

Let me begin tonight by stating a premise I believe to be an accurate description of the PRC. It is a nation with a long history of aggressive behavior activated by grievances (both actual and contrived). It also fosters a raging nationalism that finds expression in expanding borders and xenophobia. I believe that the best way to successfully deal with China is to understand these realities and fashion a foreign policy accordingly.

Another important realization to which we must come is the fact that China believes us to be their ultimate enemy and nothing we can do by way of appeasement will ever change this perception. There is in the U.S. - as in most democracies - a basic unwillingness to confront harsh realities of this nature. We want to attribute the hostile actions of others to benign intent. History, of course, has proven this naive approach to foreign policy to be always dangerous and sometimes disastrous.

From a historical perspective, China provides an unparalleled view of a nation in the constant grip of absolutism. Indeed, this tradition goes back to the very founding of the Chinese state by the Shang Dynasty in 1766 b.c. the governmental structure was sophisticated and an autocrat ruled it. When addressing his subjects he referred to himself as "I, the single one man." For literally thousands of years the Chinese people have been treated as disposable resources of the state. The recent discovery of the famed Terra cotta Warriors in China's ancient capital of Changan have survived far longer than the bones of the thousands of construction workers who were buried alive to hide the location of the tomb from grave robbers. I find this to be the most interesting aspect of the site and far more revealing of Chinese culture than the craftsmanship of the artisans involved.

China's long history is an unbroken internalization of the concept of externally expanding power as a guiding principle of foreign policy; coupled with the use of the term "Barbarians" to describe people China had not yet conquered, we can get a pretty good sense of the Chinese psyche.

China scholar, Steve Mosher states that this desire for hegemony is still deeply embedded in China's national dream work, intrinsic to its national identity and implicated in what it believes to be its national destiny.

Mr. Mosher divides China's quest for hegemony into three parts:

Basic hegemony: The recovery of Taiwan and the assertion of undisputed control over the South China Sea

Regional Hegemony: The extension of the Chinese empire to maximum extent of the old Celestial Empire, and

Global Hegemony: A worldwide contest with the U.S. to replace the current PaxAmericana with a Pax Sinica.

Certainly many observers disagree with Mr. Mosher's characterization of modern day China. They would argue that times have changed and new realities have forced a cultural and political metamorphosis in the PRC. They go on to contend that the U.S. should fashion a foreign policy to accommodate this change. This of course was one of the arguments made during the recent debate in the congress over PNTR. The other very powerful argument - about which I will later say more, went something like this: we don't really give a damn about America's national security interests, there is money to be made by buying cheap in China and selling dear in the rest of the world.'

Well, let's test the theory of the modern day Chamberlins that relies on accomodating rather than confronting China.

Map

Of course, China's most recent acquisitions are hong knog and macao. They are now preparing for Taiwan to follow suit - peacefully or otherwise.

China is aggressively assembling the military capabilities to project its power beyond its present - and internationally recognized borders. Six days ago, China massed

amphibious vehicles and landing craft on an island near Taiwan as part of large scale military exercises. These exercises are expected to be one of the largest shore-based war games held by the Chinese military in recent history.

China's capability to deliver nuclear warheads to targets which include Los Angeles has been perfected by the application of advanced technology that has been both purchased and stolen from the U.S. It has embarked upon the construction of three missile bases along the coast to threaten Taiwan. You may recall they fired several towards Taiwan not too long ago.

A little over a year ago China exploded a neutron bomb – an event that went unpublicized in the western press.

Included in the plans for basic hegemony of the region is the occupation of the Spratly and Paracel Island groups. No fewer than eleven naval bases have been constructed in the area in the very recent past. By the way, these are very important sites strategically as they control the sea-lanes connecting the Strait of Malaca with the Taiwan Strait. From here you can easily threaten the Phillipines, Brueni and Thailand.

China's Regional Aspirations

In recent history, China began its quest to regain the Celestial Empire, an area stretching from the Russian far east to Lake Bakal and most of Southern Asia.

By sending troops into Tibet, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, they are using non military assets to project Chinese influence around the region by exporting human beings. There are now over 60 million of these expatriots in surrounding countries operation businesses that generate almost 700 billion a year – which is almost equal to

the GDP of the CPR. Chinese now outnumber Russians in Siberia. In 1995 the Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grochev warned “The Chinese were in the process of making a peaceful conquest of the Russian Far East.” Russians are fearful of this mass immigration but the Chinese love it. The outflow relieves unemployment, facilitates trade, and more importantly, strengthens the historical claims to the land (sound familiar).

There has a significant increase in activity of various sorts in the “Stans” and in Mongolia and Korea.

Eventually the Chinese believe, they will be in direct confrontation with the U.S. Their military and political leaders have stated this on several occasions. We, however, like to whistle past the graveyard – which may well be the one we will rest in.

Many Disagree:

Many will say that the era of Monolithic Communism is dead and the era of Democratic Capitalism has replaced it. Well philosophical Communism is indeed a rotting corpse but totalitarian Communism is alive and well in the PRC. In fact throughout the world, political oppression can and does coexist quite comfortably with various iterations of capitalism.

You can make the case that political freedom cannot long exist without economic freedom but the opposite case – that economic freedom leads inevitably to political liberty – is much weaker.

In fact, let’s look closely at China where we have had over twenty years of economic reform. Today every major dissident is in jail or exiled. According the State Department Nation Report this year, thousands of unregistered religious institutions

have been either closed or destroyed. Hundreds of Falun Gong has been imprisoned. Thousands more have been sentenced to “reeducation” labor camps or are locked up in mental hospitals.

On April 23, the Chinese arrested a 79-year old bishop and seven other Catholic clergymen in anticipation of problems arising out of the celebration of Easter. Two days ago they arrested 36 Christians for worshipping outside the official church. They were sentenced to labor camps for an indefinite term.

Speaking of labor camps – the number now stands at around 1100. These are places of human misery on a scale equivalent to anything seen in Nazi Germany or the Soviet Goulag. In fact, they have become an integral part of the Chinese economy through the sale of products made by slave labor – much of which can be found in stores in every American city – and potentially on the heads of American Service People in the form of black berets. (Tell them about yours and Roscoe's Bill). A particularly lucrative industry has grown up around the harvesting and sale of human organs. Prisoners in these camps are categorized according to blood types and other pertinent information and when orders come in from around the world for certain body parts, the appropriate prisoner is slaughtered and their organs are packed and sent off to the highest bidder. In 1996 the Chinese admit that 20,000 kidneys had been harvested from prisoners.

By the way, all of this is going on while American culture makes inroads into every part of the world, while the internet provides a window to the world to all who can afford the hardware or get access to it and subsequent to all the political strategies designed to bring China into the Community of Nations. It goes on after we pass PNTR. It will continue to go on until the United States and the rest of the world draw the proverbial line in the sand and make it clear that Chinese plans for basic, regional and global hegemony are unattainable. China may eventually be forced to accept the

world as it is and accept a role, as a peaceful participant in the march toward democratic capitalism but it won't happen as a result of a policy of appeasement.

There are major obstacles to accomplishing this change in U.S. policy – not the least of which is the incredible pressure our government is under to ignore all the warning signs and proceed to fulfill Lenin's prediction. You may recall that he opined that the death of capitalism would come at the hands of wealthy businessmen who would one day sell the Communists enough rope to hang every capitalist. Headline from April 9, 2001 "Lockheed built surveillance system for PRC." The story goes on to say that Lockheed Martin, which received more U.S. tax dollars last year than any other U.S. defense contractor, has built a naval surveillance system for the PRC on Hainan Island – ring any bells?

Both Republican and Democrat administrations have succumbed to Siren Song of Profits over patriotism. Clinton sold this nation's top secret technology for campaign contributions, although not exactly in the same category as the treasonous act of his predecessor, President Bush last week extend most favored nation trade status to the PRC. The corporate lobby is an incredibly powerful force. (Tell story) It has financed China's massive buildup of conventional and nuclear weapons by convincing the congress that the \$84 billion annual trade deficit is really good for American workers and their families. When my colleagues and I are pushed to approve free trade with China, we are seldom reminded that we sell just 2% of our exports to China and accept 40% of theirs. Contrast the attitude of this bunch of American capitalist and political leaders to those who founded the nation. (read article)

It will only be with leaders like Nelson that we will be able to bequeath to our children and grandchildren the opportunity – hopefully after long and prosperous lives – to die free men and women in a free country.