

studies reveal that welfare recipients are not motivated to have additional children by the prospect of additional benefits. The fact is that, on average, families receive only up to \$69 per month for an additional child. This is not even enough to cover the cost of diapers for a new baby. In Hawaii an additional child brings in only \$147 in additional cash assistance.

Current AFDC payments are not windfall benefits. In Hawaii, an AFDC family of three receives \$712 in cash assistance each month. This amount is reflective of the high cost of living in Hawaii when compared to other States. In Alabama, for example, three-person families receive \$164 in cash assistance each month. I challenge any critic of welfare recipients to live comfortably on this income. Furthermore, AFDC benefit levels have declined by 42 percent in the last two decades. The average monthly benefit for a mother of two children with no earnings has shrunk in constant 1992 dollars from \$690 in 1972 to \$399 in 1992. In addition it is estimated that welfare recipients now lose up to a dollar in benefits for each dollar earned in a new job. Welfare recipients need the same incentives to work that other Americans have. We must end welfare as we know it by crafting a fair and just system to empower recipients to achieve permanent self-sufficiency without punishing them for being poor.

I believe that the people of Hawaii and all Americans recognize that government has a role to play in ensuring that our families maintain an adequate quality of life and have access to basic human needs. We understand that by simply eliminating benefits for poor families we do not eliminate their needs. Most importantly, we cannot forget who is receiving the AFDC benefits. Over 66 percent of all recipients of AFDC are children and 100 percent of the adults receiving AFDC are caring for children. Thirty-five percent of all AFDC families include a child under age 3. If we remove the minimum safety net completely we will be abandoning our children. We know that family poverty harms children significantly and places young children at risk. Ultimately society will suffer for the abandonment of families and States will have to shoulder the burden of homelessness, crime, family violence, substance abuse, and health problems. We should improve the lives of the American poor by changing the welfare system in a positive, not a punitive, effort.

#### FREE THE CLERGY ACT, H.R. 2829

HON. BENJAMIN A. GILMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 22, 1995

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing the Free the Clergy Act, a bill:

To prohibit funding by United States Government agencies of the participation of certain officials of the Chinese Government in international conferences, programs, and activities until the Chinese Government releases certain individuals imprisoned or detained on religious grounds.

Mr. Speaker, there are hundreds of people serving long prison sentences in China for practicing their religious faith. Let me repeat that for my colleagues; hundreds of people,

Catholics, Protestants, and Buddhists are spending many years of their lives in prison for observing religious practices. Unfortunately, the situation is getting worse.

According to a report released today by Human Rights Watch/Asia:

The Chinese government is subjecting unauthorized Catholic and Protestant groups to intensifying harassment and persecution. . . .

During the last two years, the Chinese government broadened its drive to crush all forms of dissent. . . . all religious believers, and especially Christians, are seen as potential security risks . . .

How exactly does Beijing repress religious practitioners? The Communist government sentences a 76-year-old Protestant leader to 15 years in prison for distributing Bibles. It sentences a 65-year-old evangelical elder to an 11-year prison term for belonging to an evangelical group outside the Government-sanctioned religious organizations. A 60-year-old Roman Catholic priest was sentenced to 2 years of reeducation through labor for unknown charges. He had previously spent 13 years in prison because of his refusal to renounce ties with the Vatican. The 6-year-old Panchen Lama and his family have been detained since May and their whereabouts are unknown. Scores of Tibetan Buddhists who refused to participate in the Communist Chinese sham enthronement of Beijing's "Panchen Lama" have been sent to prison and one of their spiritual teachers committed suicide rather than take part in the Chinese charade.

Mr. Speaker, my good friends and colleagues, there are hundreds of such cases. Mind you these people are not spending time in prison and wasting their lives away for calling for political pluralism or democracy. They are being severely punished for following their religious beliefs.

The administration argues that economic liberalization will bring about political pluralism. Many policy makers articulate that position due to political pressure from business groups. It needs to be pointed out, however, that sweeping religious practitioners under the same rug as prodemocracy advocates for short-term economic interests could be a political mistake that will be a long-term liability. The American people are very concerned about jobs and the economy but not if it is at the expense of their core moral and religious beliefs.

The Free the Clergy Act would prohibit any United States funds to be spent on any official in China who is involved with the repression of religion in China and occupied Tibet. It sends a message that we find religious repression repugnant and at grave odds with important American values.

Accordingly, I urge my colleagues to support H.R. 2829 and ask that the full text of the bill be printed in the RECORD at this point.

H.R. 2829

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

#### SECTION 1. FINDINGS.

The Congress makes the following findings:

(1) It has been reported that at an internal Central Communist Party meeting in 1994, Chinese President Jiang Zemin asserted that religion is one of the biggest threats to Communist Party rule in China.

(2) On January 31, 1994, Premier Li Ping signed decrees number 144 and 145 which re-

strict worship, religious education, distribution of bibles and other religious literature, and contact with foreign coreligionists.

(3) The Chinese Government has created organizations that have as their purpose controlling all religious worship, activity, and association in China and supplanting the Roman Catholic Church, independent Protestant churches and independent Buddhist, Taoist, and Islamic associations.

(4) In July 1995 Ye Xiaowen, a reputed atheist and rigid communist, was appointed to head the Bureau of Religious Affairs, an agency controlled by the United Front Work Department of the Chinese Government, that has administrative control over all religious worship and activity in China through an official system of registering or denying rights and privileges to religious congregations and leaders.

(5) In the past year, the Chinese Government has expressed great concern over the spread of Christianity and particularly over the rapid growth of Christian religious institutions other than those controlled by the government, including the Roman Catholic Church and the evangelical Christian "house churches".

(6) Soon after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Chinese Government imprisoned Christians who refused to relinquish their faith to become servants of Communism, charging them as "counter-revolutionaries" and sentencing them to 20 years or more in labor camps.

(7) Hundreds of Chinese Protestants and Catholics are among those now imprisoned at "reeducation through labor" camps because of their religious beliefs.

(8) The reeducation camps are run by the Ministry of Public Security and the Ministry of Justice of the Chinese Government.

(9) The Chinese Communist Government refuses to permit the appointment by the Vatican of Catholic Bishops and ordination of priests for China and insists on appointing its own "Catholic bishops".

(10) The Tenth Panchen Lama died in January 1989 at Tashi Lhunpo Monastery, his traditional spiritual seat in Shigatze, Tibet's second largest city.

(11) The Dalai Lama has the right to recognize the successor to the Panchen Lama, and has always done so.

(12) On May 14, 1995, His Holiness the Dalai Lama announced recognition of a 6-year old boy, Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, as the Eleventh Panchen Lama, according to Tibetan tradition.

(13) The young boy recognized by the Dalai Lama and his family have been brought to Beijing by Chinese authorities and have not been seen in several months.

(14) Chatrel Rimpoche, abbot of Tashi Lhunpo Monastery and head of the original search committee for the Eleventh Panchen Lama, and his assistant, Champa Chung, are believed to have been seized and detained by Chinese authorities in May of 1995.

(15) Chinese Government authorities subsequently detained other Tibetan Buddhists in connection with selection of the Eleventh Panchen Lama, including Gyatrol Rimpoche, Shepa Kelsang, Lhakpa Tsering, and Ringkar Ngawang.

(16) The Chinese Government convened a conference in Beijing of Tibetan Lamas who were forcibly brought to Beijing in order to select a rival candidate to the child selected by the Dalai Lama as the Eleventh Panchen Lama.

(17) On November 29, 1995, Luo Gan, Secretary General of the State Council, and Ye Xiaowen, Director of the Bureau of Religious Affairs, orchestrated an elaborate ceremony designating a 6-year old boy selected by the Chinese Government as the Eleventh Panchen Lama.

(18) On December 8, 1995, State Councilor Li Tieying presided over a ceremony in Shigatze, Tibet, in which the boy selected by the Chinese Government as the Eleventh Panchen Lama was enthroned.

(19) By seeking to impose its own candidate as the Eleventh Panchen Lama and detaining the 6-year old boy recognized for that position in accordance with Tibetan tradition, the Chinese Government is inserting itself into a purely Tibetan religious matter, in blatant violation of the fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people.

#### SEC. 2. STATEMENT OF POLICY.

The Department of State should make the release of individuals imprisoned or detained on religious grounds a major objective of United States foreign policy with respect to China, and should raise this issue in every relevant bilateral and multilateral forum.

#### SEC. 3. PROHIBITION ON FUNDING BY AGENCIES OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE PARTICIPATION OF CERTAIN CHINESE OFFICIALS IN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES.

(a) RESTRICTION.—No funds available to the Department of State, the United States Information Agency, the Agency for International Development, or any other agency or entity of the United States Government may be obligated or expended for the participation of any of the following individuals in any conference, exchange program, or activity relating to education, culture, training, or any other purpose, until the President submits the certification described in subsection (b):

(1) The head of any of the following Chinese Government-created and approved organizations:

- (A) The Chinese Buddhist Association.
- (B) The Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association.
- (C) The Chinese Catholic Religious Affairs Committee.
- (D) The Chinese Catholic Bishops' Conference.
- (E) The Chinese Protestant "Three-Self" Patriotic Movement.
- (F) The China Christian Council.
- (G) The Chinese Taoist Association.
- (H) The Chinese Islamic Association.

(2) Any official or employee of the United Front Work Department of the Chinese Government.

(3) Luo Gan, the Secretary General of the State Council, Li Tieying, State Councilor, and any other official or employee of the State Council.

(4) Ye Xiaowen, Director of Bureau of Religious Affairs, and any other official or employee of the Bureau of Religious Affairs of the Chinese Government.

(5) Any military or civilian official or employee of the Ministry of Public Security or the Ministry of Justice of the Chinese Government.

(b) CERTIFICATION.—The certification referred to in subsection (a) is a certification by the President to the Congress that the following individuals have been released, unconditionally, by the Chinese Government:

- (1) Pei Zhongxun (whose Korean name is Chun Chul).
- (2) Dai Guiliang.
- (3) Dai Lanmei.
- (4) Geng Minuan.
- (5) Wang Xincui.
- (6) Li Tianen.
- (7) Guo Mengshan.
- (8) Jiang Huaifeng.
- (9) Xu Funian.
- (10) Wang Yao Hua.
- (11) Chen Zhuman.
- (12) Bishop Zeng Jingmu.
- (13) Father Li Jian Jin.
- (14) Father Vincent Qin Guoliang.

- (15) Pan Kunming.
- (16) Rao Yangping.
- (17) Yu Qixing.
- (18) Yu Shuishen.
- (19) Li Qingming.
- (20) Zhang Zhiqiang.
- (21) Gedhun Choekyi Nyima and his family.
- (22) Chatrel Rimpoche.
- (23) Champa Chung.
- (24) Gyatrol Rimpoche.
- (25) Shepa Kelsang.
- (26) Lhakpa Tsering.
- (27) Ringkar Ngawang.

#### INDIA'S NUCLEAR AMBITIONS

#### HON. DAN BURTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, December 22, 1995

Mr. BURTON of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues two articles from the December 15, 1995, New York Times and the December 16, 1995, Washington Post which report that India may be preparing for another nuclear weapon test near Pokhran, India.

My colleagues may recall that India exploded a nuclear device at this very site back in 1974. Since then, India's nuclear program has advanced rapidly making significant progress in the development of ballistic missiles.

All these activities on the part of India pose a direct threat to Pakistan's security. Despite these threatening moves, Pakistan has displayed considerable restraint. In fact, Pakistan has indicated on numerous occasions its willingness to accept nonproliferation measures, including accession to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, if India were to accept the same. While Pakistan, who has been a long-time ally of the United States, has come under United States sanctions, India has been allowed to pursue its nuclear program without any consequence. Indian activities at the Pokhran site not only threaten security and stability in South Asia, but also adversely impact United States efforts to have a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty concluded during 1996.

Mr. Speaker, it is imperative that India should give up its nuclear ambitions and cooperate with Pakistan and its other neighbors in South Asia in banishing forever the chances of nuclear war in South Asia.

[From the New York Times, Dec. 15, 1995]

#### U.S. SUSPECTS INDIA PREPARES TO CONDUCT NUCLEAR TEST

(By Tim Weiner)

WASHINGTON, DEC. 14.—American intelligence experts suspect India is preparing for its first nuclear test since 1974, Government officials said today.

The United States is working to discourage it, fearing a political chain reaction among nuclear nations.

In recent weeks, spy satellites have recorded scientific and technical activity at the Pokaran test site in the Rajasthan desert in India. But intelligence experts said they could not tell whether the activity involved preparations for exploding a nuclear bomb or some other experiment to increase India's expertise in making nuclear weapons.

"We're not sure that they're up to," a Government official said. "The big question is what their motive is. If their motive is to get scientific knowledge, it might be months or

years before they do the test. If it's for purely political reasons, it could be this weekend. We don't know the answer to those questions."

Shive Mukherjee, Press Minister of the Indian Embassy here, said today that the activities at the nuclear test site were army exercises whose "movements have been absurdly misinterpreted."

The Congress Party of India, which has governed the country most of the years since independence in 1947, is facing a serious challenge from a right-wing Hindu nationalist party, United States Government officials say a nuclear weapons test could be used by the Congress Party as a symbol of its political potency.

Despite efforts to persuade the world's nuclear powers to sign a comprehensive test ban treaty, China and France have tested nuclear weapons in recent months. If India follows suit, its neighbor, Pakistan, with which it has tense relations, may also test a nuclear weapon, Government and civilian experts said. Neither country has signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

"It's going to have a nuclear snowball effect," said Gary Milhollin, director of the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control in Washington and a leader civilian expert on the spread of nuclear weapons. "It also jeopardizes the possibility that the world will sign a comprehensive test ban treaty next year."

A State Department official who spoke on condition of anonymity said that if India exploded a nuclear bomb, it "would be a matter of great concern and a serious setback to nonproliferation efforts."

"The United States is committed to the early completion of a comprehensive test ban," the official said. "We are observing a moratorium on nuclear testing and we have called upon all nations to demonstrate similar restraint."

But not all nations have heard the call.

India says publicly that it wants the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. But its nuclear hawks argue that the United States and Russia will never live up to that ideal and that a comprehensive test ban that is not linked to drastic reductions in the world's nuclear arsenals could leave India a second-rate or third-rate nuclear power.

Mr. Milhollin said India did not have a great archive of test data for nuclear weapons that could be mounted on a warhead and placed on a missile. "Once the test ban treaty comes in, they will be data-poor," he said. "A test now would supply them data, it would be a tremendous plus for the Congress Party, it would give them a big boost in the elections."

Political pressure for a nuclear test is building among India's right wing. "They are saying: 'What are we sitting around for? Why should we sign a test ban treaty not linked to the reduction of nuclear weapons?'" said Selig S. Harrison, an expert on South Asia at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

In 1974 India exploded what was believed to be a Hiroshima-sized bomb equal to 12,000 tons of TNT, which is called a "peaceful nuclear explosion." It renewed its program some years later, and in 1989 the Director of Central Intelligence, William H. Webster, testified that India had resumed research on thermonuclear weapons.

While India has sought to limit the nuclear abilities of China, it is most concerned about the nuclear-weapons program of Pakistan, although Pakistan has not acknowledged it has one. The two countries have had three wars, unending political tensions and constant border disputes since they were formed by the partition of India in 1947 after its independence from Britain.