed at protecting our national interests and improving human rights conditions in China. I firmly believe that it is America's duty as well as our interest to make the extra effort necessary to improve overall human rights conditions in China and to integrate her into the community of nations. I urge my colleagues to support this resolution and I call on the President to demand that the Chinese Government bring itself into compliance with international standards of human rights and put itself on the side of international peace and stability.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS

S. 61

At the request of Mr. LOTT, the name of the Senator from Oregon [Mr. WYDEN] was added as a cosponsor of S. 61, a bill to amend title 46, United States Code, to extend eligibility for veterans' burial benefits, funeral benefits, and related benefits for veterans of certain service in the United States merchant marine during World War II.

S. 263

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

S. 318

At the request of Mr. D'AMATO, the name of the Senator from Illinois [Mr.