Mr. ABRAHAM. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment is as follows:

Add at the end the following new titles:

TITLE — MONITORING OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN CHINA

SEC. SHORT TITLE.

This title may be cited as the “Political Freedom in China Act of 1998”.

SEC. FINDINGS.

Congress makes the following findings:

(1) Congress concurs in the following conclusions of the United States State Department on human rights in the People’s Republic of China:

(A) The People’s Republic of China is “an authoritarian state” in which “citizens lack the freedom to peacefully express opposition to the party-led political system and the right to change their national leaders or form of government”.

(B) The Government of the People’s Republic of China has “continued to commit widespread and well-documented human rights abuses, in violation of internationally accepted human rights norms, stemming from the authoritative intolerance of dissent, fear of unrest, and the absence or inadequacy of laws protecting basic freedoms”.

(C) “[a]lthough the Government denies these allegations, the authorities’ torture and mistreatment of prisoners, forced confessions, and arbitrary and incommunicado detention”.

(D) “[p]rison conditions remained harsh [and] the Government continued severe restrictions on freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, religion, privacy, and worker rights”.

(E) “[a]lthough the Government denies that it holds political prisoners, the number of persons detained or serving sentences for ‘counterrevolutionary crimes’ or ‘crimes against the state’, or for peaceful political or religious activities are believed to number in the thousands”.

(F) “[n]onapproved religious groups, including Protestant and Catholic groups . . . experienced intensified repression”.

(G) “Serious human rights abuses persist in minority areas, including Tibet, Xinjiang, and Inner Mongolia, repressing the right to freedom of religion and other fundamental freedoms in these areas have also intensified”.

(H) “[e]ver since 1986, the authorities stepped up efforts to cut off expressions of protest or criticism. All public dissent against the party and government was effectively silenced by intimidation, exile, the imposition of prison terms, administrative detention, or house arrest. No dissidents were known to be active at year’s end.”

(2) In addition, the Department, credible independent human rights organizations have documented an increase in repression in China during 1995, and effective destruction of any meaningful accommodation through the arrest and sentencing of the few remaining pro-democracy and human rights activists not already in prison or exile.

(3) Among those were Jia Bei, sentenced to 9 years in prison on December 18, 1994, for gathering information on the victims of the 1989 crackdown, which according to the Independent Human Rights Foundation, Lui Nianchun, an independent labor organizer, sentenced to 3 years of “re-education through labor” on July 4, 1994, due to his activities in promoting democracy, civil rights, and the development of the rule of law in China.

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SEC. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR ADDITIONAL PERSONNEL AT DIPLOMATIC POSTS TO MONITOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.

There are authorized to be appropriated to support personnel to monitor human rights abuses in the People’s Republic of China, $4,000,000 for fiscal year 2000, which shall be derived by the Endowment for Democracy, and Regional Democracy Fund to provide grants to nongovernmental organizations to promote democracy, civil society, and the development of the rule of law in China.

SEC. DEMOCRACY BUILDING IN CHINA.

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Relations Committee of the Senate an annual report on human rights in China, including religious persecution, the development of democratic institutions, and the rule of law. Proponents shall provide information on each region in China.

(b) Prisoner Information Registry.—The Secretary of State shall establish a Prisoner Information Registry for China, which shall provide information on all political prisoners, prisoners of conscience, and prisoners of faith in China. Such information shall include names, addresses, judicial processes, administrative actions, use of forced labor, incidences of torture, length of imprisonment, physical and health conditions, and other information related to the incarceration of such prisoners in China. The Secretary of State is authorized to make funds available to nongovernmental organizations presently engaged in monitoring activities regarding Chinese political prisoners to assist in the creation and maintenance of the registry.


It is the sense of Congress that Congress, the President, and the Secretary of State should work with the governments of other countries to establish a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Asia which would be modeled after the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

SEC. 3. Sense of Congress Regarding Democracy in Hong Kong.

It is the sense of Congress that the people of Hong Kong should continue to have the right and ability to freely elect their legislative representatives, and that the procedure for the conduct of the elections of the legislature of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region should be determined by the people of Hong Kong through an election law convention, a referendum, or both.


It is the sense of Congress that—

(1) the Government of the People's Republic of China should stop the practice of harvesting and transplanting organs for profit from prisoners that it executes;

(2) the Government of the People's Republic of China should be strongly condemned for such organ harvesting and transplanting practice;

(3) the President should bar entry into the United States any and all officials of the Government of the People's Republic of China known to be directly involved in such organ harvesting and transplanting practice;

(4) individuals determined to be participating in or otherwise facilitating the sale of such organs from United States should be prosecuted to the fullest possible extent of the law; and

(5) the appropriate officials in the United States should interview individual, including doctors, who may have knowledge of such organ harvesting and transplanting practice.

Mr. President, let me speak a little bit about this amendment. I intend to take up too much of the Senate’s time discussing it, because I know other Senators, including Senator Hutchison, are interested in speaking as well to the amendment.

Essentially, this amendment sets forth two principles by which the United States would support the improvement of human rights in the People’s Republic of China. Its provisions regarding human rights are identical to those included in the legislation that was recently passed by the other Chamber by an overwhelming vote of 394-29.

The amendment I am offering is based on the recognition that the United States is engaged in meaningful engagement with China only if we are honest with Chinese leaders, and only if we are willing to stand up for our principles. And chief among the principles on which our nation was founded is an unshakeable commitment to fundamental human rights.

The current regime in China suppresses fundamental human rights on a daily basis:

- Women pregnant with their second or third child are pressured to have abortions and even subjected to forced abortion and sterilization.
- Religious exercise is violently suppressed among Christians in China, and among indigenous Buddhists in Tibet.

Propelled by its need to enhance its human rights is imprisoned under inhumane conditions and often denied necessary medical treatment.

I could go on, Mr. President. The list of human rights abuses in China is as long as it is deplorable.

Let no one in this body be mistaken, the current Chinese regime does not respect fundamental human rights.

The question I think we have to ask is, Should that influence how America conducts itself? And obviously, there are some who say the only way for us to change those policies in China is to have a complete and total engagement with the People’s Republic of China. Obviously, that is one point of view. But I subscribe to the view that we can take constructive steps designed to try to change things and to try to make things more consistent with America's views of appropriate human rights behavior.

And the Chinese regime's recent conduct gives us no reason to expect improvement any time soon. Indeed, Mr. President, since President Clinton returned from his trip to China this June, that government has detained 21 prominent human rights activists. At least three remain in custody today.

Through this amendment, Mr. President, we would make clear to the Chinese government our opposition to its oppressive practices and initiate concrete steps by which we can monitor human rights abuses and assist those seeking to promote human dignity and civil society.

Among the provisions in this amendment:

First, it contains findings detailing the deplorable human rights record of the Chinese government.

Second, the amendment calls for greater efforts on the part of our Secretary of State to improve the behavior of the current Chinese regime.

It calls on the Secretary of State, during official meetings with the Chinese government, to call for the release of political prisoners in China and Tibet.

The amendment also calls on the Secretary of State to seek greater access for international humanitarian organizations to prisons in Tibet and China—access that will ensure that prisoners are not being mistreated and that they are receiving necessary medical treatment.

And the amendment calls on the Secretary of State, during official meetings, to request that China begin serious discussions with the Dalai Lama or his representatives, without preconditions, on the future of Tibet.

Third, the amendment authorizes funding for several programs intended to improve human rights conditions in China. These include:

- $2.2 million in 1999 and 2000 for additional personnel at diplomatic posts to monitor human rights in China;
- $4 million in 1999 and 2000 for the National Endowment for Democracy to promote democracy, civil society, and the development of the rule of law in China, and permissions for funds in the East Asia-Pacific Regional Democracy Fund to be used to provide grants to nongovernmental organizations to promote democracy, civil society, and the development of the rule of law in China.

Finally, this amendment includes several sense of Congress resolutions, including:

- A sense-of-the-Congress resolution concerning the establishment of a Commission on Security and Cooperation in Asia;
- A resolution concerning democracy in Hong Kong; and
- A resolution condemning organ harvesting and transplantation for profit from prisoners executed by the Chinese government.

Mr. President, these provisions will make clear our determination to stand up for the fundamental human rights of the Chinese people.

And the amendment calls on the appropriate officials in the United States to monitor human rights abuses and assist those seeking to promote human dignity and civil society.

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These amendments will not destroy our current relationship with China. None of the amendment’s supporters seek an isolationist policy. I for one support normal trade relations with China because I see them as a necessary element of effective engagement.

But this amendment serves an important function in our effort to achieve and maintain meaningful engagement with China. It signals this Congress’ continuing concerns for human rights, democracy, and freedom in China. It signals our determination to speak up and support the fundamental principles of civilized society.

Through this amendment we can stand with oppressed people of conscience in China, for our sake as well as theirs.

I yield the floor.

Mr. INOUYE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Hawaii is recognized.

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. President, I rise in support of the Abraham amendment 2964 to the Defense appropriations bill. The Abraham amendment would authorize additional human rights monitors at the embassy in Beijing, China, as well as our other consulates around China. I think it is exceptionally warranted. It is very, very much needed.

The Chinese Government has repeatedly, and with no lack of respect, expressed its lack of respect for human rights. We have seen how the Government controls its people through registration, through coercive and repressive practices. We have seen how the Chinese Government punishes those who would dare to worship by the dictates of their conscience. We have seen how the Government punishes those who would speak in the name of democracy, those who would seek to bring about the change that we desire to see in China and to give support to the freedom fighters, freedom lovers in China today who risk the limited freedom that they have to go about their daily activities by speaking out, by seeking to form an opposition political party, by taking a far more dangerous stand there, in China, today.

I applaud Senator ABRAHAM for bringing the human rights monitors amendment to the floor of the Senate, and I look forward to casting my vote against tabling and for the amendment. I ask my colleagues to do likewise.

I yield the floor and suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. BROWNBACK). The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Matthew Tourville, who is an intern in my office, be granted the privilege of the floor while we debate and vote on this bill today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.
MAN’S LONGING FOR IMMORTALITY SHALL ACHIEVE ITS REALIZATION

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article from the July 20, 1998, edition of U.S. News & World Report and an article from the July 20, 1998, edition of Newsweek be printed in the RECORD. The two articles are relevant to the speech that I delivered on Tuesday this week entitled “Man’s Longing for Immortality Shall Achieve Its Realization.”

I understand the Government Printing Office will cost about $1,283 to have these articles printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

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SCIENTISTS AND THEOLOGIANS DISCOVER A COMMON GROUND

Darwin, Freud, relativity, the mechanics of the universe—wrongly or rightly—have been taken as supporting the modernistic conception of a change-based world in which forces devoid of meaning account for all outcomes. If nothing else, we have maintained that the big-bang theory shows that no god was necessary at the creation. Intellectuals have wrung their hands in anguish over how nonexistent cosmic expansion will result in an unescapable running down of the stars, proving existence to be pointless. A depressing inevitable death of the universe figures prominently in the works of post-modern novelist Thomas Pynchon; while in the movie Annie Hall, Woody Allen’s character is psychologically paralyzed by his dread of the galaxies expanding until they die.

By contrast new developments in big-bang science are almost supernaturally upbeat: The universe wants us, and the stars will shine forever!

This remarkable change in perspectives is helping inspire a warming trend between scientific and spiritual disciplines. A conference at Berkeley, Cal., which cosmologists discussed the theological implications of their work, is representative. Allan Sandage, one of the world’s leading astrophysicists, is cautioning that “The majesty of the big bang helped make him a believer in God, willing to accept that creation could only be explained as a ‘miracle.’”

HERESIES

Not that long ago, such a comment from an establishment scientist would have been shocking. The mere existence of the organization that sponsored the Berkeley event, a well-regarded academic group called the Center for Theology and the Natural Sciences, might have been snickered at. Today, “intellectuals are finding it respectable to talk about how physical law seems to favor life, notes Ian Barbour, a professor of religion and physics at Carleton College, in Northfield, Minn.

In this vein, the recent book Consilience by Harvard biologist E.O. Wilson argues that there is no need to wall off scientific from moral thought; rather, people should once again pursue the Enlightenment vision of reconciling the technical and the spiritual. A boom of books with titles such as A Case Against Accident and Self-Organization and God: The Evidence goes further, suggesting the unknowns of the big-bang eventually will become comprehensible through cosmology, science, or the spiritual enterprise waiting for us to join its purview.

But now “theology and science are entering into a new relationship,” says physicist turned theologian Robert John Russell, who in 1981 founded the Center for Theology and the Natural Sciences at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley. Rather than undercutting faith and a sense of the spiritual, science and theology was to simply agree on the questions like “what” and “how”; religion would ask, and answer, empirical projections about ultimate fates may be supplanted by the belief that, like the cosmos itself, the human prospect is, as the physicist Freeman Dyson once wrote, “infinite in all directions.”

SCIENCE FINDS GOD

The more we learn of the universe, the secrets of the universe, you’d expect, the more God would fade away from their hearts and minds. But that’s not how it went for Allan Sandage. More slightly stooped and white-haired at 72, he told a recent professional lifetime coaxing secrets out of the stars, peering through telescopes from Chile to California in the hope of spying nothing that the universe doesn’t have the mass of a proton—were the tiniest bit different, he wrote, the more it seems pointless. But now the very science that “killed” God is, in the eyes of believers, restoring faith. Physicists have stumbled on signs that the cosmos is custom-made for life and consciousness. It turns out that if the constants of nature—unchanging numbers like the strength of gravity and the speed of light and the mass of a proton—are the tiniest bit different, then atoms would not hold together, stars would not burn and life would never have been possible. And those who realize that the laws of nature must be incredibly finely tuned to produce the universe we see,” says John Polkinghorne, who had a distinguished career as a Princeton University professor before becoming an Anglican priest in 1982, “that conspires to plant the...